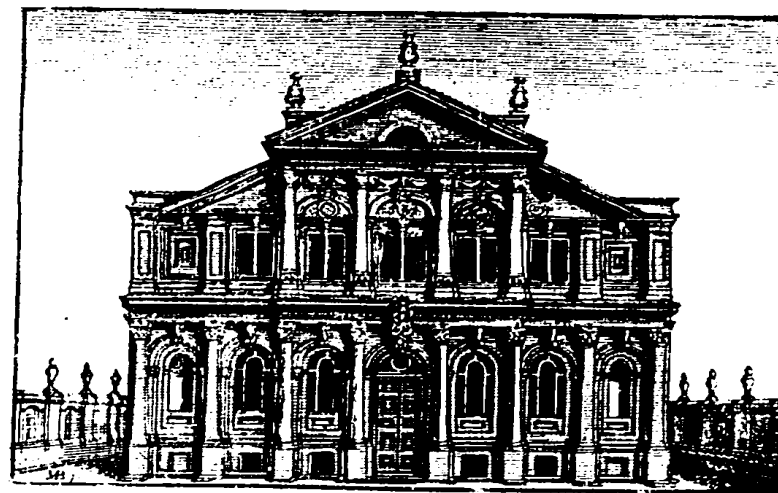


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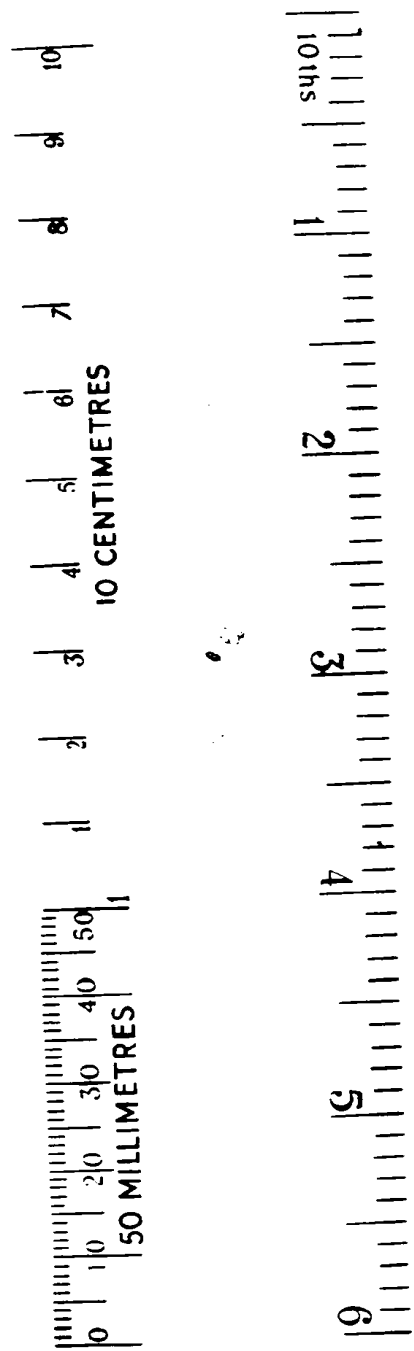
Archæologia Græcæ:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

By JOHN POTTER, *M. A. and Fellow*
of Lincoln College, OXON.



OXFORD,

Printed at the THEATER, for ABEL SWALL,
at the *Unicorn*, in St. Pauls Church-yard,
LONDON. MDCXCVII.



Archæologiæ Græcæ:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

VOLUME THE FIRST:

CONTAINING

I. The Civil Government of ATHENS.

II. The Religion of GREECE.

——— *Antiquam exquirite matrem.* Ovid.

——— *Vos exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna. Horat.

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Imprimatur,

FITZHERBERT ADAMS,
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Archæo-

Archæologia Græca,

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF

G R E E C E.

B O O K I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the State of Athens till Cecrops.

ALL Ages have had a great esteem and veneration for *Antiquity*; and not only of Men, but of Families, Cities, and Countries, the most Ancient have always been accounted the most Honourable. Hence arose one of the first and most Universal Disputes that ever troubled Mankind; almost every Nation, whose first Original was not very Manifest, pretending to have been of an equal Duration with the Earth it self. Thus the *Egyptians*, *Scythians*, and *Phrygians* phansied themselves to be the first race of Mankind, and the *Arcadians* boasted that they were *αὐτοχθόνες*, or before the Moon. The want of Letters did not a little contribute to these Opinions, for almost every Colony and Plantation, wanting means whereby to preserve the memory of their Ancestors, and deliver them down to Posterity, in a few Generations forgot their Mother-Nation, and thought they had inhabited their own Countrey from the beginning of the World.

A

Our

Our *Athenians* too had their share in this Vanity, and made as great and loud pretensions to Antiquity, as the best of their Neighbours; they gave out that they were produc'd at the same time with the *Sun* (a), and assumed to themselves the Honourable Name (for so they thought it) of *Αὐτοχθόνες*, which word signifies Persons produc'd out of the same soil, that they inhabit: For it was an old Opinion, and almost every where receiv'd among the Vulgar, that in the beginning of the World, Men, like Plants, were by some strange Prolifick Virtue produc'd out of the Fertile Womb of one common Mother, Earth; and therefore the Ancients generally called themselves *Γενεῖς*, Sons of the Earth, as *Hesychius* informs us (b). Alluding to the same Original, the *Athenians* would sometimes stile themselves *τίττιες*, *Grasshoppers*; and some of them wore *Grasshoppers* of Gold, binding them in their Hair as Badges of Honour, and marks to distinguish them from others of later Duration, and less Noble extraction, because those Insects were believ'd to be generated out of the Ground (c): *Virgil* has mention'd this custom in his Poem entitul'd *Ciris*,

*Ergo omnis caro residebat cura capillo,
Aurea solenni comptum quem fibula riuu
Cecropiæ cretæ nectebat dente cicade.*

Wherefore she did, as was her constant Care,
With *Grasshoppers* adorn her comely Hair,
Brac'd with a Golden Buckle *Attick*-wife.

Mr. Jo. Abell of Linc. Coll.

Without doubt the *Athenians* were a very ancient Nation, and it may be the first and only one that ever inhabited that Countrey; for when *Thessaly*, and *Peloponnesus*, and almost all the fertile Regions of *Greece* chang'd their old Masters every Year, the barrenness of their Soil secur'd them from Foreign Invasions. *Greece* at that time had no constant and settl'd Inhabitants, but there were continual Removes, the stronger always dispossessing the weaker; and therefore they liv'd, as we say, from Hand to Mouth, and provided no more than what was necessary for present Sustenance, expecting every Day when some more powerfull Nation should come and displace them, as they had lately done their Predecessors (d). Amidst all these troubles and tumults, *Attica* lay secure and unmolested, being protected from Foreign Enemies by means of a craggy and unfruitful Soil, that could not afford Fuel for contention; and secur'd from intestine and civil Broils, by the quiet and peaceable Dispositions of it's Inhabitants; for in those *Golden-Days* no affectation of Supremacy, nor any Sparks of Ambition had fired Men's minds, but every one liv'd full of content and satisfaction in the enjoyment of an equal share of Land, and other Necessaries with the rest of his Neighbours.

(a) *Menander* rhetor. (b) In voce *Γενεῖς*. (c) *Thucydides* lib. 1. *Eusebius* ad *Iliad.* γ'. (d) *Thucyd.* *ibid.*

The usual Attendants of a long and uninterrupted Peace are Riches and Plenty, but in those Days when Men liv'd upon the products of their own Soil, and had not found out the way of supplying their wants by Traffick, the case was quite contrary, and Peace was only the Mother of Poverty and Scarceness, producing a great many new Mouths to consume, but affording no new Supplies to satisfy them. This was soon experienc'd by the *Athenians*, for in a few Ages they were increas'd to such a number, that their Countrey being not only unfruitfull, but confin'd within very narrow bounds, was no longer able to furnish them with necessary Provisions. This forced them to contrive some means to disburthen it, and therefore they sent out Colonies to provide new Habitations, which spread themselves in the several parts of *Greece*.

This sending forth of Colonies was very frequent in the first Ages of the World, and several instances there are of it in later Times, especially amongst the *Gauls*, and *Scythians*, who often left their Native-Countries in vast Bodies, and, like general inundations, overturn'd all before them. *Meursius* reckons to the number of forty Plantations peopl'd by *Athenians*; but amongst them all, there was none so remarkable as that in *Asia* the Lesse, which they call'd by the Name of their Native-Country, *Ionis*. For the primitive *Athenians* were nam'd *Iones*, and *Iaones* (a); and hence it came to pass, that there was a very near Affinity between the *Attick*, and old *Ionick* Dialect, as *Eusebius* observes (b). And tho' the *Athenians* thought fit to lay aside their Ancient Name, yet it was not altogether out of use in *Thesew's* Reign, as appears from the Pillar erected by him in the *Isthmus*, to shew the Bounds of the *Athenians* on the one side, and the *Peloponnesians* on the other; on the East-side of which was this Inscription (c),

This is not Peloponnesus, but Ionia.
And on the South-side this,
This is not Ionia, but Peloponnesus.

This Name is thought to have been given them by *Iavan*, which bears a near resemblance to *Ιάων*, and much the nearer, if (as Grammarians tell us) the Ancient *Greeks* pronounc'd the letter *α* broad, like the Diphthong *ω*, as in our *English* word *All*, and so *Sr. George Wheeler* reports the Modern *Greeks* do at this Day. This *Iavan* was the fourth Son of *Iapheth*, and is said to have come into *Greece* after the confusion of *Babel*, and seated himself in *Attica*. And this Report receiveth no small confirmation from the Divine Writings, where the Name of *Iavan* is in several places put for *Greece*. Two instances we have in *Daniel* (d); And when I am gone forth, behold the Prince of *Græcia* shall come. And again (e); He shall stir up all against the Realm of *Græcia*. Where tho' the Vulgar Translations render it not *Iavan*, yet (as *Mr. Row* hath observ'd) that is the Word in the Original. And

(a) *Herodot.* lib. I. *Strabo* Geogr. lib. IX. *Æschylus* *Perfis*. (b) *Iliad.* α'. (c) *Plutarch.* *Thesew.* (d) *Cap.* X. v. XX (e) *Cap.* XI. v. II.

again in *Isaiah*; And I will send those that escape of them to the Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. Where *Sr. Walter Raleigh* hath taken notice, that the *Tigane* Version, with that of *Geneva*, retains the Hebrew words, and useth the Names of *Tubal* and *Lavan*, instead of *Italy* and *Greece*. But the *Grecians* themselves having no knowledge of their true Ancestor, make this Name to be of much later date, and derive it from *Ion*, the Son of *Xubus*. This *Xubus* (as *Pausanias* reports) having robb'd his Father *Deucalion* of his Treasure, convey'd himself together with his ill-gotten Wealth into *Attica*, which was at that time govern'd by *Erechtheus*, who Courteously entertain'd him, and gave him his Daughter in Marriage, by whom he had two Sons, *Ion* and *Athens*, the former of which gave his Name to the *Ionians*, the latter to the *Athensians*. It is not improbable that *Ion* himself might receive his Name from *Lavan*; it being a Custom observable in the Histories of all Times, to keep up the Ancient Name of a Fore-Father, especially such as had been eminent in the Times he liv'd in, by reviving it in some of the Progeny of his Posterity.

From the first Peopling of *Attica* till the time of King *Ogyges*, we have no Account of any thing that was'd there; only *Plato* (a) reports, they had a Tradition, that the *Athenian* Power and Glory were very great in those Days; that they were excellently skill'd both in Civil and Military Affairs, were govern'd by the justest and most Equitable Laws, and liv'd in far greater Splendor, than they had arriv'd to in his Time. But of the Transactions of these, and the following Ages, till *Theseus*, or the *Trojan War*, little or nothing of Certainty must be expected; partly, because of the want of Records, in rude and illiterate Ages; partly, by reason of the vast distance of Time, wherein those Records they had (if they had any) were lost and destroy'd; and partly, thro' the Pride and Vain-glorie of the *Ancient Greeks*, that out of an affectation of being thought to have been descended from some Divine Original, industriously conceal'd their Pedigrees, and obscur'd their Ancient Histories with idle Tales, and Poetical Fictions. And to use the words of *Plutarch* (b); As Historians in their Geographical Descriptions of Countries, cloud into the farthest part of their Maps those things they have no knowledge of, with some such remarks in the Margin, as these; All beyond is nothing but dry and desert Sands, or *Seythian Cold*, or a Frozen Sea; so it may very well be said of those things that are so far remov'd from our Age; All beyond is nothing but Monstrous and Tragical Fictions, there the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there to be expected any thing that deserves credit, or that carries in it any appearance of Truth.

However I must not omit what is reported concerning *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, whom some will have, to have been King of *Thebes*, some of *Aegypt*, some of *Arcadia*, but others of *Attica*, which is said to have been call'd after his Name, *Ogygia* (c). He is reported to have been a very Potent Prince, and the Founder of several Cities, particularly

(a) *Timaeus*. (b) *Plato*. (c) *Stephanus Byzantin. de Urb. & Pop.*

of *Eleusis*, and *Pausanias* tells us farther, that he was Father to the *Heroe Eleusis*, from whom that City receiv'd it's Name. He is said to have been Contemporary with the Patriarch *Jacob*; about the Sixty-seventh Year of whole Age he is suppos'd to have been Born (a), others bring him as low as *Moses* (b). His Reign is the utmost Period that the *Grecian Stories*, or Traditions ever pretended to reach to, and therefore when they would express the great Antiquity of any thing, they call it *Ὠκεϊνόν*, of which we have a great many instances in several of the Ancient Writers, but I shall only give you one out of *Nicander's Theriaca*,

Ὠκεϊνόν δ' ἔργον μῦθος ἐν αἰζηνοῖσι φορεῖται.

And in allusion to the great Power, he is suppos'd to have been possess'd of, they call any thing Great or Potent, *Ὠκεϊνόν*, as two Learned Grammarians inform us. *Hesychius*, *Ὠκεϊνόν*, παλαιόν, ἀρχαῖον, μέγα πᾶν. *Suidas*, *Ὠκεϊνόν*, παλαιόν, ἢ ἐπιμελές. And therefore *Ὠκεϊνόν* are great and insupportable Evils; and *Ὠκεϊνόν* δόνησις in *Philo*, extreme Folly and Stupidity. He reign'd two and thirty Years (for so *Cedrenus* computes them) in full Power and Prosperity, and Bless'd with the Affluence of all Things, that Fortune can bestow upon her greatest Favourites; but the conclusion of his Life was no less deplorable, than the former part of it had been prosperous, for in the midst of all his Enjoyments he was surpriz'd with a sudden and terrible Inundation, that overwhelm'd not *Attica* only, but all *Achaia* too, in one Common Destruction.

There is frequent mention made in Ancient Authors of several Kings, that Reign'd in *Attica*, between the *Ogygian Flood* and *Cecrops* the first. As of *Porphyrion*, concerning whom the *Athmonians*, a People in *Attica*, have a Tradition, that he Erected a Temple to *Venus Οὐρανία* in their Burrough (c). Also of *Colenus* (d); and of *Periphas*, who is describ'd by *Anonimus Liberalis*, (e) to have been a very Vertuous Prince, and at last Metamorphos'd into an Eagle. *Isaac Tzerzer* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* speaks of one *Draco*, out of whose Teeth he tells us, it was reported that *Cecrops* sprung, and this reason some give for his being call'd *Δρακὼν*. Lastly, to mention no more, *Pausanias* and *Stephanus* speak of *Actaeus*, or *Actaeon*, from whom some will have *Attica* to have been call'd *Acte*; and this Name frequently occurs in the Poets, particularly in *Lycophron*, a Studious affecter of Antiquated Names, and Obsolete Words,

Ἀκτῆς ὀμβροφῆς γηγενὲς σκυπτεχέως.

But small Credit is to be given to these reports, for we are assured by *Philochorus*, an Author of no less Credit, than Antiquity, as he is quoted by *Africanus*, that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Ogygian Deluge*, and it's Inhabitants reduc'd to so small a Number, that they liv'd an Hundred and Ninety Years from the Time of *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*,

(a) *Hieronym. Chronic. Esseb.* (b) *Justin. Mart. Orat. ad Gent.* (c) *Pausanias*. (d) *Idem*. (e) *Metamorphos. VI.*

without any King at all; and *Eusebius* concurs with him in this Opinion (f).

CHAPTER II.

Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.

IT is agree'd almost on all Hands, that *Cecrops* was the first that gather'd together the Poor Peasants, that lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and having United them into one Body, (tho' not into one City, for that was not effected till many Ages after) constituted among them one form of Government, and took upon himself the title of *King*.

Most Nations at the first were Govern'd by *Kings*, who were usually Persons of great Worth, and Renown, and for their Courage, Prudence, and other Virtues promoted to that Dignity by the general Consent and Election of the People; who yielded them Obedience out of Willingness, rather than Necessity, out of Advice rather than by Compulsion: and *Kings* rather chose to be obey'd out of Love, and Esteem of their Virtues, and Fitness to govern, than by the Force of their Arms, and out of a Slavish Fear of their Power. They affected no uncontrollable Dominion, or absolute Sway, but prefer'd the good of their People, for whose Protection they knew, and acknowledg'd themselves to have been advanc'd, before any Covetous or Ambitious Designs of their own. They expected no bended Knees, no prostrate Faces, but would condescend to converse familiarly, even with the meaner sort of their Subjects, as oft as they stood in need of their Assistance. In short, they endeavour'd to observe such a just Medium in their Behaviour, and all their Actions, as might neither expose their Authority to contempt, nor render them formidable to those, whom they chose rather to win by Kindness into a voluntary Compliance, than to awe by severity into a forc'd Subjection. They propos'd to themselves no other Advantage, than the good and welfare of their People, and made use of their Authority no farther, than as it was conducive and necessary to that End. Their Dignity and Office consisted chiefly in three Things.

First, in doing Justice, in hearing Causes, in composing the Divisions, and deciding the Differences, that happen'd among their Subjects, in constituting new Laws, and regulating the Old (b), where they had any; But the People generally repos'd such trust and confidence in the Justice and Equity of their *Prince*, that his sole Will and Pleasure pass'd for Law amongst them (c).

Secondly, in leading them to the Wars; where they did not only assist them by their good Conduct and management of Affairs, but expos'd their own Persons for the Safety and Honour of their Coun-

(f) *Chronico*. (b) *Tullii de Offic. lib. II. Cap. XII.* (c) *Justin. Hist. lib. I.*

try, pressing forward into the thickest of their Enemies, and often encountering the most Valiant of them in single Combat. And this they thought a principal Part of their Duty, judging it but reasonable, that they who excell'd others in Honour, should surpass them too in Valour; and they that had the first places at all Feasts, and Publick Assemblies, should be the first also in undertaking Dangers, and exposing themselves in the Defence of their Countrey; and thus the *Hero* in *Homer* argues the Case with one of his Fellow-Princes,

Γλαῦκε, πῆ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμῆμεθα μάλιστα
 Ἐδρῇ τε, κρέσσον τε, ἰδὲ πλείους δεπέσσον
 Ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δέ, σεῦ δὲ, εἰσορέωσι,
 Καὶ τέλει νυμῶμεθα μέγα Ξανθοῖο παρ' ὄχθους
 Κολὸν φυτὰλιν ἢ ἀνέρος πυροφόρου;
 Τῷ νῦν χεὶρ Λυκίῳσι μέλα πρόπαισιν ἐόντες
 Ἐσάμεν, ἥδ' ἐ μὲν χεὶρ κουστρῆς ἀντιβλήδμεν (b).

Glaucus, since us the *Lycian* Realms obey
 Like Gods, and all united Homage pay,
 Since we first seated have our Goblets Crown'd,
 Enjoy large Farms, near *Xanthus* streams, whose Ground }
 Is fertile, and beset with shady Trees around;
 Ought we not in the Battel's Front t'engage,
 And quell our furious Foes with doubled Rage?

Mr. Abell.

Thirdly, the Performance of the Solemn Sacrifices, and the care of Divine Worship was part of the *King's* Business. The *Lacedæmonian* *Kings* at their Coronation were consecrated *Priests* of *Jupiter Olympian*, and executed that Office in their own Persons. No man can be ignorant of *Virgil's Anius*, who was both *King* and *Priest*,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique sacerdos.

We seldom meet with a Sacrifice in *Homer*, but some of the *Heroes*, and those the Chief of all then present, are concern'd in the performance of the Holy Ceremonies; and so far was it from being thought a Piece of Condescension, or any way below their Dignity and Grandeur, that they thought it an Accession to the rest of their Honours, and the Inferiour Worshipers were no less carefull to reserve this piece of Service for them, than they were to give them the most Honourable Places in the Banquets, which they refresh'd themselves with, after the Sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to *Cecrops*, whom, as soon as he had establish'd himself in his new rais'd Kingdom, we shall find employ'd in laying the Model of a City, which he design'd for the Seat of his Government, and place of his constant Residence. And as the most commodious

(a) *Iliad. &c.*

place in his Dominions for this purpose, he pitch'd upon a Rock, strongly fortified by Nature against any Assaults, and situated in a large Plain near the middle of *Attica*, calling both the City, and the Territorie round it after his own Name, *Cecropia*. Afterwards, when the *Athenians* increas'd in Power and Number, and fill'd the adjacent Plains with Buildings, this was the *Acropolis*, or *Cittadel*.

Then for the better Administration of Justice, and the promotion of mutual Intercourse among his Subjects, he divided them into four Tribes, the Names of which were

1. Κεκροπίς.
2. Αἰχίδιον.
3. Ακταία.
4. Παγκλίας.

And finding his Countrey pretty well stock'd with Inhabitants, partly by the coming in of Forreigners, partly by the Concourse of People from every Corner and lurking-hole in *Attica*, where they had before lain, as it were, buried in Privacy, he instituted a Poll, causing every one of the Men to cast a Stone into a Place appointed by him for that purpose, and upon Computation he found them to be in number Twenty-Thousand, as the *Scholias*t upon *Pindar* reports out of *Philochorus* (a).

But the Soil being in its own Nature unfruitfull, and the People unskill'd in tilling and improving it to the best advantage, such multitudes could not have fail'd of being reduc'd in a short Time to the greatest Extremities, had not *Cecrops* taught them the Art of Navigation, and thereby supply'd them with Corn from *Sicily*, and *Africk* (b).

Besides this, he was the Author of many excellent Laws and Constitutions, especially touching Marriage, which according to his appointment was only to be celebrated betwixt one Man, and one Woman, whereas before promiscuous Mixtures had been allow'd of amongst them, as the Poet intimates,

Κάδμος ἐγγλάσσιο διδάσκειται ὄργανα φωνῆς,
Θεσμὰ Σέλων ἄγχαντα, καὶ ἔννομον Ἀττικὴν πύκνῃ
Συζυγίῃς ἐλύτριοι σωωρίδα δίζονα Κέκροψ (c).

With curious Art *Cadmus* did Letters frame,
The Law's Invention from Wife *Solon* came,
But *Cecrops* glories in the Marriage tie
Of the united Pair.

Mr. Abell.

Nor did he only prescribe Rules for the Conduct of their Lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduc'd a Form of Religion, erected Altars in Honour of the Gods, and instructed his People in what manner they were to Worship them.

(a) Olympionic. Od. IX. (b) *Johannes Tzetzes* in *Hesiodi Epgr.* & (c) *Nonnus* Dionysiac. lib. XLI.

In the Reign of *Pandion*, the Fifth King of *Athen*, *Triptolemus* is said to have taught the *Athenians* how to sow, and manure the Ground; and to have enacted several useful and necessary Laws, three of which we find quoted by *Porphyry* out of *Xenocrates* (a);

1. Honour your Parents.
2. Make Oblations of your Fruits to the Gods.
3. Hurt not Living Creatures.

Cecrops the Second of that Name, and the Seventh King of *Athen*, divided his Dominions into twelve Cities, or large Burroughs, compelling his Subjects to leave their separate Habitations, and Unite together for the replenishing of them (b). Their Names were these, as they are deliver'd by *Strabo* in his Description of *Attica* (c): *Cecropia*, *Tetrapolis*, *Exacria*, *Declea*, *Eleusis*, *Aphidna*, *Thoriceus*, *Brauron*, *Cytheris*, *Sphettus*, *Cephissia*, and *Phalerus*. But *Cecropia* still continu'd the chief Seat of the Empire, tho' each of these Cities (they are the words of *Sr. George Wheeler*, who refers this Division to *Cecrops* the First, led thereunto by the Authority of *Eusebius*, and some others) had distinct Courts of Judicature, and Magistrates of their own; and were so little subject to their Princes, the Successors of *Cecrops*, that they seldom, or never, had recourse to them, save only in Cases of imminent and publick Danger; and did so absolutely order their own Concerns, that sometimes they wag'd War against each other, without the advice or consent of their Kings.

In this state continu'd *Attica*, till the Reign of *Pandion* the second of that Name, and eighth King of the *Athenians*, who was depriv'd of his Kingdom by his Cousins, the Sons of his Uncle *Metion*; who themselves did not long possess what they had thus unjustly gotten, being driven out of it by the more powerful Arms of *Pandion's* four Sons, viz. *Ageus*, *Lycus*, *Pallas*, and *Nisus*. These having expell'd the *Metionids*, divided the Kingdom amongst themselves, as *Apollodorus* reports. But others are of Opinion, that *Pandion* himself being restor'd to the quiet possession of his Kingdom by the joynt Assistance of them all, by his last Will and Testament divided it into four Parts, bequeathing to each of them his Proportion; And tho' it is not agree'd amongst Ancient Writers, which Part fell to every Man's Lot; yet thus much is consented to on all Hands, that the Sovereignty of *Athen* was assign'd to *Ageus*, for which he was extremeley envid by his Brethren; and so much the more, for that, as most think, he was not the begotten, but only adopted Son of *Pandion*; and for this reason it was (saith *Plutarch*) that *Ageus* commanded *Aethra*, the Mother of *Theseus*, to send her Son, when arriv'd at Man's estate, from *Træzen*, the place where he was born, to *Athen* with all Secrecy, and to enjoin him to conceal, as much as possible, his Journey from all Men, because he fear'd extremely the *Pallanids*, who did continually mutiny against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being Fifty Brothers, all the Sons of *Pallas*. However,

(a) De abstinent. ab Animal lib. IV. (b) *Etymolog.* (c) *Geograph. lib. IX.*

as the same Author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open Rebellion, by the hopes and expectation of recovering the Kingdom, at least after *Ægeus's* Death, because he was without Issue; but as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd rightful Successour to the Crown, highly resenting, that first *Ægeus*, *Pandion's* Son only by Adoption, and not at all related to the Family of *Erechtheus*, and then *Theseus*, one of another Countrey, and a perfect stranger to their Nation, should obtain the Kingdom of their Ancestors, they broke out into open Acts of Hostility; but were soon overcome and dispers'd by the Courage and Conduct of *Theseus*.

Theseus having deliver'd the Countrey from intestine Seditions, proceeded in the next place to free it from Foreign Slavery. The *Athenians* having Barbarously Murder'd *Androgeus*, the Son of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, were oblig'd by his Father to send a Novennial, or Septennial, or, as others, an Annual Tribute of seven young Men, and as many Virgins into *Crete*, where they were shut up within the *Labyrinth*, and there wandred about, till, finding no possible means of making their Escape, they perish'd with Hunger, or else were devour'd by the *Minotaur*, a terrible Monster, compounded of the different Shapes of Man, and Bull. The time of sending this Tribute being come, *Theseus* put himself amongst the Youths that were doom'd to go to *Crete*, where having arriv'd, he receiv'd of *Ariadne*, the Daughter of King *Minos*, who had fallen in Love with him, a Clew of thred, and being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him thro' all the Windings of the *Labyrinth*, escap'd out of it, having first slain the *Minotaur*, and so return'd with his Fellow-Captives in Triumph to *Athens*.

In his return through an excess of Joy for the happy success of his Voyage, he forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Ægeus*, who sat expecting them upon the Top of a Rock, and as soon as their Ship came in View with a Black, and as it were, Mourning Sail, knowing nothing of their Success, threw himself headlong into the Sea, and so made way to *Theseus's* more early Succession to the Crown, than could otherwise have been expected. And to this time from the Reign of *Cecrops* the First, the Government and State of *Athens* continu'd with little alteration.

CHAPTER III.

Of the State of Athens, from Theseus to the Decennial Archons.

Theseus being by the fore-mention'd Accident advanc'd to the Regal Scepter, soon found the inconvenience of having his People dispers'd in Villages, and canton'd up and down the Countrey. Therefore for the remedy of this Evil, he fram'd in

Mind

Mind (saith *Plutarch*) a vast and wonderful Design of gathering together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and making them one People of one City, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembl'd upon any Affair, tho' relating to the Common benefit of them all. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happen'd among them, as occasion'd Blood-shed and War; these he by his Persuasions appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his Design of a Common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily embracing so good advice, to those of greater Power, and Interest he promis'd a Common-wealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them, and by this means brought most of them over to his Proposal. The rest fearing his Power which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be perswaded, than forc'd into a Compliance.

He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-Halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-Hall, where it stands to this Day. And out of the old and new City he made one, which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd *Panatheneæ*, or the Sacrifice of all the *United Athenians*. He instituted also another Sacrifice, for the sake of Strangers that would come to fix at *Athens*, call'd *Μετοικια*, which is yet celebrated on the 16th day of *Heecatombæon*. Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Kingly Power, and settled a Common-wealth, having entred upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For sending to consult the *Delphian* Oracle, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer,

Αἰχίδη Θησεῦ, Πιθηίδῳ ἐγγόνε κέρης,
Πολλὰς τοι πολίεσσι Πατὴρ ἐμός ἐγχατέθηκε
Τέτρατα δὲ κλωστήρας ἐν ὑμετέρῳ πολίεδρῳ,
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτε λίλυ πτωγνηυῖν ἐνδοθεὶ θυμῷ
Βαλεῖν, Ἀσπίς γὰρ ἐν οἴδματι ποῖσπερ εὔση.

Hear, *Theseus*, *Pittheus* Daughters's Son,
Hear what Jove for thee has done.
In the great City thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid
The settl'd Periods and fix'd Fates,
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear, nor Pain,
Sollicit not thy self in Vain.
For like a Bladder that does bide
The Fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always tost, but never drown'd.

(Mr. Duke.)
Which

Which Oracle, they say, one of the *Sibyls* a long time after, did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians* in this Verse,

Ασπὶς βαλίζη, δύναι δὲ τοι ἐ δέμῳ ἐστῇ.

Thou, like a Bladder, may'st be wet, but never drown'd.

Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives, and some are of opinion, that the Common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, Δεῦρ' ἐτε πάντες λαὸν, Come hither all ye People, were the words that *Theseus* caus'd to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Common-wealth, consisting in a manner of all Nations.

For all this, he suffer'd not his State by the promiscuous multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion and Anarchy, and left without any Order or Degrees, but was the first that divided the Common-wealth into three distinct Ranks, Εὐπατρίδαι, Γεωργοί, Δημιουργοί, i. e. Noblemen, Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the choice of Magistrates, the teaching and dispensing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Religious things; the whole City, as to all other matters, being as it were reduc'd to an Equality, the Nobles excelling the rest in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And *Theseus* was the first, who, as *Aristotle* says, out of an inclination to Popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, and which *Homer* also seems to intimate in his Catalogue of the Ships, where he gives the Name of Δῆμος or People, to the *Athenians* only.

In this manner *Theseus* settl'd the *Athenian* Government, and it continu'd in the same State till the Death of *Codrus* the seventeenth, and last King, a Prince more renown'd for his Bravery, than Fortune. For *Atica* (a) being invaded by the *Dorians*, or *Spartans*, or *Peloponnesians*, or, as some will have it, by the *Thracians*, the Oracle was consulted about it, and answer made, that the Invaders should have Success, if they did not kill the *Athenian* King; *Codrus* having heard this, and preferring his Countie's Safety before his own Life, disguis'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, and went to a place not far from the Enemies Camp, where picking a quarrel with some of them, he obtain'd the Death which he so much desir'd. The *Athenians* being advertis'd of what had happen'd, sent an Herald to the Enemy to demand the Body of their King, whereupon they were so much dishearten'd, that they immediately broke up their Camp, and left off their Enterprize without striking another blow.

The *Athenians*, out of reverence to *Codrus*'s memory, would never more have any Governour by the Name or Title of King, but were Govern'd by *Archontes*, whom they allow'd indeed to continue in their Dignity as long as they liv'd, and when they di'd, to leave it to their Children, and therefore most Writers reckon them rather amongst the Kings, than the *Archontes* that succeeded them, who were permitted to

(a) Tull. Tuscul. Quæst. Justin. l. II. Vell. Pat. c. lib. II. Eusebium.

Rule only for a certain time; yet they differ'd from the Kings in this, that they were in a manner subject to the People, being oblig'd to render an account of their management, when it should be demanded. The first of these was *Medon*, the Eldest Son of *Codrus*, from whom the thirteen following *Archontes* were Sirnam'd *Medonidae*, as being descended from him; During their Government the *Athenian* State suffer'd no considerable alteration, but was carried on with so great ease, and quietness, that scarce any mention is made of any memorable Action done by any of them, and the very Names of some of them are almost quite forgotten.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a short Account of the *Athenian* State, whilst it was Govern'd by Kings, who were in all thirty, and Rul'd *Athens* by the space of seven-hundred-ninety-four Years, as the Learned *Moursius* has computed them, to which if you add the two and thirty Years of *Ogyges*, and the intervall of an hundred and ninety Years, in which no Foot-steps of any Government are to be found, the number will amount to one thousand and twelve Years.

A Catalogue of the *Athenian* Kings.

	Years.		Years.
<i>Ogyges</i>	XXXII.	<i>Thymates</i>	VIII.
Interregnum	CXC.	<i>Melanthius</i>	XXXVII.
<i>Cecrops</i> I.	I.	<i>Codrus</i>	XXI.
<i>Cranæus</i>	IX.	<i>Medon</i>	XX.
<i>Amphietyon</i>	X.	<i>Acastus</i>	XXXVI.
<i>Erichonius</i>	I.	<i>Archippus</i>	XIX.
<i>Pandion</i> I.	XL.	<i>Thersippus</i>	XLI.
<i>Erechtheus</i>	I.	<i>Phorbas</i>	XXX.
<i>Cecrops</i> II.	XL.	<i>Megacles</i>	XXVIII.
<i>Pandion</i> II.	XXV.	<i>Diognesius</i>	XXV.
<i>Egeus</i>	XLVIII.	<i>Pherecles</i>	XIX.
<i>Theseus</i>	XXX.	<i>Ariphron</i>	XX.
<i>Menestheus</i>	XXIII.	<i>Thespius</i>	XXVII.
<i>Demophoon</i>	XXXIII.	<i>Agamestor</i>	XVII.
<i>Oxyntes</i>	XII.	<i>Æschylus</i>	XXIII.
<i>Aphidas</i>	I.	<i>Alcmaeon</i>	II.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the State of Athens, from the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.

THE People of *Athens* continually got Ground of their Superiors, gaining something by every alteration that was made in the State, till at length by little and little the whole Government

ment came into the hands of the Commonalty. *Theseus* and *Medon* made considerable abatements in their Power, but what remain'd of it, they kept in their own hands as long as they liv'd, and preserv'd the Succession entire to their Posterity. But in the first Year of the seventh *Olympiad*, both the Power, and Succession was devolv'd upon the People, who the better to curb the Pride, and restrain the Power of their *Archons*, continu'd them in their Government only for ten Years, and the first that was Created in this manner, was *Charops*, the Son of *Æschylus*. But they would not rest contented here, for about seventy Years after, that the *Archons* might be wholly dependent on the Citizen's favour; it was agreed that their Authority should but last for one Year, at the End of which they were to give an Account of their Administration, and the first of these was *Cleon*, who entred upon his Charge in the third Year of the twenty-fourth *Olympiad* (a).

In the thirty-ninth *Olympiad* *Draco* was *Archon*, and was the Author of many new Laws, in which there is very little worth our Notice, only that they were very Cruel and Inhumane, punishing almost every Trivial Offence with Death. Insomuch that those that were convicted of Idleness were to Die, and those that Stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, to suffer as the Villains that committed Sacrilege, or Murder; and therefore *Demades* is remark'd for saying that *Draco's* Laws were not written with Ink, but Blood: and he himself being ask'd, Why he made Death the punishment of most Offences, reply'd, Small Crimes deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest.

But all these, that only excepted which concern'd Murder, were repeal'd in the third Year of the forty-sixth *Olympiad*, in which *Solon* being *Archon*, was intrusted with the Power of new Modelling the Commonwealth, and making Laws for it. They gave him Power over all their Magistrates, (says *Plutarch*), their Assemblies, Courts, Senates; that he should appoint the Number, Times of meeting, and what Estate they should have that could be capable of being admitted to them, and to dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions, according to his Judgment and Discretion (b).

Solon finding the People variously affected, some inclin'd to a Monarchy, others to an Oligarchy, others to a Democracy, the Rich men Powerful and Haughty, the Poor Groaning under the burden of their Oppression, endeavour'd as far as was possible to compose all their Differences, to ease their Grievances, and give all reasonable Persons satisfaction. In the Prosecution of this design he divided the *Athenians* into four Ranks, according to every Man's Estate; Those who were worth five hundred *Medimns* of liquid and dry Commodities he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them *πενταχορομέδμοι*. The next were the Horsemen, call'd *ἑπτάκτα πλῆντες*, being such as were of Ability to furnish out a Horse, or were worth three hundred *Medimns*. The third Class consisted of those that had two hundred *Medimns*, which were call'd *δωρεῖται*. In the last he plac'd all the rest, calling them *Θῆτες*,

(a) *Clement Stromat. l.* (b) *Plutarch. in Solone.*

and

and allow'd them not to be capable of bearing any Office in the Government, only gave them Liberty to give their Votes in all publick Assemblies, which, tho' at the first it appear'd inconsiderable, was afterwards found to be a very important Privilege, for it being permitted any Man after the determination of the Magistrates to make an appeal to the People assembl'd in Convocation, hereby it came to pass, that Causes of the greatest weight and moment were brought before them. And thus he continu'd the Power and Magistracy in the hands of the Rich Men, and yet neither expos'd the inferiour People to their Cruelty and Oppression, nor wholly depriv'd them of having a share in the Government. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner,

Δῆμος μὲν δ' ἔδωκε, πόσον κράτος ὅσον ἐπαρχεῖν,
Τιμῆς ἐτ' ἀφελών, ἐτ' ἐπορεξάμεναι.
Οἱ δ' εἶχον δυνάμιν καὶ χρήμασιν ἦσαν ἀγῆστοι,
Καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμεναι μηδὲν ἀεικίς ἔχειν.
Ἐστω δ' ἀμφοτέροις κρατεῖν σίκκος ἀμφοτέρωσι,
Νικᾶν δ' ἐν εἵας ἀμφοτέρωσι ἀδίκως.

What Power was fit I did on all bestow,
Nor rais'd the Poor too high, nor Pref'd too low;
The Rich that Rul'd, and every Office bore
Confin'd by Laws they could not Press the Poor:
Both Parties I secur'd from Lawless might,
So none prevail'd upon another's Right. (Mr. Creech.)

Not many Years after, the City being divided into Factions, *Pisistratus* by a Stratagem seiz'd upon the Government: for having on set purpose Wounded himself, he was brought into the Market-Place in a Chair, where he expos'd his Wounds to the People, assuring them that he had been so dealt with by the adverse Party for his affection to their Government. The unthinking Multitude were easily drawn by so specious a pretence into a compassion of his Misfortunes, and rage against his Enemies; and upon the motion of one *Ariston*, granted him fifty Men arm'd with Clubs to Guard his Person. The decree being pass'd, *Pisistratus* listed the number of Men that were allow'd him, and besides them as many more as he pleas'd, no Man observing what he was a doing, till at length in requital of the Citie's kindness and Care of him, he seiz'd the Citadel, and depriv'd them of their Liberty. After this *Pisistratus* liv'd thirty Years, seventeen of which he was in possession of the Government of *Athens*; but the State continu'd all that time unfeiz'd, and in continual motions, the City-Party sometimes prevailing against him and expelling him, sometimes again being worsted by him, and forc'd to let him return in Triumph.

He was succeeded by his Sons *Hipparchus* and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*; the former of which was Slain by *Aristogiton*, and the latter about three or four Years after compell'd by *Clisthenes*, who call'd to his assistance the banish'd *Alcæonides*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to relinquish his Government, and secure himself by a dishonourable Flight.

Flight. Being thus banish'd his Countrey, he Fled into *Persia*, where he liv'd many Years, perswading *Darius* to the Enterprize upon *Athens*, which at length to his eternal Shame and Dishonour he undertook. For levying a numerous Host of Men he entred the *Athenian* Territories, where both he, and his whole Army were totally Defeated, by an inconsiderable number of Men, under the Conduct of *Miltiades* in that Famous Battel of *Marathon*. This Victory was obtain'd twenty Years after *Hippias's* Expulsion. And thus the *Athenians* recover'd their Laws and Liberties, about sixty-eight Years after they had been depriv'd of them by *Pisistratus*.

After this Success, they continued in a Flourishing condition, for three and thirty Years, but then the Scene chang'd, and reduc'd them almost to the lowest Ebb of Fortune. *Xerxes* in revenge of his Predecessor's Defeat, invaded their Territories with an Army, (as some say,) of seventeen-hundred-thousand Men, and forc'd them to quit their City, and leave it a prey to the insulting *Barbarians*, who took it without any considerable resistance, and laid it in Ashes; and in the Year following his Lieutenant *Mardonius* in imitation of his Master's example, burn'd it a second Time. But these Storms were soon blown over by the Wisdom and Courage of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, who totally Defeated the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*, and seconded that Victory by another of no less importance over *Mardonius* at *Plateæ*, whereby the *Barbarians* were quite driven out of *Greece*, and *Athens* restor'd to her Ancient Government, arising out of her Ruins, more Bright and Glorious then ever she had been before.

But the State suffer'd some alterations, for first, *Aristides*, a Person (as *Plutarch* assures us) of a mean Extraction, and meaner Fortune, being in consideration of his eminent Virtues, and signal Services to the Common-wealth, prefer'd to the Dignity of an *Archon*, repeal'd *Solon's* Law, by which the *ἑταῖροι*, or lowest Order of People, were made incapable of bearing any Office in the Government. And after him *Pericles* having less'n'd the Power of the *Areopagites*, brought in a confus'd *Ochlocracy*, whereby the Populace, and basest of the Rabble obtain'd as great a share in the Government, as Persons of the Highest Birth and Quality.

Notwithstanding these Alterations at Home, all things were carri'd on with great Success abroad: the *Athenians* by the help of their Fleet, on which they laid out their whole strength, when *Xerxes* forc'd them to quitt their City, became sole Lords of the Sea, and made themselves Masters of the greatest Part of the *Ægean* Ilands; And having either forc'd the rest of the *Grecians* into Subjection, or aw'd them into a Confederacy, went on Conquerors to the Borders of *Ægypt*, and had (as *Aristophanes* reports) a thousand Cities under their Dominions.

But afterwards things Succeeding ill in *Sicily*, under the Command of *Nicias*, and some other troubles arising in the Common-wealth, the Principal Men of *Athens* (says *Sr. Walter Raleigh*) being wearied with the Peoples insolency, took this opportunity to change the form of Government, and bring the Sovereignty into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains that were abroad, they caus'd them to set up an *Aristocracy* in the Towns of their Confederates; and

and in the mean time, some, that were most likely to oppose this Innovation, being Slain at *Athens*, the Commonalty were so dismay'd that none durst open his Mouth against the Conspirators, whose Number they knew not; but every Man was afraid of his Neighbour, lest he should have a hand in the Plot. In this general Consternation, the Government of *Athens* was usurped by Four-hundred, who preserving in shew the Ancient form of Proceeding, caus'd all matters to be propounded to the People, and concluded upon by the greater part of the Voices; but the things propounded were only such, as had been first agree'd upon among themselves; neither had the Commonalty any other Liberty, than only that of approving and giving consent; for whosoever presum'd to take upon him any farther, was quickly dispatch'd out of the way, and no enquiry made after the Murderers. By these means were many Decrees made, all tending to the Establishment of this new Authority, which nevertheless endur'd not long; for the Fleet, and Army, which was then at the Isle of *Samos*, altogether detesting these Tyrannical Proceedings of the four-hundred Usurpers, recall'd *Alcibiades* from his Banishment; and partly out of fear of him, and partly because they found the Citizens incens'd against them, the Tyrants Voluntarily resigned their Authority, and went into Banishment.

Yet was not this alteration of Government a full restitution of the Sovereign Command to the People, or whole Body of the City, but only to Five-thousand, which the Four-hundred (when their Authority began) had pretended to take to them as Assistants in the Government; herein seeming to do little or no wrong to the Commonalty, who seldom assembled in a greater Number; and therefore no Decrees were pass'd in the Name of the Four-hundred, but all was said to be done by the Five-thousand; and the Usurpers were called (says (a) *Plato*) Πεντακισχιλιοι, τὰς ἀκρίστοις ἢ ὀλίγῃς, five-thousand, tho' they did not exceed four-hundred. But now when the Power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agree'd that *Alcibiades* and his Friends should be recall'd from Exile by the Citizens, as they had before been by the Soldiers; and that the Army at *Samos* should be requested to undertake the Government, which was forthwith reform'd according to the Soldiers desire.

This establishment of Affairs at home was immediately seconded with good Success from abroad, for by the help of *Alcibiades* they in a short time obtain'd several very important Victories; but the giddy Multitude being soon after incens'd against him, he was Banish'd a second time (b). His Absence had always before been fatal to the *Athenians*, but never so much so, as at this time; for their Navy at *Ægos-Potamos* through the carelessness of the Commanders, was betray'd into the hands of *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole Fleet, so that of two, or three-hundred Sail of Ships there escap'd not above eight.

After this Victory, *Lyfander* joyning his own Forces with those of *Agis* and *Pausanias*, Kings of *Sparta*, march'd directly to *Athens*, which

(a) *Alcibiades*. (b) *Diodor. Sic. lib. XII. Xenophon. Hist. Græc. lib. II. Justin. lib. V.*

was surrendred to them upon Terms, whereby the *Athenians* oblig'd themselves to pull down the Long-Walls, by which the City was joyn'd to the *Piræus*, or Haven, and deliver up all their Naval Forces, only ten, or as some say, twelve Ships excepted. Nay there was a Consultation held whether the City should be utterly destroy'd, and the Lands about it laid wast; and *Agis* had carried it in the affirmative, had not *Lysander* oppos'd him, urging, That one of the Eyes of *Greece* ought not to be pluck'd out. However he forc'd them to alter their form of Government, and change their *Democracy* into an *Oligarchie*, a State ever affected by the *Lacedæmonians*.

In compliance therefore with the Commands of their Conquerors, the People of *Athens* chose Thirty Governours, commonly call'd *Thirty Tyrants*, the Names of which you may see in *Xenophon*. These (saith an Author above mentioned) were chosen with a design to compile a Bodie of their Laws, and make a Collection of such Ancient Statutes, as were fittest to be put in Practice in that juncture of Affairs, which were called *νεωταία νόμοι*, or New Laws. And to this Charge was annexed the supreme Authority, and the whole Government of the City entrusted in their hands. At the first they seem'd to proceed with some shew of Justice, and apprehending such troublefom Fellows, as were odious to the City, but could not be taken hold of by the Laws, condemn'd them to Death. But having afterwards obtain'd a Guard from the *Spartans*, to secure the City, as was pretended, to their Obedience, they soon discover'd what they had been aiming at; for they sought no more after Base and Detested Persons, but invaded the Leading and Principal Men of the City, sending Arm'd Men from House to House, to dispatch such as were like to make any Head against their Government. And to add the greater strength to their Party, and Colour to their Proceedings, they selected three-thousand of such Citizens, as they thought fittest for their purpose, and gave them some part of the publick Authority, disarming all the rest. Being confirm'd with this accession of Strength, they proceeded in their Bloody designs with more Heat and Vigour than before, putting to Death all that were possessed of Estates, without any form of Justice, or so much as any the least Pique or Grudge against them, only that their Riches might fall into their hands. Nay, so far were they transported with Cruelty, and Covetousness, that they agree'd that every one of them should name his Man, upon whose Goods he should seize, by putting the owner to Death, and when *Theramenes*, one of their own Number profess'd his detestation of so Horrid a Design, they condemn'd him forthwith, and compelled him to drink Poison. This *Theramenes* was at the first a mighty stickler for the Tyrants Authority, but when they began to abuse it in the defence of such outrageous Practices, no Man more violently oppos'd it than he, and this got him the Nick-name of *Κόδορος*, or Jack of both-sides, ὁ γὰρ κόδορος ἀρμόστιον μὲν τοῖς πρὸς ἐμφοτέροις δίκαι, from *Cothurnus*, which was a kind of a Shoe that fitted both Feet.

At length the *Athenians* to the number of seventy, that had Fled to *Thebes*, going voluntarily into Banishment to secure themselves from the Tyrants,

Tyrants, entred into a Conspiracy against them, and under the Conduct of *Thrasybulus* seiz'd upon *Phyle*, a strong Castle in the Territory of *Athens*, and encreasing their Strength and Numbers by little and little, so far prevail'd against them, that they were forc'd to retire to *Sparta*, and then all their Laws were repeal'd, and the upstart Form of Government utterly dissolv'd. And thus the *Athenians* regain'd their Liberty, and were re-established in the Peaceable enjoyment of their Lands and Fortunes in the fourth Year of the ninety-fourth *Olympiad*. And to prevent all future Jealousies and Quarrels amongst themselves, they proclaim'd an *Ἀμνηστία*, or Act of Oblivion, whereby all, that had been concern'd in the Outrages and Barbarities committed during the Sovereignty of the Tyrants, were admitted to Pardon.

Thrasybulus having thus free'd his Countrey from the heavy Yoke of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Conon* established it in all it's Ancient Privileges and Immunities, by another signal Victory at *Cnidus*, wherein he gave a total Defeat to the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet. And having by this means regain'd the Sovereignty of the Seas, they began again to take Courage, and aim'd now at nothing less than the restauration of *Athens* to her Ancient Glory: and Fortune was not wanting in some measure to further their great Design; for they not only reduc'd the Ile of *Lesbos*, *Byzantium*, *Chalcedon*, and other Places thereabouts to their former Obedience, but rais'd *Athens* once more to be the most Potent, and the Principal City in all *Greece*.

In this State they continued for some Years till the *Thebans*, who had been rais'd from one of the most inconsiderable States in *Greece* to great Power, by the wise Conduct and great Courage of *Epaminondas*, put a stop to her Grandeur, and disputed the Sovereignty with her; but this Contest was soon decided by the hasty Death of *Epaminondas*, at the Famous Battel of *Maninea*, that put an End to the *Theban* Greatness, which as it was rais'd, and maintain'd, so it likewise perish'd with that great Man. So great alterations are the Wisdom and Courage of one Man able to effect in the Affairs of whole Kingdoms.

The Death of *Epaminondas* prov'd no less fatal to the *Athenians* than the *Thebans*, for now there being none whose Virtues they could emulate, or whose Power they could fear, they Lorded it without a Rival, and being glutted with too much Prosperity, gave themselves over to Idleness and Luxury; they slighted the Virtue of their Ancestors; their hard and thrifty way of Living they laugh'd at; the publick Revenues that used to be employ'd in paying the Fleets and Armies, they expended upon Games and Sports, and lavishly profused them in Sumptuous preparations for Festivals, they took greater pleasure in going to the Theater, and hearing the insipid jests of a Comœdian, than in manly Exercises, and Feats of War, and preferred a *Mimick*, or a Stage-Player, before the most Valiant and experienc'd Captain; Nay, they were so besotted with their pleasures, that they made it Capital for any Man to propose the re-establishing of their Army, or converting the publick Revenues to the maintenance of it, as *Libanius* observes (a).

(a) Argument. ad Olynthiac. I.

This sottish and degenerate Disposition of theirs, and the rest of the *Greeks*, who were also drown'd in the same security, gave Opportunity and Leisure to *Philip*, who had been educated under the Discipline of *Epaminondas*, and *Pelopidas*; to raise the *Macedonians* from a mean, obscure, and underling condition to the Empire of all *Greece*, and *Asia*; as *Justin* hath observ'd (a). And this design was projected and begun by *Philip*, but achiev'd, and perfected by his Son, *Alexander* the Great.

CHAPTER V.

Of the State of Athens, from Philip of Macedon to it's delivery by the Romans.

THE *Athenians*, and the rest of the *Grecians*, made some resistance against the Victorious Arms of *Philip*, but were overthrown in a pitch'd Battle at *Cheronea*, in the third Year of the CXth. *Olympiad*. This Defeat put an End to the *Grecian* Glory, and in a great measure to their Liberty, which for so many Ages, and against the most puissant Monarchs they had preserv'd entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However *Philip*, to the end he might be declar'd Captain General of *Greece*, against the *Persians* without any further trouble, and strengthen his Army by the accession of their Fortes, was content to forbear any farther attempt upon the *Athenians*, and permit them to enjoy a shew of Liberty.

No sooner was *Philip* dead, than they revolted, and endeavour'd to free themselves from the *Macedonian* Yoke, but were easily brought into Subjection by *Alexander*, and as easily obtain'd pardon of him, being then very eager of invading *Persia*, and unwilling to be diverted by taking Revenge upon those petty States, from a more Noble and Glorious Enterprize. And during his Life they continu'd quiet, not daring to move so much as their Tongues against him. Only towards the latter end of his Reign, when he was busi'd in the Wars with remote Countries, and not at leisure to take notice of every little Opposition, they refus'd to entertain the banish'd Persons, which *Alexander* had commanded should be restor'd in all the Cities of *Greece*. However they durst not break out into open Rebellion; but gave secret orders to *Leosthenes*, one of their Captains, to levy an Army in his own Name, and be ready whenever they should have occasion for him: *Leosthenes* obey'd their commands, and as soon as certain News was brought, that *Alexander* was dead in *Persia*, being joyn'd by some others of the *Grecian* States, proclaim'd open War against the *Macedonians*, in defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. But being in the end totally defeated by *Antipater*, they were forc'd to entertain a Garrison in *Munychia*, and submit to what condition the Conquerour pleas'd to impose upon them.

(a) *Histor. L. VI. Cap. IX.*

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He therefore chang'd their form of Government, and instituted an *Oligarchie*, depriving all those, that were not worth two thousand *Drachms*, of the right of Suffrage, and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous, and disaffected Persons he transplanted into *Thrace*. And by this means the supreme Power came into the hands of about nine thousand.

About four Years after, *Antipater* died, and the City fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who succeeded in the Kingdom of *Macedon*. From him they made many attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved *Democracy*, but were in the end forc'd to submit themselves, in the third Year of the hundred and fiftenth *Olympiad*, and accept of the same Garrison that *Antipater* had impos'd upon them, to live under the same form of Government, and obey any Person that the Conquerour should nominate to the Supreme Power in it. The man appointed to be their Governour was *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, who, as (a) *Diogenes Laertius* reports, was of the Family of *Conon*, and studied Philosophy under *Teophrastus*. He us'd them with all possible kindness and moderation, enlarg'd their Revenues, beautified their City with magnificent Structures, and restor'd it almost to it's former Lustre; and they in requital of these Favours, bestow'd on him all the Honours, that in so poor a condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred Statues, according to the number of Days in the *Attick* Year, most of which were on Horse-back (b). But all this was the effect of Flattery and Dissimulation, rather than any real Respect to him, all his Moderation, all the Benefits he had conferr'd on them, could not beget in them any sincere Affection for him; they still hated him, tho' they had no other reason for it, than that he was set over them by *Cassander*; and tho' their Power was gone, yet their Spirits were still too high, to brook any thing that savour'd of Tyranny. And this in a few Years was made manifest, for when *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, the Son of *Antigonus*, took up Arms, as was pretended, in defence of the Liberty of *Greece*, they receiv'd him with loud Acclamations, and all possible expressions of Joy, compell'd the *Phalerean* to secure himself by Flight, in his absence condemn'd him to dye, and laid in wait to apprehend him, and bring him to Execution, and when they could not compass his Person, vented their Rage and Malice upon his Statues, which they pull'd down with the greatest Detestation and Abhorrence, breaking some to pieces, selling others, and drowning others, so that of three-hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the Cittadel, as the foremention'd Author hath reported.

Demetrius Poliorcetes having gotten possession of the City, restor'd to the *Athenians* their Popular Government, bestow'd upon them fifteen-thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a Quantity of Timber as would enable them to build an hundred Gallies, for the defence of their City, and left them in full possession of their Liberty, without any Garrison to keep them in obedience. But so transported were the *Athenians* with this Deliverance, that with a wild and extravagant Gratitude,

(a) *Demetrio.* (b) *Plinii Hist. &c.*

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they

they bestow'd upon *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, not only the Title of *Kings*, tho' that was a Name they had hitherto declin'd, but call'd them their *Tutelar Deities* and *Deliverers*; they instituted Priests to them, enacted a Law that the Ambassadors, which they should send to them, should have the same Stile and Character, with those which were accustomed to be sent to *Delphi*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Grecian Solemnities*, and make Oblations for the Safety and preservation of their City, whom they call'd *Θεωποι*. They appointed lodgings for *Demetrius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, and erected and consecrated an Altar in the place where he first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the Altar of *Demetrius* the *Aligher*, and added infinite other instances of most gross and fordid Flattery, of which *Plutarch* (a), and others give us a large account; for (says a learned modern Author) the *Athenians* having forgotten how to employ their hands, made up that defect with their Tongues; converting to base Flattery that Eloquence, which the Virtues of their Ancestors had suited unto more manly Arguments.

But afterwards when *Demetrius's* Fortune began to decline, he was no longer their *God*, or their *Deliverer*, but in requital of all his former Kindnesses, they basely deserted him, deny'd him Entrance into their City, and by a Popular Edict made it Death for any person so much as to propose a Treaty or Accommodation with him. Then the City being embroil'd in civil Dissentions, one *Lachares* took this opportunity, to set himself up as an Usurper over it, but upon the approach of *Demetrius*, was forc'd to quit his new-usurped Authority, and preserve himself by a timely Flight.

Thus they were a second time in the possession of *Demetrius*, who notwithstanding their former shameful Ingratitude receiv'd them again into Favour, bestow'd upon them an hundred-thousand Bushels of Wheat, and to Ingratiate himself the more with them, advanc'd such persons to publick Offices, as he knew to be most acceptable to the People. This unexpected Generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that at the motion of *Dromoelides* an Orator, it was decreed by the unanimous suffrage of the People, that the Haven of *Piræus*, and the Castle of *Munychia* should be put into the hands of *Demetrius*, to dispose of them as he pleas'd. And he having learn'd by their former inconstancy not to repose too much trust in such humble Servants, put strong Garrisons into those two places, and by his own Authority plac'd a third in the *Museum*, to the end (saith *Plutarch*) that those People, who had shew'd so much Levity in their Dispositions, might be kept in subjection, and not by their future Perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of other Enterprizes.

But all this care was not sufficient to keep a People restless, and impatient of any thing that savour'd of Servitude in Obedience, for *Demetrius's* Power being again diminish'd by divers bad Successes, they made another revolt, expell'd his Garrison, and proclaim'd Liberty

(a) *Demetrio.*

to all *Athenians*; and to do him the greater Disgrace, they displac'd *Diphilus*, who was that Year the Priest of the two *Tutelar Deities*, that is, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, and by an Edict of the People restor'd the Priest-hood to it's Ancient Form. Again, *Demetrius* having recover'd himself a little, and being justly enrag'd against them for their repeated Perfidies, laid close Siege to the City, but by the perswasion of *Crærus* the Philosopher was wrought upon to quit it, and leave them once more in possession of their Freedom.

Some time after this, *Demetrius* died, and was succeeded by *Antigonus Gonatas*, who again recover'd *Athens*, put a Garrison into it, and left it in the hands of his Successour: but upon the Death of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Gonatas*, the *Athenians* made another attempt to regain their Liberty, and call'd in *Aratus* to their assistance, who tho' he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time bed-ridden of an Infirmary, yet rather than fail the City in a time of need, was carried thither in a Litter, and prevail'd with *Diogenes* the Governour, to deliver up the *Piræus*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium* to the *Athenians*, in consideration of an hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* himself gave twenty to the City. And of all these Changes and Successes we have a large account in *Pausanias*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus*.

Not long after this re-establishment, they quarrel'd with *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, who reduc'd them to great Extremities, laid waste their Countrey, pull'd down all the Temples in the Villages around *Athens*, destroy'd all their stately Edifices, and caus'd his Soldiers to break in pieces the very Stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of them, all which Losses with a great many aggravations are elegantly set forth in an Oration of the *Athenian* Embassadors to the *Ætolians*, in *Livie* (a). But the *Romans* coming to their Assistance, *Philip* was forc'd to forsake his Enterprize, and being afterwards entirely defeated, left the *Grecians* in a full possession of their Liberty, which, at least some part of it, they enjoy'd many Years, under the *Roman* Protection.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the State of Athens, from it's Confederacy with Rome to Constantine the Great.

THE *Grecians*, and others that put themselves under the *Roman* Protection, tho' they gilded their condition with the specious Name of Liberty, yet were no farther free, than it pleas'd those in whose Power they were; they were govern'd indeed by their own Laws, and had the Privilege of electing their own Magistrates; yet their Laws were of small force, if they seem'd any way to oppose the *Roman* Interest

(a) Lib. XXXI. cap. XXX.

and good Pleasure; and in the election of Magistrates, and ordering publick Affairs, tho' every man might give his Voice which way he pleas'd, yet if he thwarted the *Roman* designs, or was cold in his Affection to them, or (which was all one) but warm in the Defence of the Liberties and Privileges of his Country, he was look'd upon with a jealous Eye, as a Favourer of Rebellion, and an Enemy to the *Romans*.

And for no other reason were a thousand of the most eminent *Athenians*, without any charge, or so much as suspicion of Treachery, sent Prisoners to *Rome*, where, notwithstanding all the Testimonies of their Innocence, and the Solicitations of their Country, which never ceas'd to importune the Senate for their Liberty, they endur'd an imprisonment of seventeen Years; which being expired, to the number of thirty of them were releas'd, amongst whom was *Polybius*, from whose impartial History you may have an account of all these proceedings, which their own Historians endeavour to palliate, tho' they cannot denie them; all the rest either died in Prison, or upon attempting to make their Escape, suffer'd as Malefactors.

And by these and such like means, whilst some sought by Flattery and Compliance to ingratiate themselves into the Favour of the *Romans*, others out of Fear and Cowardice resolv'd to swim with the Stream, and those few that had Courage and Resolution to appear for their Country were little regarded; every thing was carried on according to the Desire of the *Romans*; and if any thing happen'd contrary to it, their Agents presently made an Appeal to the Senate, which reserv'd to themselves a Power of receiving such like complaints, and determining as they thought convenient, and they that would not submit to this Decision, were proceeded against as Enemies, and forc'd by Power of Arms into Obedience. No War was to be begun, no Peace to be concluded, nor scarce their own Country to be defended without the advice and consent of the Senate; They were oblig'd to pay what Taxes the Senate thought fit to impose upon them; Nay, the *Roman* Officers sometimes took the liberty of raising Contributions of their own accord, and tho' in the *Macedonian* War, upon several just complaints made against them, the Senate was forc'd to put forth a Decree, that no *Græcian* should be oblig'd to pay any Contribution, besides such as was levied by their Order; yet if any man refus'd to answer the Demands of any *Roman* Officer, he was look'd upon as an encourager of Sedition, and in the End far'd little better, than those that broke out into open Rebellion.

In this State stood the Affairs of the *Athenians* under the *Roman* Government, and whether in consideration of the easiness of this Yoke, if compar'd with that which the *Macedonians* impos'd on them; or thro' meanness of Spirit contracted by being long accusom'd to Misfortunes; or for want of Power to assert their Liberty; or for all these reasons, they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the enjoyment of this slavish Freedom, which in a few Ages before, they would have rejected with the greatest Indignation, and endeavour'd to deliver themselves from it, tho' their Lives, and the

remainder

remainder of their Fortunes should have been hazarded in the Enterprize.

And from this time till the War with *Mithridates*, they continu'd without any remarkable alterations, but either by the persuasions of *Ariston* the Philosopher, or out of fear of *Mithridates's* Army, they had the bad Fortune to take his part, and receive *Archestratus*, one of his Lieutenants, within their Walls; at which *Sylla* being enrag'd laid Siege to the City, took it, and committed so merciless a slaughter, that the very Channels in the Streets flow'd with Blood. At this time the *Piræus*, and *Munychia*, were burn'd to the Ground, their Walls demolish'd, their Ancient Monuments destroy'd, and the whole City so defac'd, that it was never able to recover it's former Beauty, till the time of *Adrian* (a).

This Storm being blown over, they liv'd in Peace till the time of the Civil War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, in which they sided with *Pompey*, and were closely Besieg'd by *Q. Fufius Calenus*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, who spoil'd and destroy'd all the adjacent Countrey, and seiz'd upon the *Piræus*, being at that time unfortified, and a place of little strength: But news being brought that *Pompey* was totally routed, they yielded themselves into the hands of the Conquerour, who according to his wonted Generosity receiv'd them into Favour, and this he did out of respect to the Glory and Virtue of their Ancestors, giving out, That he pardon'd the Living for the sake of the Dead, as *Dion Cassius* reports (b).

But it seems they still retain'd some sparks, at least, of their old Love for Popular Government, for when *Cæsar* was dead, they joyn'd themselves to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, his Murderers, and besides other Honours done to them, plac'd their Statues next those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two famous Patriots, that defended the Liberty of their Country against the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons.

Brutus and *Cassius* being defeated, they went over to *Antony*, who behav'd himself very obligingly toward them, and the rest of the *Græcians*, being fond (saith (c) *Plutarch*) of being stil'd a Lover of Greece, but above all in being call'd a Lover of *Athens*, to which City he made considerable Presents; and, as others tell us, gave the *Athenians* the Dominion of the Islands of *Tenæ*, *Ægina*, *Icus*, *Cea*, *Scialmus*, and *Peparethus*.

Augustus having overcome *Antony*, handled them a little more severely for their ingratitude to his Father, and besides some other Privileges, as that of Selling the Freedom of the City, took from them the Isle of *Ægina* (d). Towards the latter End of his Reign, they began to revolt, but were easily reduc'd to their former obedience; and notwithstanding all the Cruelties, Ravages, and other Misfortunes they had suffer'd, *Strabo*, who flourish'd in the Reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, tells us they enjoy'd many Privileges, retain'd their Ancient form of Government, and liv'd in a flourishing Condition in his Days (e). And

(a) *Plutarch. Syll. Strabo* l. IX. *Lucius Florus* l. III. c. V. *Appianus* in *Mithridatica*. (b) *L. XI. II.* (c) *Antonin.* (d) *Dion. Cassius.* (e) *Geogr.* l. IX.

Germanicus, the adopted Son of *Tiberius*, making a Journey that way, Honour'd them with the Privilege of having a *Liſtor*, which was an Officer, that attended upon the chief Magiſtrates at *Rome*, and was accounted a mark of Sovereign Power.

In this condition they remain'd with little alteration till the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduc'd *Attica*, and all *Achaia* to be a Roman Province, exacting Tribute of them, and compelling them to be govern'd by the Roman Laws.

Under *Nerva* ſome Shadow, at leaſt, of Liberty was reſtor'd them, but they were ſtill under the Government of a *Proconſul*, and receiv'd moſt of their Laws from the Emperour, who alſo nominated the Profefſours in their publick Schools, and appointed them *Archons*; and hence it came to paſs, that *Adrian* before his advancement to the Empire, was inveſted in that Office. In the ſame State they continu'd in *Trajan's* time, as appears from an Epistle of *Pliny* to *Maximus*, who was ſent to Govern *Achaia*, wherein he adviſ'd him to uſe his Power with moderation, and tells him in particular of the *Athenians*, that it would be a Barbarous piece of Inhumanity, to deprive them of that Shadow, and Name of Liberty, which was all that remain'd to them (a).

But notwithstanding the Peace and Privileges they enjoy'd under theſe, and other Emperours of *Rome*, they were never able to repair thoſe vaſt Loſſes they had Suffer'd under *Sylla*, till the reign of *Adrian*, who in the time of his being *Archon*, took a Particular Affection to this City, and when he was promoted to be Emperour, granted them very large Privileges, gave them Juſt and Moderate Laws, beſtow'd on them a large Donative of Money, and annual Proviſions of Corn, and the whole Iſland of *Cephalenia*; repair'd their old decay'd Caſtles, and reſtor'd them to their ancient Splendor, and added one whole Region of new Buildings at his own charge, which he call'd *Adrianopolis*; and, in ſhort, ſo Beautified the whole City, that it was call'd *New-Athens*, as appears as well from other Records, as alſo from an Inſcription upon an *Aqua-duct*, begun by this Emperour, and finiſhed by his Succeſſor *Antoninus*,

IMP. CÆSAR. T. ÆLIUS. HADRIANUS. ANTONINUS.
AUG. PIUS. COS. III. TRIB. POT. II. P. P.
AQUÆDUCTUM. IN. NOVIS. ATHENIS. COEPTUM. A.
DIVO.
ADRIANO. PATRE. SUO. CONSUMMAVIT. DEDICAVIT-
QUE (b).

The meaning of which is, that *Anoninus* had finiſh'd the *Aqua-duct* in *New-Athens*, that had been begun by his Father, and Predeceſſor *Hadrian*. And from another of *Gruter's* Inſcriptions, it appears that they acknowledg'd him to be the ſecond Founder of their City,

(a) *Plin.* l. VIII. *Epist.* XXIV. (b) *Gruter.* p. CLXXVII.

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ Η ΠΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΣ

ΑΙ Δ ΕΙΣ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Κ ΟΥΧΙ ΘΗΣΕΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ (a).

The Substance of which is, that *Athens* was formerly the City of *Theseus*, but do's now belong to *Adrian*. Many other Privileges this Emperour granted them, which were continu'd and enlarg'd by his Succeſſors *M. Antoninus Pius*, and *M. Antoninus the Philoſopher*, the latter of which allow'd them ſtipends for the maintenance of Publick Profefſors in all the Arts and Sciences, and was himſelf initiated amongſt them.

But *Severus*, having receiv'd ſome Affront from them, when he was a Private Perſon, and Studied in *Athens*, was reſolv'd to pay them Home, as ſoon as he was Emperour, and for no other reaſon, as 'tis thought, depriv'd them of a great part of their Privileges (b).

Valerian was more Favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their City-Walls, which had lain in Rubbiſh between Three and Four-hundred Years, from the time that *Sylla* diſmantled them (c).

But theſe Fortifications could not Protect them from the Fury of the *Goths*, who under *Gallienus*, as *Zoſimus*, or *Claudius*, as *Cedrenus* reports, made themſelves Maſters of it; but were ſoon driven out of their new Conqueſt, by *Cleodemus*, who having eſcap'd the Fury of thoſe Barbarians, and got together a conſiderable Number of Men, and Ships, defeated part of them in a Sea-Fight, and forc'd the reſt to quit the City, and provide for their Safety by an early Flight (d). One thing remarkable *Cedrenus* reports of the *Goths*, That when they had Plunder'd the City, and heap'd up an Infinite number of Books, with a Deſign to Burn them, they deſiſted from that purpoſe for this reaſon, viz. That the *Greeks* by employing their time upon them, might be diverted from Martial Affairs.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the State of Athens, from Constantine the Great.

TOWARDS the Declination of the Roman Greatneſs, the Chief Magiſtrate of *Athens*, was call'd by the Name of *Στατάρχης*, i. e. Duke, but *Constantine* the Great, beſides many other Privileges granted to the City, Honour'd him with the Title of *Μεγας Στατάρχης*, or Grand-Duke (e). *Constantinus* at the Requeſt of *Procreſtus*, enlarg'd their Dominions, by a Grant of ſeveral Iſlands in the *Archi-pelago*.

Under *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Alarick*, King of the *Goths*, made an

(a) *Gruter.* pag. MLXXXVIII. (b) *Spartianus.* (c) *Zoſimus.* (d) *Zonar.* (e) *Julian.* *Orat.* l. *Nicephorus Gregoras Hiſt. Rom.* l. VII.

Incurſion into Greece, Pillag'd and Destroy'd all before him, but as *Zofimus* reports, was diverted from his Deſign upon *Athens*, by a Viſion, wherein the Tutelar Goddess of that City appear'd to him in Armour, and in the Form of thoſe Statues that are Dedicated to *Minerva* the *Protectreſs*, and *Achilles* in the ſame manner that *Homer* represents him, when being enrag'd for the Death of *Parvoclus*, he fell with his utmoſt Fury upon the *Trojans* (a). But the Writers of thoſe Times make no mention of any ſuch thing, on the contrary they tell us, that *Athens* paſs'd the common Fate of the reſt of Greece; and ſo *Claudian* reports,

*Si tunc his animis acies collata fuiſſet,
Proditæ non tantas vidiffet Græcia clades,
Oppida ſemora Pelopeia Marte vigerent;
Starent Arcadiæ, ſtarent Lacedæmonis arces;
Non mare flagraſſet geminum flagrante Corintho;
Nec fera Cecropias traxiffent vincula matres (b).*

Had thus th' embattl'd Grecians dar'd t'oppose
With Rage and Pow'r Divine their Barbarous Foes,
N'ere had their Land of Strength and Help bereft
T'insulting Conquerours a Prey been left.
The Spartan Land had n'ere ſuch havock ſeen,
It's Splendor n'ere eclips'd, or Pow'r depreſs'd had been.
Arcadian Flocks might graze untainted Food,
And free from Plunder Pelops Iſle have ſtood,
Corinth's proud Structures n'ere had felt the Flames,
Nor griping Chains enſlav'd th' Athenian Dames.

Mr. Abell.

And *Symeſius*, who liv'd in the ſame Age, tells us, there was nothing left in it ſplendid, or remarkable, nothing to be admired, beſides the Famous Names of Ancient Ruins; and that, as in a Sacrifice, when the Body is conſum'd, there remains nothing of the Beaſt, but an empty Skin; ſo it was in *Athens*, where all the Stately and Magnificent Structures were turn'd into ruinous Heaps, and nothing but old decay'd Out-fides left remaining (c).

Theodoſius II. is ſaid to have Favour'd the *Athenians*, upon the Account of his Queen *Eudocia*, who was an *Athenian* by Birth. *Iuſtinian* alſo is reported to have been very Kind to them, but from his Reign, for the ſpace of about Seven-hundred Years, either for want of Hiſtorians in Ages ſo Rude and Barbarous, or becauſe they liv'd in Peace, and Obſcurity, without atchieving, or ſuffering any thing deſerving to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, there is no Account of any thing that paſſed amongſt them, till the Thirteenth Century.

At that time, *Nicetas* tells us, *Athens* was in the hands of *Baldwin*, and was Beſieg'd by one of the Generals of *Theodorus Laſcarès*, who was

(a) *Zofimus* l. V. (b) *Claudian*. in *Ruffinum*. l. II. (c) *Symeſius* Ep. CCXXXV.

then

then the *Greek* Emperour, but he was repulſ'd with Loſs, and Forc'd to raiſe the Siege. Not long after, it was Beſieg'd by the Marquels *Boniſſacius*, who made himſelf Maſter of it (a).

It was afterwards Govern'd by one *Delves*, of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and after his Death fell into the hands of *Bajazet*, Emperour of the *Turks* (b). Afterwards it was taken by the Spaniards of *Catalonia*, under the Command of *Andronicus Palæologus* the Elder (c). And theſe are the ſame, that *Chalcocondylas* calls *Κιλιτζήδες*, and reports, they were diſpoſſeſ'd of it by *Reinerius Acciaiolo*, a *Floremine*, who having no legitimate Male-Iſſue, left it by his laſt Will and Teſtament to the State of *Venice*.

The *Venerians* were not long Maſters of it, being diſpoſſeſ'd by *Antony*, a Natural Son of *Reinerius*, who had given him the Sovereignty of *Thebes* and *Bæotia*; and from this time it continu'd ſome Years under the Government of the *Acciaioli*: for *Antony* was Succeeded by one of his Kiſmen, call'd *Nerius*; *Nerius* was diſplac'd by his Brother *Antony* for his Inſufficiency, and Unſineſs to Govern, and after *Antony's* Death, recover'd it again; but leaving only one Son, then an Infant, was Succeeded by his Wife; who for her Folly was ejection by *Mahomet*, upon the complaint of *Francus*, the Son of *Antony* the Second, who Succeeded her, and having confin'd her ſome time in Priſon, put her to Death, and was upon that ſcore Accuſ'd by her Son to *Mahomet* II, who ſent an Army under the Conduct of *Omares* to Beſiege him; *Francus* upon this made his Application to the *Latins*, but they refus'd to grant him any Aſſiſtance, except he would Engage his Subjects, in all things to Conform to the *Romiſh* Superſtition, and renounce all thoſe Articles, wherein the *Greek* Church differs from them; which he not being able to do, was forc'd to Surrender it to the *Turks*, in the Year of our Lord CIOCCCLV (d), and in their hands it continues to this Day.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the City of Athens, and it's Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.

THE City of *Athens*, when it Flourish'd in it's greateſt Splendor, was one of the faireſt and largeſt Cities of all Greece, being, ſays *Ariſtides*, a Day's journey in Compas (e). But this ſeems to be rather a Rhetorical Flourish, than a juſt and true Account; for according to the moſt exact computation, the whole Circuit of it contain'd no more than CLXXXVIII. *Stadia*, that is, ſomething above two and twenty Roman Miles.

(a) *Nicetas Choniates* in *Vita Balduini*. (b) *Laonic. Chalcocondylas* lib. III. (c) *Niceph. Greg.* lib. VII. (d) *Chalcocond.* lib. VI & IX. (e) *Tanathen*.

D 3

But

But many were the changes of Government, and Fortune, which it underwent, before it arriv'd to this Pitch of Greatness, for at the first, that which was afterwards the Cittadel, was the whole City, and was call'd *Cecropia*, from it's first Founder *Cecrops*, who, they say, was the first that invented the manner of Building Cities, and therefore the *Athenians*, Proud of every little pretence to Antiquity, us'd to call it by way of Eminence *ἄτη*, and *πόλις*, as being the first City (a). Afterwards it chang'd it's first Name of *Cecropia*, and was call'd *Athena* in *Eriethonius's* Reign, for which several reasons are given, but the most Common is, that the Name was taken from *Minerva*, whom the Greeks call *Ἀθῶν*, because she was the Protectress of the City; indeed almost all Towers, and Cittadels were Sacred to this Goddess, who is therefore by *Caullus* call'd,

——— *Diva tenens in summis urbibus arces.*

——— Goddess that in Cittadels doth dwell.

And *Eustathius* hath remark'd the same upon *Homer's* sixth *Iliad*, where he tells us, *Minerva's* Temple was in the *Trojan* Cittadel,

Νῆδν Ἀθηνᾶϊνς γαυυλώπιδ' ἐν πέλει ἄκρη (b).

Minerva's Temple in the Cittadel.

Cecropia was Seated in the midst of a large and pleasant Plain, upon the top of a high Rock, for, as the foremenrion'd Author observes, it was usual for the First Founders of Cities in those Ages, to lay the Foundations of them upon Steep Rocks, and high Mountains; and this they did, partly for that such places were a good Defence against Invaders, but more especially, because they hop'd to be secur'd by them from Inundations (c), which the People of those Times exceedingly dreaded, having heard and experienc'd the sad Effects of them under *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*. Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was increas'd, the whole Plain was fill'd with Buildings, which were call'd from their Situation *ἡ πρὶν πόλις*, or the Lower City, and *Cecropia ἡ ἄνω πόλις*, or *Ἀκρόπολις*, the Upper City.

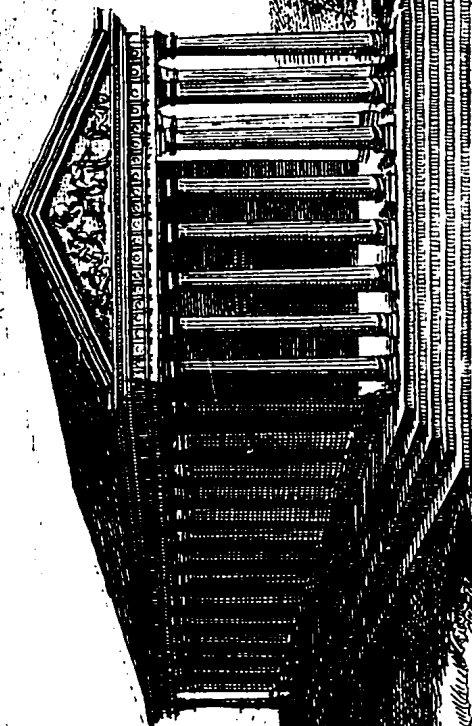
The Circuit of the Cittadel was Three-score Stadia, it was fenc'd in with wooden Pales, or, as some say, was set about with Olive-Trees; and therefore in *Xerxes's* Invasion, when the Oracle advis'd the *Athenians* to defend themselves with Walls of Wood, some were of Opinion, they were commanded to enter into the *Acropolis*, and there receive the Enemie; which some of them did, but after a desperate Resistance, were overpower'd by Numbers, and forc'd to suffer the sad Effects of their fond Interpretation (d).

It was Fortified with a strong Wall, one part of which was Built by *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, out of the Spoils taken in the *Persian* War, and was call'd *Κιμωνίων τεῖχος*, being on the South-side of the Cittadel (e).

(a) *Stephanus V. Ἀθήν.* (b) *Pag. CCCCLXXXIII. Edit. Basil.* (c) *Il. δ'. p. CCCCLXXXIV.* (d) *Syrianus in Herm. Cornel. Nep.* (e) *Plutarch. in Cimon.*

Parthenion / or Temple Minervæ.

p 31.



The North-Wall was Built many Ages before, by *Agrôlas*, as *Pausanias*, or *Eurialus*, as *Pliny*, and *Hyperbius*, two Brothers, that first taught the *Athenians* the Art of Building Houses, whereas till that time, they liv'd in Caves. They were *Tyrrhenians* born, and by that Nation all sorts of Building are said to have been first begun in *Greece*, and from them Walls and Castles were call'd *Τύραι* (a). This Wall was nam'd *Πελασγική*, or *Πελαργική*, because the Founders of it, were call'd *Pelasgi*, from their continual wandering, and removing from one Countrey to another, in the manner of Storks, which the *Greeks* call *Πελαργοί* (b). *Thucydides* tells us, there was an Execration laid upon any that should build Houses under this Wall, because the *Pelasgi*, whilst they dwelt there, entred into a Conspiracy against the *Athenians* (c). And *Pollux* adds, that it was unlawful to make Ditches, or sow Corn here, and if any man was taken offending, he was apprehended by the *Nomothetæ*, and brought before the *Archon*, who was to lay a Fine of three Drachms upon him (d). It was Beautified with Nine Gates, and therefore is sometimes call'd *Εννέπυλον*; but tho' there were many lesser Gates, yet the Cittadel had but one great Fore-Gate, or Entrance, to which they ascended by Steps, cover'd with white Marble, and it was Built by *Pericles*, with such Magnificence, that the expences of it amounted to above a Thousand Drachms (e).

The In-side of the Cittadel, was adorn'd with innumerable Edifices, Statues, and Monuments, wherein all the Ancient Stories were describ'd at large, insomuch that *Aristides* tells us, it lookt like one continu'd Ornament (f). The Description of all these would be tedious, and is already perform'd by *Meursius*, who hath with vast industry collected into one Body all the reliques of Antiquity that lay dispers'd here and there in Ancient Authors. The most remarkable of them were these:

The Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Νίκη*, or Victory, in which the Goddess was represented, having a Pome-Granate in her right Hand, and an Helmet in her left, and without Wings, in memory of *Theseus's* good Success in *Crete*, the Fame whereof had not reach'd *Athens*, before his Arrival: but in other Places, *Victory* was usually represented with Wings (g). It was plac'd at the right Hand of the Entrance of the Cittadel, and was Built with white Marble.

About the middle of the Cittadel, was the Stately Temple of *Minerva*, call'd *Parthenion*, because that Goddess preserv'd her Virginity pure and inviolate, or because it was Dedicated by the Daughters of *Erechthus*, who were peculiarly call'd *Παρθέναι* (h). It was call'd also *Ἐκτομπίδον*, because it was an Hundred-Foot square. It was Burn'd by the *Persians*, but restor'd again by *Pericles*, and enlarg'd Fifty Foot on each side (i). *Sr. George Wheeler* reports, that it is Two-hundred,

(a) *Phavorin*, V. *Τύραι*. (b) *Strabo* lib IX. *Plin.* lib. VII. LVI. & *Pausanias Atticis*. (c) *Thucydides* ejusque *Scholiast.* lib. II. (d) *Pollux* lib VIII. c. IX. (e) *Plutarchus Pericle.* *Pausan. Atticis.* *Harpocrat.* & *Suidas* V. *Περίπλους*. (f) *Aristides* in *Panatheniaca*. (g) *Suidas* & *Harpocrat.* (h) *Hezykim.* (i) *Pausanias.* *Plutarch. Pericl.*

and Seventeen Foot, Nine Inches long, and Ninety-eight Foot, Six Inches broad, that it consists altogether of admirable white Marble, and both for Matter and Art is the most Beautiful piece of Antiquity, remaining in the World.

The Temple of *Neptune* Sirnam'd *Erechtheus*, which was a double Building, and, besides other Curiosities, contain'd in it the Salt-spring, call'd *Erechtheis*, which was feigned to have burst out of the Earth, from a stroke of *Neptune's* Trident, in his contention with *Minerva*. And this Part was Consecrated to *Neptune*. The other Part of the Temple belong'd to *Minerva*, Sirnam'd *Πολιάς*. i. e. Protectress of the City; and *Πάρορος*, from one of *Cecrops's* Daughters of that Name. Here was the Sacred Olive, produc'd by *Minerva*; and the Goddess's Image, which was said to have fallen from Heaven in *Eristhionius's* Reign; it was kept by one, or two Dragons, call'd *δράκοντες*, and had a Lamp always burning with Oil, and an Owl plac'd before it (a). Both of them remain to this Day, and the Lesser Edifice, which is an Entrance to the other, is Twenty-nine Foot long, and Twenty-one Foot, Three Inches broad; the Bigger is Sixty-three Foot, and a half long, and Thirty-six Foot broad. The Roof is supported by *Ionick* Pillars Channelled, but the Chapters seem to be a mixture between that, and the *Dorick* Order.

On the Back-side of *Minerva's* Temple, was the publick Treasury, call'd from it's Situation *Οπισθόδομος*, wherein, besides other publick Money, a Thousand Talents were laid in Store, against any very urgent Occasion, but if any Man expended them upon a trivial Account, he was to be put to Death. Also the Names of all that were indebted to the Common-wealth were entered in a Register in this place, and therefore such Persons were call'd *εγγυηταί* in τῇ Ἀκροπόλει, as on the contrary, when they had discharg'd their Debt, they were nam'd *ἐξ Ἀκροπόλεως ἐξαληλμένοι*. The *Tutelar* Gods of this Treasury, were *Jupiter Soter*, or the Saviour; and *Plutus*, the God of Riches, whom they represented with Wings, and (which was unusual in other Places) Seeing (b). *Aristophanes* hath taken notice of the Statues of both these Gods, in the latter End of his *Plutus*, where he introduces *Carion* very busie in placing that God after the recovery of his Sight, next to the Statue of *Jupiter the Saviour*,

KAP. Θάξῃς, καλῶς γὰρ ἔστα, λῦθες δέλη,
Ο Ζεὺς ὁ Σωτὴρ γὰρ πέριξιν ἐνθάδε
Αὐτόματ' ἦκων. IEP. πάντ' ἀγαθὰ τοίνυν λέγεις.
KAP. Ἰδρυσμέει' ἔν' αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ κείμην
Πλάττον, ἔπειτα κρείτερον λῦθ' ἰδρυμένη,
Τὸν Οπισθόδομον αἰεὶ φυλάττων τ' Οἶον.

(a) Apollodor. l. III. Plutarch. Symp. l. IX. Q. VI. (b) Aristoph. Schol. Plu. Erymologus. Thucyd. l. II. Philostrat. Eiciv. l. II. Demosthen. Schol. Orat. III. in Timocrat.

Cario. Come, Courage, on God's will depends Success,
Which I Divine will answer to our Hopes,
For doth not *Iove*, our President's approach
Without entreatie seem thus to preface?

Priest. Your Words bring Comfort. Car. Therefore let us wait
For *Plutus* coming, him we'll substitute
An Overseer into the place of *Iove*
To th' Treasury of *Pallas* our Goddess.

Mr. Abell.

Afterwards this Building was burn'd to the Ground by the Treasurers, who having inbezzled the publick Money, secur'd themselves by that means, and prevented the City from calling them to Account (a). There were also several other remarkable Edifices in the Cittadel, as the Chappels of *Jupiter Soter*, and of *Minerva Soter* (b). The Temple of *Agraulus*, the Daughter of *Cecrops*, or rather of *Minerva*, Worship'd by that Name, in the Front, and Steep and Craggy side of the Rock (c). And, to mention only one more, The Temple of *Venus Iopoliteia*, Consecrated by *Phædra*, when she was in Love with *Hippolytus* (d). And thus much concerning the Cittadel.

The Lower City, containing all the Buildings, which surrounded the Cittadel, with the Fort *Munychia*, and the two Havens *Phalerum*, and *Piræus*, was encompass'd with Walls of unequal Strength, being Built at different Times, and by different Hands; The chief Parts of them were, The *Μακρὰ τεῖχη*, that joyn'd the Haven of *Piræus* to the City, being about Five Miles in length, and therefore *Phuarch* calls them, *Μακρὰ σιλη*, long Leggs (e), and *Propertius* long Arms,

Inde ubi Piræei capient me litorea portus,
Scandam ego Theseæ brachia longa viæ (f).

When I've arriv'd at the *Piræan* Port,
And eas'd the shatter'd Vessel of it's Load,
I'll Scale the Walls of the *Thesean* Road.

Mr. Abell.

They consisted of two Sides, one of which lay towards the North, and was Built by *Pericles* (g), with vast Expence, containing XL. Stadia; the other lay to the South, and was call'd *Νότιον τεῖχος*, or *Διὰ μίσην τεῖχη*, or *Νότιον διὰ μίσην τεῖχος*, to distinguish it from the South-Wall of the Cittadel; sometimes *τεῖχος Φαληγεῖον*, because it took in the Port *Phalerum*. It was Built by *Themistocles*, of huge square Stones, not cemented together by Mortar, but fasten'd by Iron and Lead. The Height of it was Forty Cubits, and yet was but the half of what *Themistocles* design'd; the Length of it was Thirty-five Stadia. Upon both of them were erected a great Number of Turrets, which

(a) Demosth. ejusque Schol. Orat. in Timocrat. (b) Lycurg. Orat. in Leocratem (c) Herodot. l. VIII. (d) Euripid. Schol. in Hippolyto. (e) Simone. (f) Lib. III. Eleg. (g) Plutarch. Pericles.

were turn'd into Dwelling-houses, when the *Athenians* became so Numerous, that the City was not large enough to contain them (a), The *Μενύχιον*, or Wall, that encompass'd the *Μunychia*, and joyn'd it to the *Piræus*, contain'd LX. *Stadia*; and the exterior Wall on the other side of the City, was in length XLIII. *Stadia*; so that the whole Circuit of the City contain'd CLXXVIII. *Stadia*, which are something above Two and Twenty *Roman Miles*.

1. The Principal Gates of the City, were the Πύλαι Θεάσαι, afterwards call'd Διφυλλον, because they were larger then any of the rest. They were plac'd at the Entrance of *Ceramicus*, and therefore seem to have been the same with the Πύλαι Κεραμικαί, in *Philostratus* (b).

2. Πύλαι Πειραιέως, leading to the *Piræus*; near which was the Temple of the Heroe *Chalcodon*, and the Tombs of those that died in the Defence of their Countrey, when the *Amazons* Invaded *Attica* under *Theseus* (c).

3. Ιπποδρείς, near which *Hyperides* the Orator, and his Family were Buried (d).

4. Ηρώς, where they carried forth dead Persons to their Graves, so call'd from *heron*, a Grave (e).

5. Ιερώ, the Gate leading to *Eleusis*, through which they that Celebrated the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, made a solemn Procession, from which Custom the Gate receiv'd it's Name, it being usual to call every thing, that was any way concern'd in those Mysteries *ιερόν*, Sacred.

6. Αιγέως πύλαι, the Gate of *Aegeus*, the Father of *Theseus*, whose House stood in the place, where afterwards the *Delphinium* was Built, and therefore the Statue of *Mercury* at the East-end of that Temple, was call'd Ερμής ἐπ' Αιγέως πύλαις, by which it is evident, that this Gate was near the *Delphinium* (f).

7. Διοχάρους πύλαι, the Gate of *Diochares*.

8. Πύλαι Αχαρνέων, the Gate that look'd towards *Acharnae*, a Burrough in *Attica*.

9. Διομείας, that lay toward the Burrough of the *Diomians*.

10. Πύλαι Θρακίας, the *Thracian Gate*.

11. Πύλαι Ιωνίας, the *Ionian Gate*, near which was the Pillar erected in memory of the *Amazons* (g).

12. Πύλαι Σκεπταί, the *Scæan Gate* (b).

13. Αδριανέ πύλαι, the Gate of *Adrian*, by which they entered into that part of the City, which that Emperour rebuilt, and call'd Αδριανόπολις.

As to the Streets in *Athens*, thus much is said of them in general,

(a) *Plutarch. Themistocl. Appian. in Mithridatico. Thucyd. lib. I. & II. (b) Philostratus in Philagro Sophist. lib. II. Xenophon Hist. Græc. I. II. Plutarch. Pericle, & Sylla. (c) Plutarch. Theseo. (d) Hesychius. (e) Theophrastus Charact. Ethic. (f) Plutarch. Theseo. (g) Æschines Philoſophus in Asiæcho. (b) Hilduinus in Vita Dionysii Arcopagite.*

that

that they were not very Uniform, or Beautiful (a), and tho' *Homer* calls it *δυστάγαν*,

Ικετο δ' εἰς Μαραθῶνα, καὶ εὐστάγαν Ἀθηνῶν (b).

Yet that seems onely to imply the Bigness, and not the Beauty of them; for so that Poet has us'd the same Epithet in other places. The number of them without question was very great, but most of their Names are quite lost; and few, if any, besides these that follow are to be met with in Authors. *Ιερά Σουλῆ*, or the Way to *Elcissis*. *Ὀδὸς Θεάσαι*, betwixt the long Walls, leading to the *Piræus*, which seems to be the same with that, which was call'd *Η εἰς Πειραιᾶ*. *Η τὴν πολέμιων*, near the *Academy*. *Η τὴν Ερμολύφων*. *Η τὴν Κίεωτοποιῶν*. *Η Επιστ.* *Η Ξενιστ.* *Μνημεῖων ὁδὸς*. *Ρωμαίη*.

Τρίποδες, a Way near the *Prytaneum*, wherein were Places largely stock'd with *Tripods* of Brass, Curiously wrought; amongst which was the Famous *Satyr*, call'd by the *Greeks Περαιήτης*, being one of the Master-pieces of *Praxiteles*. And concerning these *Heliodorus* is said to have written an entire Treatise (c).

It remains in the next place, that I give you an Account of the Buildings of the Lower City; In doing which I shall only mention such as were most remarkable, or had some History, or Custom depending upon them, for the rest referring the Reader to *Pausanias*, and *Menſius*'s larger Treatises.

Πομπήιον, a stately Edifice, in which were kept the Sacred *Vienſils*, made use of at Festivals, and all things necessary for the Solemn Processions prepar'd. It was plac'd at the Entrance of the Old City, which looks towards the *Phalerum*, and adorn'd with many Statues, of the *Athenian Heroes*. Indeed there was scarce any place in the City, that was not fill'd with such like Representations.

The Temple of *Vulcan*, or of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, not far from *Ceramicus* within the City, seems to have been a publick Prison, frequent mention being made of Persons Tortur'd there.

Near this place was the Temple of the Heavenly *Venus*, for they had a Two-fold *Venus*, one of which was call'd *Ὀρεινία*, and the other *Πλάδμη*, the former presided over Chaste and pure Love; the latter was the Patroness of Lust, and Debauchery. And as their Natures and Characters were different, so were also the Ceremonies us'd in their Worship. They that worshipp'd the former, behav'd themselves with all Modesty and Gravity; but the latter was pleas'd only with Lewdness and Wantonness. Nay, *Solon* permitted publick Strumpets to prostitute themselves in her Temple. Besides these, *Venus* had several other Temples dedicated to her, as those which were erected upon the Account of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, to *Venus Lamia*, and *Leana*, in Honour of two of

(a) *Dicaarchus in descriptione Græcia. (b) Odyll. VII. (c) Harpocraz. V. Διάταρ.*

his Mistresses, call'd by those Names. Nay, so gross Flattery did the *Athenians* degenerate into, that they enroll'd several of his *Parasites* into the Number of their Deities, and Honour'd them with Temples and Altars (a).

The Temple of *Theseus* was erected by *Conon*, in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform'd their Wrestling, and other Exercises of Body, and was allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean Condition that Fled from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he Liv'd, was an Assister and Protector of the Distressed. And a great many other Temples were Consecrated to him in his life Time, as grateful acknowledgements of the Benefits, he had conferr'd upon the City, all which, Four only excepted, he Dedicated to *Hercules*, and chang'd their Names from *Θήσια*, to *Ηράκλεια*, after he had been rescued by him from the King of the *Molossians*, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Philochorus* (b). One of these was put to divers other uses, for certain Magistrates were created in it by the *Thesmothetæ* (c). Causes also were heard there, and it was a publick Prison (d), and therefore a Gaol-bird, is wittily call'd *Θησιόπτηψ*, in *Aristophanes*, such an one *Plautus* with no less Elegancy names *Colonus Carceris*.

The Temple of *Theseus*, is to be seen at this Day, and is Built, as *St. George Wheeler* reports, in all respects like the Temple of *Minerva* in the Cittadel, as to it's Matter, Form, and Order of Architecture, but not so large. It is Dedicated to *St. George*, and still remains a Master-piece of Architecture, not easie to be parallel'd, much less exceeded by any other.

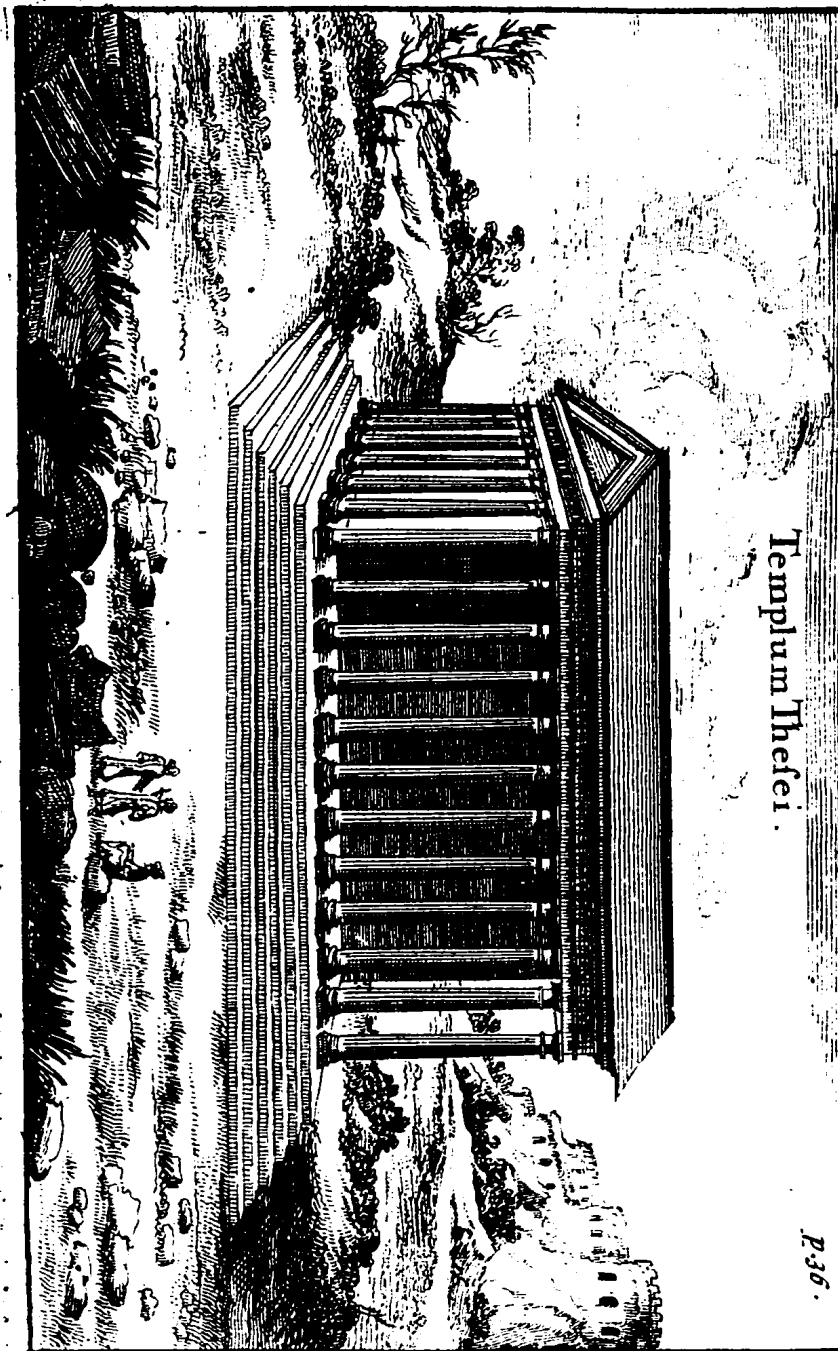
Αἰακείον, or the Temple of *Castor and Pollux*, call'd *Αἰακείον*. In this Place Slaves were expos'd to Sale.

Ολυμπιον, or *Ολυμπιον*, a Temple erected in Honour of *Jupiter* the *Olympian*; it was the most magnificent Structure in *Athens*, being in Circuit, no less than Four *Stadia*, which was the reason they were forc'd to support it with Pillars, a thing unknown in *Athens* before that time (e). The Foundations were laid by *Pisistratus*, and many succeeding Governours contributed to the Building of it, but it was never compleatly finish'd till *Adrian's* time, which was Seven-hundred Years after the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*.

The Temple of *Apollo* and *Pan*, at the Bottom of the Cittadel on the North-side, in a Cave or *Grotto*, call'd *Μακρὰ πύργος*, or *Κεκροπία πύργος*, where *Apollo* was feign'd to have deflowr'd *Cressis*, the Daughter of *Ercethens*, we find it mention'd in *Esopides*,

οἶδα Κεκροτίας πύργος
Πρόβροχρον ἄντρον, ὡς Μακρὰς κελύσποιον;
Οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτον ἔβρωσι πέλας (f).

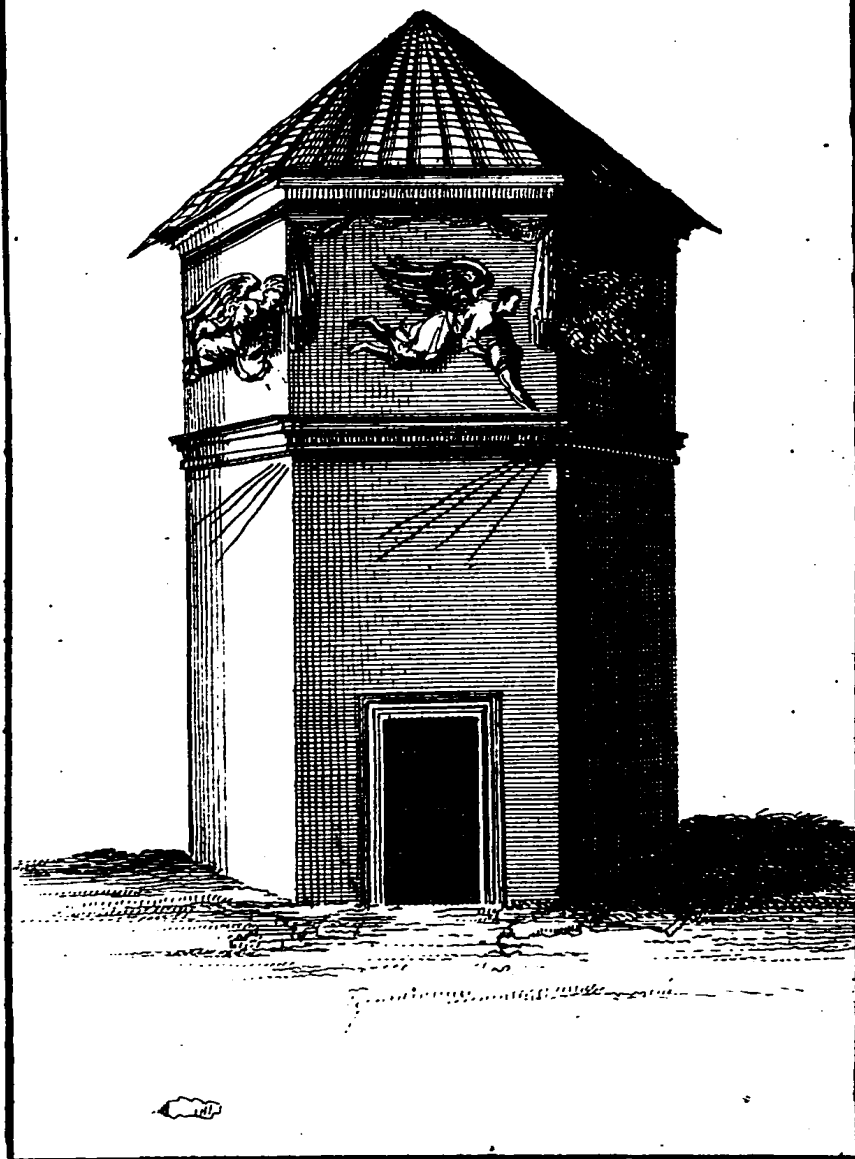
(a) *Plutarch*. in *Demetrio*. (b) *Idem* *Theseo*. (c) *Æschin*. *Orat.* in *Ctesiphont*.
(d) *Etymologus*. (e) *Plinius* lib. XXXVI. cap. VI. (f) *Ione*.



Templum Thesei.

Temple of the Eight Winds

p. 37.



The Temple of *Diana*, Sirnam'd *Λνοϊζαν*, because in it Women, after their first Child, us'd to Dedicate their Girdles to her (a).

Παρθεν, was a Temple Dedicated to all the Gods, who, as they were United in one Temple, so were they Honour'd with one Common Festival, call'd *Θιζηνια*. This was a very magnificent Structure, and supported by an Hundred and Twenty Marble-Pillars, on the Out-side were all the Histories of the Gods, curiously Engraven, and upon the great Gate, stood two Horses, excellently Carv'd by *Praxiteles*. It is to be seen at this Day, as *Theodore Zygomalas* reports, in an Epistle to *Martin Crusius*, written A. D. CIOIOLXXV. wherein he describes the then present State of *Athens*.

The Temple of the *Eight Winds*, omitted by *Pausanias*, but mention'd and describ'd by *Sr. George Wheeler* out of *Vitruvius*, who reports that, such as had made exact Observations about the Winds, divided them into Eight; as namely, *Andronicus Cyrrhaster*, who gave this Model to the *Athenians*, for he Built a Tower of Eight square of Marble, on every side of which he Carv'd the Figure of a Wind, according to the Quarter it blew from. On the top of the Tower, he erected a little Pyramid of Marble, on the point of which was plac'd a Brazen *Triton*, holding a Switch in his right Hand, wherewith turning about, he pointed to the Wind, that then blew. All the Winds answer'd exactly to the Compass, and were represented by Figures answerable to their Natures, above which were written their Names in large Greek Letters, which are these that follow, *ΕΥΡΟΣ*, *Eurus*, South-East. *ΑΠΗΛΙΩΤΗΣ*, *Subsolanus*, East. *ΚΑΙΚΙΑΣ*, *Cecias*, North-East. *ΒΟΡΕΑΣ*, *Boreas*, North. *ΕΚΙΠΟΝ*, *Corus*, North-West. *ΖΕΦΥΡΟΣ*, *Occidens*, West. *ΝΟΤΟΣ*, *Notus*, South. *ΑΨ*, *Libra*, *Africus*, South-West. This Tower remains yet entire, the Weather-Cock only excepted.

Στοιαι, or *Portico's*, they had a great many, but the most remarkable was that, which was call'd *Περισπωτακτις*, and afterwards *Ποικιλη*, from the variety it contain'd of curious Pictures, drawn by the greatest Masters in *Greece*, such were *Polygnotus*, *Mycon*, and *Pandemus*, the Brother of *Phidias*. Here it was that *Zeno* taught Philosophy, and instituted that Sect, which receiv'd their Names from the Place, being call'd *Στοιχει* from *στοι*. And the *Portico* it self, is usually put for that Sect of Philosophers, as when *Athenaeus* calls *Zeno* *της Στοιχης κτιστω*, the Founder of the *Stoicks* (b).

Μουσειον was a Fort near the Cittadel, so call'd from the old Poet *Museus*, the Scholar of *Orpheus*, that us'd to repeat his Verses in this Place, where also he was Buried. This Fort was forc'd to entertain a Garrison by *Antigonus*, and his Son *Demetrius* to make it the more secure surrounded it with a Wall.

Οδευιον was a Mulick-Theater, Built by *Pericles*, and for the contrivance of it on the In-side, was full of Seats and Ranges of Pillars, and on the Out-side in the Roof or Covering of it, was made from one

(a) *Apollonii Schol.* lib. I. (b) *Deip.* I. VIII.

point at the Top with a great many Bendings, all shelving downward, and it is reported, (saith *Plutarch*,) that it was so fram'd in imitation and after the Copy of the King of *Persia's* Pavilion (a). It was also a Tribunal as we learn from *Aristophanes*,

Οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν ἕως Ἀρχῶν οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ἑνδεκα.
Οἱ δ' ἐν Ωδῷ διαζύουσιν (b).

It was very much Beautified by *Lycurgus* (c), but being demolish'd in the *Mithridatic* War (d), was re-edified by *Herodes Atticus*, with such Splendor and Magnificence, that, as *Pausanias* tells us, it surpass'd all the famous Buildings in *Greece*. It stood in the

Ceramicus, of which Name there were two Places, so call'd from *Ceramus* the Son of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* (e); or δὲ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης, from the Potter's Art, which was first invented in one of these Places by *Corabus* (f). One of them was within the City, and contain'd innumerable Buildings, as Temples, Theatres, Porticos, &c. The other was in the Suburbs, and was a publick Burying-place, and contain'd the *Academy*, and many other Edifices.

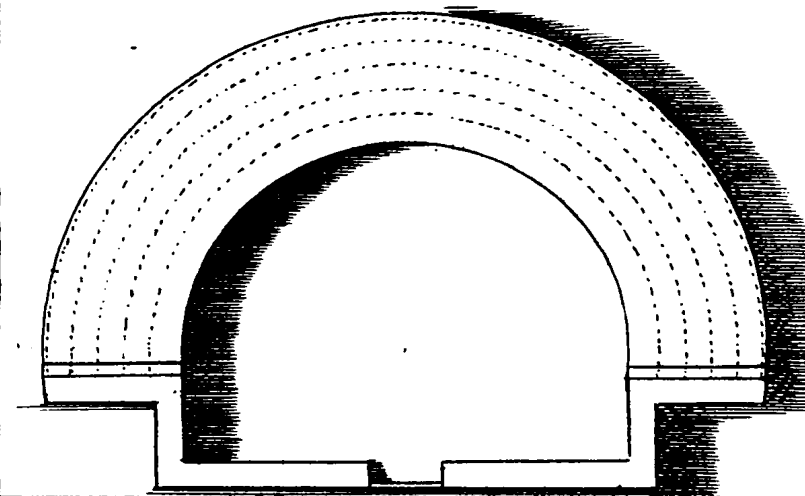
The *Athenian Agora*, or *Fora*, were very numerous, but the most noted of them were two; the Old *Forum*, and the New. The New *Forum* was in a Place call'd *Ἐκτεταία* by *Strabo* (g). Which it is probable was not far from *Zeno's* Portico, because *Pausanias* tells us, that in his Time the *Forum* was near that Place. The Old *Forum* was in the *Ceramicus* within the City, call'd ἀρχαία Ἀγορά. In it were held the publick Assemblies of the People; but the chief Design of it was the meeting of People to Buy and Sell, and therefore it was divided into different parts, according to the Wares expos'd to Sale, for every Trade had a different place assign'd to make their Markets in; and hence we read of *Κυλλῶ*, where Slaves, and Vessels were Sold (h): *Ἀλφειόπωλις ἀγορά*, *ἰχθυόπωλις ἀγορά*, and *Γυναικεία ἀγορά*, where Women's Cloaths and Ornaments were expos'd; and others without Number. Sometimes they call'd the *Fora*, by the single Names of things Sold in them, as *Οἶνῶ*, the Wine-market, *Ελαιῶν*, the Oil-market, &c. (i) And an instance of this we have in these Verses of *Eupolis*,

Πρεσβυτὸν εἰς τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τὰ κρόμυρα,
καὶ τὸ λιχανωτὸν, καὶ οὐτὸ τὸ ἀρωμάτων,
καὶ περὶ τὰ γέλην —————

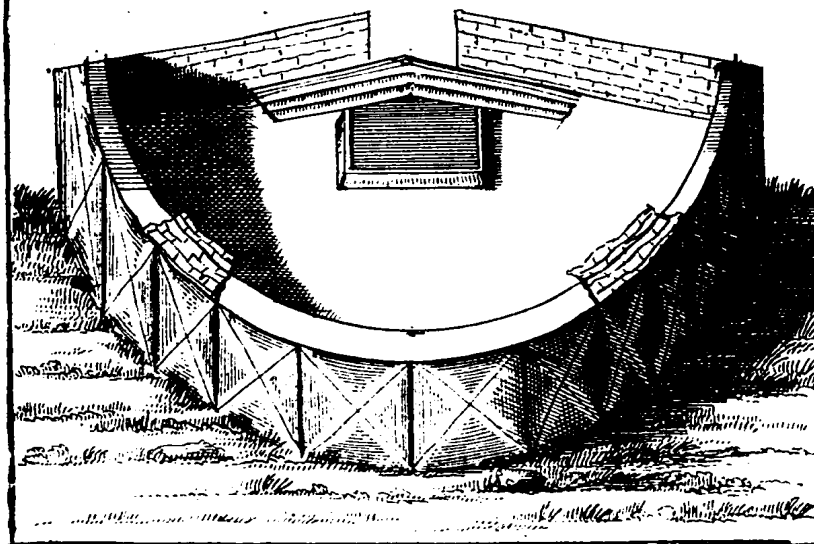
The time in which things were expos'd to Sale, was call'd *πλήθυστα Ἀγορά*, full Market, from the multitudes of People that Assembled at such times; and there seems to have been different Hours appointed for such and such Wares, which I suppose, is the reason that *Suidas* in

(a) *Plutarch*. in *Pericle*. (b) *Vespis*. (c) *Hyperid*. Orat. pro *Lycurgo*. (d) *Appian*. in *Mithridatic*. (e) *Pausan*. (f) *Suidas*. *Plin* l. VII. c. LVI. (g) *Strabo* l. IX. (h) *Hesych*. (i) *Pollux* l. IX. c. V.

The Area of the Theatre of Bacchus



The Odeum or Musick Theatre.



some Places tells us, the Full Market was at the Third Hour, in others that it was at the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth.

And besides these Places, the Trades-men had their *Βαλδιτεία*, or Publick-Halls, wherein each Company met, and consulted about their Affairs. For Trades were very much encourag'd at *Athens*, and if any Man objected the living by such Gain to another, as a matter of Reproach, the Person affronted might have an Action of Slander against him (a). Nay, Trades were so far from being counted a mean and ignoble way of Living, that Persons of the greatest Quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such Employments, and especially to Merchandize, as *Plutarch* informs us; *Solon* (says he) apply'd himself to Merchandize, tho' some there are that report, that he Travell'd rather to get Learning and Experience, than to raise an Estate. In his time (according to *Hesiod*) a Trade was not Dishonourable, nor did it debase it's followers; but Merchandize was a worthy Calling, which brought Home the good things that Barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience. Some Merchants have Built great Cities, as the Founder of *Masilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gauls*, that liv'd about the *Rhine*; some also report, that *Thales*, and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician Traded; and that *Plato* defray'd the charges of his Travels by Selling Oil in *Aegypt*. Thus *Plutarch* (b).

Aqueducts were not common at *Athens*, before the *Roman* Times; and the want of them was supplied by Wells; some of wick were Dug by private Persons, others at the publick Expence; but because the Country having but few potable Rivers, (for *Eridanus* *Strabo* (c) telleth us was Muddy, and not fit for use,) Lakes, or large Springs, was but poorly furnish'd with Water, which gave occasion to continual Quarrels amongst the Citizens, *Solon* enacted a Law, that where there was a publick Well, within an *Hippicon*, (that is, four Furlongs) all should have the Privilege of drawing at that; but those that liv'd at a greater Distance, should be oblig'd to provide a private Well; and if they had Dug ten Fathom deep, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch ten Gallons a Day from their Neighbours; for he thought it prudent (saith my Author) to make Provision against want, but not encourage Laziness (d). *Adrian*, besides other magnificent Structures, laid the Foundations of a stately *Aqueduct*, which was finish'd by his Successour *Antoninus*. And one part of it remains to this Day, sustain'd by *Ionick* Pillars; which *Sr. George Wheeler* is of opinion, was the Frontis-piece of the Repository, or Receiver of the Water.

Gymnasia are said to have been first in use at *Lacedaemon*, but were afterwards very common in all the parts of *Greece*, and imitated, very much augmented, and improv'd at *Rome*. They were not single Edifices, but a Knot of Buildings united, being so Capacious as to

(a) *Demesth. Orat. in Eubulidem.* (b) *Plutarchus Solone.* (c) *Lib. IX.* (d) *Plutarchus Solone.*

hold a great many Thousands of People at once, and have Room enough for Philosophers, Rhetoricians, and the Professours of all other Sciences to read their Lectures; and Wrestlers, Dancers, and all others that would, to Exercise at the same Time without the least Disturbance, or Interruption. They consisted of a great many Parts, the Chief of which were these,

1. Στάσις, the *Porticos*, which were full of ἐξώραι, and Side-Buildings furnish'd with Seats, and fit for Study or Discourse; and here it is probable the Scholars us'd to meet.

2. Εφιδάμιον, the Place where the *Ephēbi*, or Youths Exercis'd; or, as some say, where those that design'd to Exercise met, and agree'd what kind of Exercise they should contend in, and what should be the Victor's Reward.

3. Καρχήμιον, ἀπιδυτήριον, γυμναστήριον, the Undressing-room.

4. Ελαιόθισιον, ἀλειπτήριον, the Place where those that were to Wrestle, or had Bathed, were Anointed.

5. Κοιτήριον, κρητράς, the Place where the Dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been Anointed, was kept.

6. Παλαίστρα, which sometimes is taken for the whole *Gymnasium*, but in it's proper acceptation signifies the Place, wherein all the Exercises of the Παιῖδες, or (say others) only Wrestling, and the Πάγκρατον were perform'd; and least the Combatants should Slip, or Hurt themselves by Falling, the Bottom of it was cover'd with Dust, or Sand. Also there was another Room in the *Gymnasium*, fill'd with Sand, much deeper than that in the *Palæstra*.

7. Σφαιροδρόμιον, a Place appointed for divers sorts of Exercises, but more especially for the Ball.

8. The Spaces between the *Porticos* and the Walls left Void to admit the Light, and the *Area* of the Περυσίλιον, or *Piazza*, which was a large Place square, or sometimes oblong in the middle of the *Gymnasium*, design'd for Walking, and the performance of those Exercises which were not practis'd in the *Palæstra*, or the Deeper Sand, or any other place of the *Gymnasium*, such were (as some are of opinion) Leaping, and the *Discus*.

9. Ξυστή, and Ξυστή, which were distinct Places both in *Greece*, and *Rome*. *Xysti*, were places cover'd at the Top, design'd for the Exercise of Wrestlers, when the Weather did not permit them to contend in the open Air. *Xysta*, sometimes call'd Περαιδρομίδες, were Walks open at the Top, design'd for Exercises, or Recreation in the heat of Summer, and milder Seasons of the Winter.

10. The Baths, in which were Waters hot and cold in different Degrees, and in these they refresh'd themselves, when they were wearied with Exercise, and at other Times. Amongst the Ancient *Greeks*, Baths were not much frequented, being rarely us'd but after the Accomplishment of some very great Work, which requir'd abundance of Labour and Toil, as the ending of a War, or achieving any great and painful Enterprize (a). And thus *Agamemnon* after the *Trojan*

(a) *Artemidorus Oneirocritis*. lib. I.

War,

War, at his return Home, went into the Bath, there to Wash away the remembrance of all his past Labours, and was slain by the Treachery of his Wife *Clytemnestra* (a). In latter Ages they became more common, and were frequently us'd for Health or Recreation by both Sexes, who at *Sparta* Walk'd in one common Bath, but in other Cities had distinct Places appointed them.

11. The *Stadium* was a large Semicircle, in which Exercises were perform'd; and for the better convenience of Spectators, which flock'd thither in vast Multitudes, was Built with Steps one above another, that the higher Ranks might look over the Heads of those that were plac'd below them. Several of these there were at *Athens* in their *Gymnasia*, and other Places, but the most remarkable was that, which was Built near the River *Ilissus* by *Lycurgus*, and afterwards enlarg'd by *Herodes Atticus*, one of the Richest Citizens *Athens* ever had; it was Built of *Pentelick* Marble, with so great Magnificence, that when *Pausanias* comes to speak of it, he tells his Readers, That they wou'd hardly believe, what he was about to tell them, it being a Wonder to all that beheld it, and of that stupendous Bigness, that one would judge it a Mountain of white Marble, upon the Banks of *Ilissus*. *Sr. George Wheeler* reports, that at this Day there remains some of the Stone-Work at the End towards the River, but the rest is only a *Stadium* of Earth above Ground. However it's Figure, and Bigness continue, tho' the Degrees be all taken away. It is a long Place, with two parallel sides, clos'd up circularly to the East-end, and open towards the other end; and is about One-hundred, Twenty-five Geometrical Paces long, and Twenty-six, or Twenty-seven broad, which gave it the Name of a *Stadium*, which was a measure ordinarily us'd among the *Greeks*, being the Eighth part of a *Roman* Mile.

Athens had several *Gymnasia*, of which these Three are of most note, *Lyceum*, *Academia*, and *Cynosarges*. *Λυκείον*, *Lyceum* was Situated upon the Banks of *Ilissus*, it receiv'd it's name from *Apollo Λυγκιόνος*, or *Λύκειος*, to whom it was Dedicated; Nor was it without reason (saith *Plutarch*) that this Place was Sacred to *Apollo*, but upon a good and rational Account, since from the same Deitie that Cures our Diseases, and restores our Health, we may reasonably expect Strength and Ability, to contend in the Exercises (b). The Building of this Structure, is by some ascrib'd to *Pisistratus*, by others to *Pericles*, and others to *Lycurgus*; which makes it probable that all of them might contribute something towards it; and perhaps *Pisistratus* laid the Foundations of it, *Pericles* rais'd it, *Lycurgus* enlarg'd and beautified it. This was the Place where *Aristotle* taught Philosophy, and discours'd with such as resorted to him for Instructions, walking constantly every Day till the Hour of Anointing, for the *Greeks* usually Anointed before Meals; whence he, and his Followers were call'd Περαιπατηνικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀειπατείας, *Peripateticks* from walking (c). Tho' others re-

(a) *Lycophron*. (b) *Plutarch*. in *Symp* l. VIII. Q. IV. (c) *Suidas* &c.

port, that his walking and discoursing Philosophy with *Alexander*, was the occasion of that Name.

Academy was part of the *Ceramicus* without the City, from which it was distant about Six *Stadia*, so call'd from *Academos*, an old Heroe, that, when *Helena* was Stolen by *Theseus*, and conceal'd at *Aphidne*, discover'd her to *Castor* and *Pollux*, for which reason he was extremely Honour'd by them during his Life; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in After-ages they made several Incurfions into *Attica*, and destroy'd all the Countrey round about, always spar'd this Place for his sake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, That there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Castor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*, from the former that, which was afterwards call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Burrough of *Marathon* had it's Name from the latter. Thus *Pausan* (a). It was beset with Shady Woods, and Solitary Walks fit for Study and Meditation, as the Poets and others witness. This Verse is cited out of *Eupolis* (b),

Εν ἑσπέρῳ δὲ γυμνασίῳ Ἀναξίβης ἦν.

In *Academy* Shady Walks.

And *Horace* speaks to the same purpose,

Æque inter sylvas Hecademii querere verum (c).

In *Hecademus* Groves to search for Truth.

At the first it was a desert Place, and uninhabited by reason of the Fens and Marishes that were in it, and rendred it very Unhealthful, but they being drain'd by *Cimon*, it became Pleasant and Delightful, and was much frequented by all sorts of People, especially such as applied themselves to the Study of Philosophy, for they resorted thither in great Numbers to *Plato's* Lectures, who read constantly in this Place; and having contracted a Distemper thro' the Unwholsomeness of the Air, which was not yet wholly rectified, and being advis'd by his Physicians to remove his School to the *Lyceum*, made answer, That he chose the *Academy* to keep his Body under, lest by too much Health it should become wanton, and more difficult to be govern'd by the dictates of Reason, as Men prune Vines, when they spread too far, and lop of the Branches that grow too luxuriant (d). I must not forget to add, that it was surrounded with a Wall by *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus*, who to defray the Charges of it, laid so heavy a Tax upon the People, that ever after, any Chargeable and Expensive business was call'd *ἵππαρχος τιμὴ*.

Kynosarges was a Place in the Suburbs, near the *Lyceum*, so call'd from a white, or swift Dog, in Greek *κυνὸν ἄργεον*, that, when *Dionysus* was Sacrificing to *Hercules*, snatch'd away part of the Victim (e).

(a) *Pausan.* (b) In *Asparionibus*. (c) *Lib. II. Ep. II.* (d) *Basil. Mag. lib. de legend. Gentil. libris.* (e) *Hesych. aliiq. ianumeri.*

It

It was adorn'd with several Temples, Dedicated to *Hæbe*, *Alcmena*, and *Iolaus*, all which bore some Relation to *Hercules*, the chief Deitie of the Place, and he also was Honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. But there was nothing in it so remarkable as the *Gymnasium*, in which Strangers, and those that were but of the half Blood, or had but one Parent an *Athenian*, were to perform their Exercites, because *Hercules*, to whom it was Consecrated, was under some illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal Gods, but had a mortal Woman for his Mother; and therefore *Themistocles* being but of the half Blood, perswaded divers of the Young Noblemen to accompany him, to Anoint and Exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*; in doing which he seem'd with some Ingenuity to take away the distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger; and between those of the whole, and those of the half Blood of *Athens* (a). There was also a Court of Judicature in this Place, wherein Causes about Illegitimacy were heard, and Examination made concerning Persons, that lay under a Suspicion of having falsly inserted their Names among the true born *Athenians* (b). In this *Gymnasium* *Anisthenes* instituted a Sect of Philosophers call'd *Kuivikoi*, *Cynicks*, from the name of the Place (c), as some are of Opinion.

All Theaters were Dedicated to *Bacchus*, and *Venus* (d), the Deities of Sports and Pleasure; to the former of which they are said to owe their Original (e), and therefore Plays Acted in them were call'd *Διονυσιακά*, and the Artificers that labour'd in the Building of them *Διονυσιακοὶ τεχνίται*, as belonging to *Διονύσος*, or *Bacchus*.

The most Ancient Theaters were Temporary, being compos'd of nothing but Boards, plac'd gradually above each other, for the convenience of Spectators, and therefore they were call'd *κλισία* (f). But these slight Buildings had well-nigh prov'd fatal to the Commonwealth, for almost the whole City, as well the Magistracy and Nobility, as those of inferior Ranks, being assembled, as their manner was, to hear *Pratinas* Act a Tragedy; the Theater, too weak to support the vast weight of thronging Multitudes, on a sudden tumbled down, and wanted not much of Burying them in it's Ruins (g). This narrow escape made them more cautious, and was the occasion of erecting a Theater of Stone, for their better security. And from this Time the *Athenians*, whose Example the rest of the *Greeks* follow'd not long after, erected fix'd and durable Theaters of Stone, commonly of Marble, which by degrees were encreas'd to that Magnitude, that they exceeded almost all other Buildings in *Greece*.

The Figure of Theaters was Semicircular, tho' they were not exact Semicircles, but contain'd the bigger half of the Circle, and therefore *Amphitheaters*, which were made in the same Figure, as if two Theaters should be joyn'd together, were not nicely Orbicular, but Oval.

(a) *Pausan.* *Themistocles.* (b) *Nannus Monachus in Collect. Hist.* (c) *Diag. Laert. Anisthenes.* (d) *Isaïans. l. VI.* (e) *Polydor. Virg. l. III. c. XIII.* (f) *Hesych. in V.* (g) *Suidas in Hipparchus.*

F 2

They

They consisted of two parts, *Σκηνή*, *Scena*, and *Κοῖλον*, *Cavea*. *Scena* was a Partition, assign'd for the Actors, reaching quite cross the *Theater*, which at the first, agreeably to the Ancient simplicity, was dress'd with Boughs and Leaves, but in more Expensive Ages was adorn'd with Rich and Costly Hangings, to hide the management of Machines, and other actions of the Players from the Spectators. It was either so fram'd as that it might be turn'd round, and then it was call'd *Versatilis*, or drawn up, and then it was *Ductilis*, and this way is usually practis'd in our Theaters, in changing the Prospect. It had Three Principal-Gates, one upon the Right hand, another upon the Left, by which were presented meaner and smaller Edifices; and a Third in the Middle, by which more magnificent Structures, as Temples of the Gods, or Palaces of Kings, were brought in View; and on each side of the Gate was a lesser Entrance, thro' which the Persons either of Gods, or Men were introduc'd by Various Machines, and Instruments, the Names whereof you may find explain'd in *Julius Pollux* (a). The whole Scene was divided into several parts, the most remarkable whereof are these;

Βεστρον, a Place underneath the Floor, wherein were kept Brazen Vessels, full of Stones and other Materials, with which they imitated the noise of Thunder.

Επισκηνιον, a Place upon the Top of the Scene, in which all the Machines, whereby they presented the various Figures and Prospects, were mov'd.

Παρασκευιον, the Tiring-Room, a Place behind the Scenes wherein the Actors dress'd and adorn'd themselves.

Προσκευιον, the Stage, a Place before the Scenes, in which the Players Acted. And *Ορχηστρα* was that Part in which the *Chorus* us'd to Dance and Sing, in the middle of which was plac'd the Pulpit, in *Greek* *Λογιον*, or *Θυμειν*.

Υποσκευιον, a Partition under the Pulpit, appointed for the Musick.

The *Κοῖλον*, or *Cavea*, was appointed for the Spectators, and consisted of Three Parts, plac'd in equal Degrees one above another; the Lowest of which belong'd to Persons of Quality, and Magistrates; the Middle to the Commonalty; the Uppermost to the Women.

And because *Theaters* were open at the Top, they erected *Porticos* behind the *Cavea*, whither they retir'd for Shelter, in Rainy weather.

(a) *Polux*. l. IV. c. XIX.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.

THE Inhabitants of *Attica* were of Three sorts, 1. *Πολῖται*, or Free-men. 2. *Μετèques*, or Sojourners. 3. *Δούλοι*, or Servants.

The Citizens surpass'd the others in Dignity, and Power, as having the Government in their Hands, but were far exceeded by the Slaves in number; most of the Free-men maintaining several Servants to attend upon them, or do their Business. The number of Citizens in *Cecrops's* time, I have already said was Twenty-Thousand; in *Pericles's*, they were not so many, as appears from *Plutarch* (a); and when *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* was their Governour, they exceeded their first number under *Cecrops* only by One-thousand, at the same time the Forreigners were Ten-thousand, and the Slaves Four-hundred-thousand, as appears from a Poll instituted at the command of *Demetrius*, and mention'd in *Athenæus* (b).

Whence it is evident, that the Encrease of the *Athenians* themselves was very inconsiderable, but those growing Numbers of Inhabitants, that swell'd the City to that Bigness, to which it was extended in after-Ages, were either of Slaves, or Strangers, that for the advantage of Trade, or other Conveniences, came, and settled themselves at *Athens*; and of these two Sorts, in the time of *Cecrops*, it is probable there were few or none, because through the Scarcity of Men in his new-form'd Government, for the encouragement of Forreigners to settle there, he was forc'd to allow them the same Privileges, that were enjoy'd by the Natives.

And for several Ages after, it was no difficult Matter to obtain the Freedom of the City; but when the *Athenian* Power grew Great, and their Glorious Actions rendred them Famous thro' all *Greece*, this Privilege was accounted a very great Favour, and granted to none but Men of the greatest Birth, or Reputation, or such as had perform'd some Notable piece of Service for the Common-wealth. Nor was it without much difficulty to be obtain'd even by them; *Menon* the *Pharsalian*, who had lent the *Athenians* a Supply of Two-hundred Horse, in the War against *Eon*, near *Amphipolis*, desired it, and was rejected. And *Perdiccas*, the King of *Macedonia*, after having assisted them against the *Persians*, could obtain no more than a bare *ἐπίκλησις*, or Immunity from Tribute paid by those that Sojourned amongst them, but no right of Suffrage, or other Privileges common to the Free-men.

But this peremptory Stiffness, which Success and Victory had put into them, did not always make them so Obstinate, nor hinder but that

(a) *Pericle*. (b) *Deipnos*. l. VI.

many Worthies, tho' neither equal in Birth, or Fortune to the former, were enroll'd amongst the Citizens, such were *Hippocrates* the Physician, *Euryfaces* the Son of *Ajax*, with many others, beside the whole City of the *Platæans*, to which they granted Freedom, for their signal Services in the *Persian War*. But by these Grants, tho' the number of the Citizens may be said to have been Encreas'd, yet nothing was added to the number of the Inhabitants, which remain'd still the same, because the Persons thus admitted, seldom made use of their Privilege, and Sued for it rather as a Title of Honour, than with a design to be any ways Advantag'd by it.

This Title could not be conferr'd upon any man, without the Consent of Six-thousand Citizens at the least. And for fear the Authority, or Interest of any Person should sway them to Comply with such Requests against their Inclinations, they gave their Votes privately, by casting little Stones into Urns, plac'd on purpose in their Assemblies by the *Prytanes*, who were also oblig'd to provide a sufficient Number of Stones for the Suffragants; Nay, farther, till all had done Voting, the Strangers that Petition'd for Freedom were not permitted to come into the place of the Assembly. And after all this, if any one appear'd to be Undeserving of the Honour, they had conferr'd upon him, an Appeal might be made to the Court; which had Power to enquire into the Lives and Conditions of these Persons, and deprive such as they found Unworthy, by recalling the Freedom, which had been granted thro' the Ignorance, and Inconsideration of the Multitude; and this Disgrace befel *Pytholaus* the *Thessalian*, and *Apollonides* the *Olynthian* (a).

The manner of Admission was by declaring that such an one was incorporated amongst the *Denizens* of *Athens*, and invested with all the Honours, Privileges, and Immunities belonging to them; and had a Right to partake of, and assist at the performance of all their Holy Rites, and Mysteries, except such as were appropriated to certain Noble Families, such as were the *Eumolpidae*, *Ceryces*, *Cynidae*, which had certain Priesthoods, and Holy Offices peculiar to themselves; except also the Offices of the Nine *Archons*, which none but Free-born *Athenians* were allow'd to Execute; Lastly, they were admitted into a certain Tribe, and Hundred, and so the Ceremony ended (b).

Free-born *Athenians* were those that had both, or one of their Parents an *Athenian*; and *Aristotle* tells us, that in several Commonwealths, at the first, Those were accounted Free, that were born of a Free Woman; but when the Number of Inhabitants increas'd, such only were esteem'd Free, as were descended from Parents, that were both Free (c). And so it came to pass in *Athens*; for *Pericles*, when he flourish'd in the State, and had Sons Lawfully begotten, propos'd a Law, that those only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, who were Born of Parents, that were both *Athenians*; and having pre-

(a) *Demesth. Orat. in Aristocrat.* (b) *Demosthen. Orat. in Nearam.* (c) *Aristot. Polit. l. III. c. V.*

vail'd with the People to give their consent to it, little less than Five-Thousand were depriv'd of their Freedom, and Sold for Slaves, and those, who enduring the Test, remain'd in the Government, and past Muster for True-born *Athenians*, were found in the Poll to be Fourteen-thousand and Forty Persons in Number. But *Pericles* himself afterwards having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far perswaded the *Athenians*, that they cancell'd the Law, and granted that he should Enroll his Bastard-Son in the Register of his own Ward, by his Paternal Name; thinking that by those Losses he had been sufficiently Punish'd for his former Arrogance and Haughtiness, and therefore being of Opinion, that he had been Shrewdly handled by the Divine Vengeance, of which he had run so severe a Gantlope, and that his Request was such as became a Man to ask, and Men to grant. Thus *Plutarch* (a).

But those that were only of the Half-blood, when they were invested with Freedom, were always reputed Inferiour, and less Honourable than those that were of the Whole; and several Marks, and Customes they had to distinguish them from the others, as particularly, that those who had but one Parent, an *Athenian*, were not allow'd to Exercise themselves in any of the *Gymnasias*, that were frequented by those, who had both; but only at the *Cynosarges*, a Place without the City; and that this was esteem'd a Mark of Disgrace, is evident from the Practice of *Themistocles*, who was but of the Half-blood of *Athens*, and to take away, or, at least, lessen this Distinction, us'd to Engage the Noble *Athenians* to go, and perform their Exercises with him (b). In the same Place, there was a Court of Judicature, where Persons suspected of Illegitimacy were Tryed, and those that were found Guilty, depriv'd of the Freedom they falsely pretended to, and Sold for Slaves.

Cecrops, after he had settled a Form of Government amongst the *Athenians*, for the better administration of Justice, and the prevention of Deceit, and over-reaching one another in Commerce, divided them into Four *Φυλαι*, or Tribes; each Tribe, he subdivided into three Parts, call'd *Τριττῆς*, *Εθῆ*, or *Ορεστικῆ*; and each of these into Thirty *Γῆναι*, or Families, which, because they consisted of Thirty Men, were call'd *Τετρακταῖς*; and they that were Members of these, were call'd *Ομογενεῖς*, and *Γινῆται*, not from any Relation to one another, but only because they liv'd in the same Burrough, and were Educated together, and joyn'd in one Body, or Society; the same Persons were call'd *Οεγενεῖς*, because they participated of the same Sacrifices, and Worshipp'd the same Gods together, from *Ορνια*, which, tho' it properly signifies only the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, yet is often taken for the Ceremonies us'd in the Worship of any other Deity (c).

The names of the Tribes were these, 1. *Κεκροπίς*, from *Cecrops*, for it was usual with the Ancients, out of an earnest desire of continuing

(a) In *Pericle.* (b) *Plutarch. in Themistocle.* (c) *Pollux lib. III. cap. IV. lib. III. cap. IX.*

their memories to Posterity, to call Cities, or Countries, or any Monuments, that seem'd likely to remain to succeeding Ages, by their own Names. 2. *Αὐτίχθων*, from a King of that Name, reported by some to have reign'd in some part of *Attica* before *Cecrops*; or rather from the Name of *Αὐτίχθονες*, in which the *Athenians* gloried not a little. 3. *Ἀκταία*, from *Ἀέτιος*, or *Ἀέθιον*, another of the Kings before *Cecrops*; or from *ἄκτις*, which signifies a Shore, because a great part of *Attica*, and that in particular, where this Tribe inhabited, lay towards the Sea, and this was the reason, why the whole Countrey was sometimes call'd *Ἄκτε*. And the same Cause is given, for the Name of the Fourth Tribe, which they call'd *Παράλια*, from it's nearness to the Sea.

In the Reign of *Cranaus*, new Names were impos'd upon them, and they were call'd, 1. *Κραναίς*, from the King's Name. 2. *Ἀρδίς*, from a Young Lady, the Daughter of *Cranaus*. 3. *Μεσσηνία*. 4. *Διακεία*. And both these, I suppose, were nam'd from their Situation; the latter being Seated upon a Craggy Shore, and the former in the Inland part of the Countrey.

Erechthonius being advanc'd to the Kingdom, called them after the Names of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan*, 1. *Διὰς*. 2. *Ἀθήνης*. 3. *Ποσειδωνιάς*. 4. *Ἡφαιστιάς* (a).

Afterwards under *Erechtheus*, they receiv'd new Names from the Sons of *Ion*, a Man of great Repute amongst the *Athenians*, and General of their Armies, as *Herodotus* reports (b). These Names were, 1. *Γελίοντες*. 2. *Οπλίται*. 3. *Αἰχμῆρες*. 4. *Αεζάδες*. And of these Names *Euripides* is to be understood, when he introduces *Minerva* speaking thus of *Ion* (c),

Λαῖσα τόνδε πῦδα, Κεκροπίην χθίνα
Χώρει, Κρέεστα, κείς θρόνος πυραννικῆς
Ἰδρυσόν· ἐν γὰρ ᾧ Ἐρεχθέως γελῶς,
Δίναίῳ ἀρχεῖν πῶς· ἐμῆς ὅδε χθονός,
Ἔσσι τὴν Ἑλλάδ' εὐλαχέας. οἱ τῆδε γὰρ
Παῖδες γινόμενοι τέσσαρες εἰς ἑνὸς μῆας,
Ἐπώνυμοι γῆς, καὶ παλαιοὶ χθονός
Λαῶν ἔσονται, σκοπελὸν οἱ ναῖεσ' ἐμῇ.

Here, Nurse *Creusa*, since this Child by Birth
Claims the just Priv'lege of *Erechtheus* Line,
Take him to *Athens*, and Proclaim him King,
For he hath just Pretensions to the Crown;
His Blooming Courage is a previous Sign,
With how much Prowess, Policy, and Art

(a) Pollux l. VIII. c. IX. (b) Lib. VIII. cap. XLIV. (c) *Ion*. ad finem.

Greece's Dominions he will Sway, the Gods
Shall blest him with Four Sons, by whom in Tribes
High Seated *Athens* shall divided be,
And bear her sev'ral Names deriv'd from Them.

Mr. Abell.

And *Herodotus* (a), and *Pollux* are of the same Opinion, tho' they are herein contradicted by others, as we find it in *Plutarch*, who hath made some alteration in the Names, his Words are these, Some affirm that the Tribes did not take their Names from the Sons of *Ion*, but from the different sorts of Occupations, that they follow'd; the Soldiers were call'd *Οπλίται*; the Crafts-men, *Εργαται*; and of the remaining three, the Farmers, *Γεωργοί*; the Shepherds, and Grasers, *Αἰχμῆρες* (b).

Afterwards, when the number of Inhabitants was increas'd; *Clisphes* having first advis'd with *Apollo's* Oracle, as it was usual to do in every Concern of moment, alter'd the number of the Tribes, increasing them from Four to Ten, and gave them new Names, taken from certain Ancient Heroes, all Born in *Attica*, except *Ajax*, the Son of *Telemachus*, to whom he gave a Place amongst the rest, as being a Neighbour, Friend, and Companion in the Wars (c), for, as *Homer* reports, *Ajax's* forces were joyn'd to those of *Menestheus*, the *Athenian* General,

Αἶψα δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνός ἄγει δούρμιστα νῆας,
Σπῆτι δ' ἄγων ἱν' Ἀθηναίων ἔσαντο φάλαγγες.

Twelve Ships from *Salamis* Stout *Ajax* brought,
And rank'd his Men, where the *Athenians* Fought.

Mr. Creech.

And *Plutarch* reports, that when the *Athenians*, and *Megarensians*, both made pretensions to *Salamis*, and Chose the *Spartans* to decide the Controversie, these Lines of *Homer* being produc'd by *Solon*, did the *Athenians* a considerable Kindness, serving very much to strengthen their Title to that Iland. To return, these Heroes, from the Name they gave to the Tribes, were call'd *ἐπώνυμοι*, and were Honour'd with Statues, erected near the Senate-house. Their Names are recorded by *Pausanias*, and are these, *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops*, *Ægeus*, *Pandion*, *Acamas*, *Antiochus*, *Leo*, *Oeneus*, *Hippothoon*, *Ajax*. And the Names of the Tribes are these, *Ερεχθίδης*, *Κεκροπίς*, *Αἰγυίς*, *Πανδωνίς*, *Αγκυμαντίς*, *Αντιοχίς*, *Λεοντίς*, *Οἰνίς*, *Ἰπποθωνίς*, *Αἰαντίς*.

Afterwards when *Antigonus*, and *Demetrius* free'd the *Athenians* from the *Macedonian* Slavery, they augmented their Tribes, adding Two to their former Number, which in Honour of their Deliverers, they call'd from their Names, *Αντιγονίς*, and *Δημητριάς* (d). But the Gratitude of the *Athenians* being no longer liv'd, than the good Fortune, and Successes of those Two Princes, the Tribes soon chang'd

(a) Lib. V. c. LXVI. (b) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (c) *He olov. & Pollux* loc. citatis. (d) *Plutarchus* *Demetrius*.

their first Names, for those of *Ατταλῆς*, and *Πτολεμαῖος*, the former of which was deriv'd from *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*; the latter, from *Ptolemee*, King of *Aegypt*, from both of which the *Athenians* had receiv'd some signal Favours (a).

This was the constant Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, which lasted as long as the City maintain'd it's Liberty, and Form of Government. Each of these was at the first divided into Thirty Γένε, every one of which consisted of Thirty Men (b). And the better to maintain a mutual Correspondence, and for the promotion of good Fellow-ship, and Kindness amongst them, they had publick Feasts, first instituted by *Solon*, where they all met together, and made Merry (c). These Meetings were Nam'd from the Persons assembled at them, for if the whole Tribe came together, then they call'd it δῆπνοι φυλετικόν; if onely one φρατρία, then it was δῆπνον φρατρίκον; or if a δῆμος, it was δῆπνον δημοτικόν.

These Δῆμοι, were little Burroughs in *Attica*, several of which belong'd to every Tribe, and tho' they were reckon'd together in the Business of the Common-wealth, yet had separate Habitations, and distinct Rites and Ceremonies in the performance of Holy Worship; nay, and different Gods too, for each of them ador'd peculiar Deities, and yet all unanimously agree'd in Worshipping *Minerva*, who was the Tutelar Goddess of the whole Countrey, whereas the other Deities had only certain Parts assign'd them, and in those they were inferior to *Minerva*, the only supreme Governess. And this Difference in Religion was very Ancient, being of no less Duration, than the Common-wealth it self, for when *Theseus* had prevail'd upon them to leave their Countrey-Seats, and Unite themselves in one City, they thought it would be an impious and unpardonable Action to desert the Gods of their Ancestors, and therefore Judg'd it convenient, and more agreeable to the Respect due from them to their Tutelar Deities, to pay them the same Honours, and frequent the same Places of Worship, they had formerly done (d).

The greatest use we have of these Δῆμοι, is in their Forms of Law, and Contracts, whereby sufficient Provision was made against all Fraud, Deceit, and Mistakes. Hence we read of such punctual Clauses in their Writs, as these, N. the Son of N. of the Tribe of *Æantis*, of the Burrough of *Rhamnus*, &c.

The Number of them was an Hundred-seventy-four (e), some of which having the same Names, were distinguish'd by their Situation, being call'd κατ' ὄρειαν, and κατὰ πῆγαν, Upper, and Lower. All of them were divided into Greater, and Less; the μικροί, or Less, were these (f), *Alimusians*, *Zoster*, *Prospaltians*, *Antigyrasians*, *Cephale*, *Prasieis*, *Lamproeis*, *Phyleis*, *Alyrrhimusians*, *Athabonians*, *Acharnæ*, *Mara-*

(a) Stephan. V. *Ατταλῆς*, & *Βερωνίδης*. (b) Pollux l. 8. c. 10. (c) *Athen. Dip.* l. XV. (d) *Living. Pausan. Attica*. (e) *Eusebius*, ll. 6. *Strabo* l. IX. (f) *Pausan. Attica*.

thon, *Brauron*, *Rhamnus*. The rest were Greater; take them promiscuously according to their Tribes.

Κ Ε Κ Ρ Ο Π Ι Σ.

Αἰζώνη,	Συπαλητῆς,
Δαιδαλίδαι,	Τεινεμῆς,
Ἐπικείδαι,	Ἀθμονόν, ἢ Ἀθμονία,
Ἐπιτίτη,	Ἀλαί,
Πίδος,	Φλῖα.

Ε Ρ Ε Χ Θ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀρχαύλη, ἢ Ἀρχεῖλη,	Παμβωτίδαι,
Εὐωνυμία, ἢ Εὐώνυμος,	Περγαστή,
Θήμακτι, ἢ Θήμακος,	Συβείδαι,
Κηρισία,	Φηγῆς,
Λαμπρὰ Κατύπερθεν,	Αναγυρῆς,
Λαμπρὰ Ὡάνεσθεν, ἢ Ὡάνηκος,	Κίδαι.

Π Α Ν Δ Ι Ο Ν Ι Σ.

Ἀγγελή,	Παιανία Ὡάνεσθεν,
Κυδαθωαίαν,	Πεσβάλινθος,
Κύθηρον,	Στεινὰ,
Οα, ἢ Οεῖς,	Φηγαία,
Παιανία κατ' ὄρειαν,	Μυρσινῆς.

Α Ι Γ Η Ι Σ.

Ἀλαί,	Κολυτῆς,
Ἀραρνίδες, ἢ Ἀράρην,	Κυδαντίδαι,
Βατή,	Πλωδεῖα,
Γαργητῆς,	Τίδρας,
Διομεία,	Φηγαία,
Ἐρεχθία,	Φιλαιδαι,
Εέκρια,	Χολλίδαι,
Ἐχρία,	Ιωνίδαι.
Ἰαχία, ἢ Ἰαχέκος,	

ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ.

Αγνῆς,
Επεισίδαι,
Ερμῶς, ἢ Ερμούι,
Ηρακλειάδαι,
Θόεικος,
Ιτιά,

Κίχνα,
Σφηπῶς,
Χολαργεῖς, Χολαργία, ἢ Χόλαργος.
Κεφαλῇ,
Περάσιπτα,
Κυρτιάδαι.

ΑΕΟΝΤΙΣ.

Λιδαλίδαι, ἢ Αἰθαλία,
Αφίδνα,
Δειράδες,
Ενάλη,
Ευπυεῖδαι,
Κυήοι,
Κραπία
Λωκόγιον,
Οἶον Κεραμεῖον,
Παιονίδαι,

Πήλικες,
Ποταμῶς,
Σκαμνεωνίδαι,
Σένιον,
Υβάδαι,
Φρέαξροι,
Μαραθῶν,
Αλιμῶς,
Χολεῖδαι.

ΙΠΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΣ.

Αζυμιά,
Αμαξαντεία,
Ανάκμα,
Αχραδῶς,
Δικέλεια,
Ελαϊκῶς, ἢ Ελαῦς,
Ελευσις,
Εροιάδαι,

Θυμοιτιάδαι,
Κειριάδαι,
Κορυδαυλῶς,
Οἶον Δεκαλεικῶν,
Οἶνεν πρὸς Ελευθέρας,
Σφενδάλη,
Κοίλη.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣ.

Αἰγλία, ἢ Αἰγίλος,
Αλωπηκῇ, ἢ Αλωπηκί,
Αμφιτροπῇ,
Ανάφλυσος,

Ατῶν, ἢ Ατῶνία,
Βήσας,
Θοράι,
Κεῖωα,

Ασυκοπύρα,

Ασυκοπύρα,
Μελαινεῖς, ἢ Μέλαινας,
Παλλῶν,
Πεντέλη,

Σημαχίδαι,
Φάληρον,
Λίκκον.

ΑΙΑΝΤΙΣ.

Οἶνεν πρὸς Μαραθῶνι,
Τιτακίδαι,
Τειρεβιδος,

Ραμνῶς.
Υαφίδαι.

ΟΙΝΗΙΣ.

Βέτεια, ἢ Βετιάδης,
Επικηφισία,
Θεία, ἢ Θείω,
Ισποδαμάδαι,
Λακία, ἢ Λακιάδαι,
Λωσία,
Μιλίτη,

Οἶ, ἢ Οἶη,
Πειθοῖδαι,
Πτελέα,
Φυλή,
Αχάρναι,
Τυρμίδαι.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ, ἢ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΙΣ.

Βερενικίδαι,
Θυεργωνίδαι,

Κονδύλη.

ΑΤΤΑΛΙΣ, ἢ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ.

Απολλωνεῖς.

Besides these, there were several other Burroughs, of which it is uncertain, what Tribe they belong'd to, such are these;

Αρεα,
Αγχισημος,
Αμφιάδη,
Αρχήλαια,
Ασυπάλαια,
Αταλάντη,
Βελδίνη,
Βεαίρων,
Τορρεα,

Τμήητοι,
Φορμῖσοι,
Χιτώνη,
Βελησός,
Εννα,
Εχελίδαι,
Ζωστής,
Θεῶν,
Κοδονκίδαι,

G 3

Κυβισμαγες,

Κωὶκάρης,
Σπορχίλος,
Υπαι,
Φελήιος,
Οξωπύς,
Κεραμεικὸς ἔξω τῇ πόλει,
Λαύριον,
Λιπάρειον,
Λίμναϊς,

Μανυχία,
Παργαίς,
Πινδός,
Πατρεύκλις βύρρα,
Σίεον,
Φαυρά,
Φορών,
Ψυθάλια,
Φαρμακῆσαι. &c.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Sojourners, and Servants, in Athens.

THE Second sort of the Inhabitants of *Attica*, were call'd *Μετοικοί*, by which Word were signified Persons, that came from a Forreign Countrey, and settled in *Attica*, being admitted by the Council of *Arcopagus*, and enter'd in a publick Register. They differ'd from the *Πολίται*, or Citizens, because they were not Free-born *Athenians*, but either came from another City themselves, or were Descended from such as did; and from the *Ξένοι*, or Strangers, because these took up their Lodgings only for a short Time, whereas the *Μετοικοί* had fix'd Habitations, and constantly resided upon the Place, whither they had transplanted themselves.

They were permitted to dwell in the City, and follow their own Business, without disturbance, but could not Serve in any publick Office, give their Votes in the Assemblies, or have any Share in the Government; but were oblig'd to sit still, as Spectators in a Theater, without intermeddling, or any way concerning themselves with State-Affairs, and patiently submit to the Decrees enacted by the Citizens, and observe all the Laws and Customs of the Countrey. And therefore *Aristophanes* in *Suidas*, compares them to Chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless Part of the Common-wealth,

Τὰς γὰρ Μετοίκους ἄχρεα ὅσῃ ἀσῶν λέγω.

The Sojourners (if I may speak my Mind)
Are, as it were, the City's Chaff, and Scum. (Mr. Abell.)

They were not allow'd to Act any Thing, or manage any Business in their own Names, but were oblig'd to Choose out of the Citizens one, to whose Care and Protection they committed themselves, and whose Duty it was to Defend them from all Violence, and Oppression. An hint of this we have in *Terence's Eunuchus*, where *Thais* puts her self into the Hands of *Phædria's* Family,

CH.

CH. Tum autem Phædria,
Meo fratri, gaudeo amorem esse omnem in tranquillo, &c. ut domus,
Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam & fidem
Nobis dedit se ————— (a).

My Brother's good Success in his Amour,
Doth glad my Soul, for *Thais* now's his own,
Since the Protection of her self she leaves,
To my old Father's care, and management.

Mr. Abell,

The Person, to whom they committed themselves, was call'd *Προστάτης*, and might Demand several Services of them, in which if they fail'd, or if they neglected to Choose a Patron, a Law-Suit was commenc'd against them, call'd *Ἀντιπροστασίας δίκη*, and their Goods were Confiscated.

In consideration of the Privileges allow'd them, the Commonwealth required them to perform several Duties; for instance, in the *Panathenæa*, a Festival celebrated in Honour of *Athena*, the Men were oblig'd to carry certain Vessels, call'd *Σκεφάραι*, and the Women *Υδριαί*, or Water-Pots, and therefore the Men are sometimes call'd *Σκεφηφόροι*, or *Σκεφεῖς* by the Comedians, and the Women *Υδριαφόροι*.

Beside this, the Men paid an annual Tribute of Twelve *Drachms*, tho' *Hesychius* mentioneth Ten only, and the Women that had no Sons, were liable to be Taxed Six; but such as had Sons that paid, were excus'd. This Tribute was call'd *Μετιζιον*, and was exacted not only of those that dwelt in *Athens*, but of all such as settled themselves in any Town of *Attica*, as appears from the instance given us by *Lysias* (b) in *Oropus*, which was an *Athenian* Town, Situated upon the confines of *Boeotia*. About the time of *Xerxes's* Invasion upon *Greece*, *Themistocles* having by his eminent Services rais'd himself to a great Power in the Commonwealth, prevail'd so far upon the *Athenians*, that they remitted this exaction, and continued the Sojourners, in the enjoyment of their Privileges, without requiring any such acknowledgment from them (c). How long they enjoy'd this Immunity, I cannot tell, but it is certain they kept it not long, and probably it might be taken from them, and the Act repeal'd, as soon as *Themistocles* fell into Disgrace. Upon non-payment of this Imposition, the delinquent was immediately seiz'd by the Tax-masters, and carry'd away to the Market set apart for that Purpose, (call'd by *Plutarch* *Μετοικιστήριον* (d), and by *Demosthenes* (e) *Πωλητήριον τῶν Μετοίκων*, where they were expos'd to Sale by the *Πωληταί*, which were Officers concern'd in the publick Revenues. And this Fate had the Famous Phi-

(a) Act. ult. Scen. ult. (b) Orat. in *Philonem*. (c) *Diador. Sicul. lib. XI.*
(d) *Flaminia*. (e) Orat. I. in *Aristotem*.

Philosopher *Xenocrates* undergon, had not *Lycurgus* rescued him out of the hands of the Officers, as *Plutarch* reports (a) : *Diogenes Laertius* (b) tells us, he was actually Sold, because he had not wherewithal to pay the Tribute, but was redeem'd by *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, who because he would not Violate the Laws of the City, nor yet could endure to see so great and worthy a Person reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, restor'd him his Liberty, and paid for him what the Tax-masters demanded.

But tho' these Men were incapable of having any Preferment, or bearing any Office in the Common-wealth, yet they were not wholly destitute of Encouragements to the Practice of Virtue, and the undertaking of Noble Actions, and being serviceable to the Publick. For such as signaliz'd themselves by any notable Exploit, were seldom pass'd by neglected, or unrewarded; but were taken into publick Consideration, and by a special Edict of People, Honoured with an Immunity from all Impositions, Taxes, and other Duties, except such as were required of the Free-born Citizens, and therefore they call'd this Honour *ισοτιμία*, and the Persons that enjoy'd it *ισοτιμίαι*, because they did *ισοι πλεῖν τοῖς ἀπῳς*, pay only an equal Proportion with the Citizens. This was a sort of an half Freedom, being the same with what we sometimes find call'd *Ατέλεια*, of which I have spoken already, and was granted to Forreigners, that had deserved well of the Publick, but not merited enough to be Enroll'd among the true Citizens; an Instance of which we have in *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedon*, and sometimes in whole Cities and Common-wealths that had by some special Service demonstrated the Kindness, and good Affection they bore to *Athens*; two examples of this we have in the *Thebans*, and *Olynthians* in *Theophrastus*, as he is Cited by *Suidas* to whom with *Harpocration*, and *Hesychius*, we are oblig'd for this Account.

I proceed in the next place, to speak of the Third, and most numerous part of the Inhabitants of *Attica*, I mean the *Servants*, of which there were Two sorts, the First was of those, that thro' Poverty were forc'd to Serve for Wages, being otherwise Free-born Citizens, but not having any Suffrage in publick Affairs, by reason of their Indigency, it being forbidden at some times (for this Prohibition was not perpetual) that Persons not having such an Estate, as was mention'd in the Law, should have the Privilege of giving their Voices. These were properly call'd *Θῆτες*, and *Πελάται* (c), and were the most Gentle sort of *Servants*, being only in that State during their own pleasure and necessities; and having Power either to change their Masters, or (if they became able to subsist by themselves) wholly to release themselves from Servitude.

The Second sort of *Servants*, were such, as were wholly in the Power and at the Disposal of their Lords, who had as good a Title to them, as to their Lands, and Estates, a considerable part of which they were esteem'd. They were wholly at their Command, to be employ'd as the

law convenient, in the worst and most wretched Drudgeries; and to be us'd at their discretion, Pinch'd, Starv'd, Beaten, Tormented, and that, in most Places, without any appeal to Superiour Powers, and Punish'd even with Death it self. And, which yet farther enhanc'd the Misery of their Condition, they had no hopes of recovering their Freedom themselves, or procuring it for their Posterity, but were to continue in the same Condition, as long as they liv'd, and all the Inheritance they could leave their Children (for their Masters not only allow'd, but encourag'd them to Marry, that they might encrease in Number) was the Possession of their Parents Miseries, and a Condition scarce any way better than that of Beasts.

The Ancients were very sensible of the hard Usage *Slaves* met with; and the earnest desire of Liberty, that reign'd in their own Breasts, and made them always forward to expose their Lives in the Defence of it, was a sufficient Cause to beget in them a Jealousie of the like in other Persons; Men being generally very apt to suspect others of the same Passions and Inclinations, which themselves have been guilty of. And we find them very Industrious to prevent, and suppress all such motions, by keeping the *Slaves* at a very great Distance from them, by no means Condescending (I speak of the generality of them) to familiar Converse, much less to jest with them; by instilling into them a mean Opinion of themselves; debasing their Natures, and extinguishing in them (as much as possible) all sparks of Generosity, and Manhood, by an illiberal Education, and accustoming them to Blows, and Stripes, which they thought were very disagreeable to Ingenuous, and Free-born Natures; and subduing them with hard Labour, and Want; and, in short, by using them almost in the same manner, nay, sometimes worse, than we do Brute Animals. A sufficient proof whereof (were there no more) we have in the Famous *Roman Cato*, a Man celebrated in all Ages for his exact observance of the nicest Rules of Justice, nor doth it at all Invalidate the Evidence, that this was done by a *Roman*, since both at *Rome*, and in *Greece*, and most other Civiliz'd Countreys, the usage of *Slaves* seems to have been much what the same, some few Alterations excepted. This *Cato*, (*Plutarch* tells us) when his Servants grew Old, and unfit for Labour, notwithstanding they had been very Faithful, and Serviceable to him, and had spent their Youth, and Strength in Labouring for him; for all this, when Years came upon them, and their Strength fail'd them, he would not be at the charge of maintaining them, but either turn'd them away, unable to provide for themselves, or let them Starve to Death in his own Family (a). It is true, this Barbarity was not Practis'd in all Places, and my Author thinks the *Censor* blame-worthy for it, imputing it to a Savage and Unnatural Temper; yet hence appears the miserable Condition of *Slaves*, that were forc'd to undergo the most Arbitrary, and unjust Impositions of the Cruellest and most Barbarous Tyrants. Now the better to show you what State they were

(a) Loc. cit. (b) *Xenocrate*. (c) *Polux* l. III. c. VIII.

(a) *Plutarch. Cato.*

in, I will give you a Taste of the constant Behaviour of their Masters towards them in a few instances, which were not the effects of the Passion, Pride, or Humour of private Persons, but the common and general Practice of the whole Countrey.

It was accounted an unsufferable piece of Impudence, for a *Servant* to imitate the Free-men in any thing, or affect to be like them in their Dress, or any part of their Behaviour. In those Cities, where they let their Hair grow long, for a *Servant* to have long Hair, was an unpardonable Offence, inasmuch that the Comedian, speaking it proverbially of one that does, what becomes him not, says,

Ἐπειτα δὴτα δ' ἔλαθ' ὦν κόμην ἔχεις (a).

Then you disdain your own State, affect
To wear long Hair, as Free-men. ———

(Mr. Abell.)

They had a peculiar Form, after which they cut their Hair, call'd *Θεῶν ἀνδραποδῶν*, which they laid aside, if ever Fortune was so propitious, as to restore them their Liberty. Now because *Slaves* were generally Rude and Ignorant, therefore *ἔχοντες ἀνδραποδῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τεύχεα*, was Proverbially apply'd to any Dull, Stupid Fellow (b). The Garments also of *Slaves* were different from those of Free-men; for the Free-men's Coats were *ἀμφιμάχαλοι*, had two Sleeves; whereas those of *Slaves* were *ἑπιομάχαλοι*, had only one Sleeve (c).

At *Athens*, it was common to be in Love with Boys, *Socrates*, and *Plato's* Amours are notorious enough, and *Solon* himself was too weak to resist this Passion, but thought it neither unlawful, nor Scandalous, but on the contrary Honourable, and well becoming an Ingenious Education; therefore he forbade *Slaves*, the use of this Pleasure, as it were inviting the Worthy to Practice, when he commanded the Unworthy to forbear, says *Plutarch* (d). The same Lawgiver forbade them to Anoint, or Perfume themselves with sweet Odours, allowing those pieces of Gentility, only to Persons of better Birth, and Quality.

Slaves were not permitted to Communicate at the Worship of some of the Deities, but were accounted Unholy, and Profane; and thought to be Offensive to the Gods, and to Pollute the Worship by their Presence; as for instance, at the Worship of the *Eumenides*, or *Furies*, at *Athens*; and *Hercules*, at *Rome*. Of which I shall have occasion to speak something more hereafter.

Their Education was quite different from that of Free-born Children, these were instructed in all the Liberal Arts; the others only taught how to Obey, and Drudge in their Masters Business. And whereas the common method was, to win those of Ingenious Birth by gentle means into a performance of their Duty; the manner of Tutoring *Slaves*, was the same that they us'd to Tame Wild Beasts, namely, Stripes, and the Cruellest Severity. For all this, there

(a) *Aristophan. Avibus.* (b) *Eustath. II. c. p. 59. Edit. Bas.* (c) *Tallux. On. I. VII. c. XIII.* (d) *Solone.*

wanted

wanted not some, whom Nature had Bless'd with a more happy Genius, and a larger share of Parts than the rest, and Fortune directed to Kind and Gentle Masters, that by their great Improvements in Learning, and Wisdom, were a sufficient evidence, that Nobility of Soul, and Greatness of Understanding are not confin'd to any Rank, or Quality, but that even the meanest and most abject Persons may dive into the most hidden Secrets of Nature, and be admitted to the most intimate Converse with the Muses. Poor deform'd *Æsop*, and the Poet *Alcman* (a), are undeniable proofs of it, and (to mention no more) *Epicurus*, the Famous *Moralist*, confirms the same, of whose Poverty, and Servile condition we have mention in this *Epigram*,

Δεῖλ' Ἐπίκτουτο γενέμεν, καὶ σώματι πικρὸν,
καὶ πένι' ἰσθ'· καὶ φίλ' Ἀθανάτοις.

The Gods to me great Favours do dispence,
Tho'n Bondage, Crippled, and in Indigence.

Mr. Abell.

They thought it a piece of Presumption, as detracting something from the Free-born Citizens, to call *Slaves* by any Name, that was in use amongst them; But if any man was so Bold, as to give his *Servant* the Name of a Person of Quality, or Honour, it was a signal Affront; *Domitian* is said to have Punish'd *Metius Pomposianus*, for calling his *Slaves* by the Illustrious Names of *Hannibal*, and *Mago*; and, to come nearer to our purpose, the *Athenians* enacted a Law, that no Man should presume to call any of his *Servants* by the Names of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, two Famous Patriots, that with Courage and Resolution oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons (b). For the most part, as *Strabo* reports, they were call'd after the Names of their Native Countries, as *Λυδίαι*, or *Σύροι*, if they were Born in *Lydia*, or *Syria*; or, by the Names, that were most us'd in those Nations, as *Manes*, or *Midas* in *Phrygia*; or, *Tibias* in *Paphlagonia*. The most common Names in *Athens* were *Geta*, and *Davus*, being taken from the *Getae*, and *Daci*, whom my Author thinks to have been formerly call'd *Δάκαιοι*, or *Davi* (c). They seldom consisted of above two Syllables, and therefore *Demosthenes* having objected to *Æschines*, that his Father was a *Slave*, tells him farther as a proof of what he had affirm'd, that he had falsified his Name, calling him *Airometus*, whereas in truth it was *Tromes* (d). The reason of this seems to have been, that their Names, being short, might be more easily and quickly pronounc'd. Upon the same account, *Oppian* advises to give Dogs short Names,

Ὀνόματα συνάκροον
βαλὼν ἴδεις, δοῦν' πάντα, δοῦν' ἵνα βάλῃν ἀνέμῳ (e).

(a) *Ælian. V. H.* (b) *Alex. ab Alex. I. III. c. XX* (c) *Strabo I. VII.* (d) *Orat. περὶ Στεφάνου.* (e) *Κυνηγίτιον.*

H 2

Let

Let Hounds that are design'd for Game, and Sport,
Have Names impos'd that easie be, and short;
Least at the Hunts-man's call they trace in vain,
And run with open cry confus'dly o're the Plain.

Mr. Abell.

Above all things, especial care was taken that *Slaves* should not wear Armour, which (considering the number of them, that was usually almost Twenty times as great as that of the Citizens) might have been dangerous to the Publick. For this reason it was not usual for them to Serve in the Wars, and therefore when *Virgil* speaks of such an one's assisting in the War of *Troy*, he tells us, it was contrary to Law, or Custom,

Vix unus Helenor,
Et Lycus elapsi, quorum primævus Helenor;
Mæonio regi quem serva Lycimnia furtim
Sustulerat, venisique ad Trojam miserat armis (a).

Scarce *Lycus* and *Helenor* 'scap'd away
From the sad Ruins of that dismal Day.
Against th' enacted Law for *Slaves*, in Arms
Helenor had Stole of to War's Alarms,
For he a Spurious Issue was brought forth
By a Bond-woman of *Plebeian* Worth
To the *Mæonian* King. —————

Mr. Abell.

Only upon some emergent and extraordinary Occasions, we find the *Slaves* Arm'd in the Defence of their Masters, and themselves; but this was never done except in Cases of most extreme Danger, when all other means of preserving the Common-wealth were taken away; and the first time it was practis'd, is said to have been when the *Persians* under *Darius* invaded the *Athenians*, and receiv'd a total Overthrow by them in *Marathon* (b). The like was afterwards put in Practice by other Common-wealths, but not without great Caution; *Cleomenes*, King of *Sparta*, being sore press'd by the *Macedonians*, and *Acheans*, and finding himself unable to make Head against them, Arm'd Two-thousand of the *Helots*, or *Lacedæmonian Slaves*, that he might make a fit Body to Oppose *Antigonis's* *Leucaspides*, or White Shields; but ventur'd not to List any more of them, tho' *Laconia* was at that time Furnish'd with much greater Numbers (c). And their Prudence in this Case deserves Commendation, for having exasperated them so much by their hard Usage, they had no reason to expect any Mercy from them, if ever they should get the upper hand. And to me it seems not much less than

(a) *Æneid*. l. IX. v. 545. (b) *Pausanias*. (c) *Plutarch*. *Cleomene*.

a Miracle, that Four-hundred-thousand Men should groan under the Oppression of Twenty, or Thirty-thousand (for those, I have told you already, were the Numbers of the *Slaves*, *Citizens*, and *Sojourners*, in *Attica*) without ever (some few times excepted) attempting to assert their Liberty; when 'tis evident, they wanted not strength to turn the State upside down; and impossible, but that they might have met with many Opportunities, especially in times of War, Sedition, and Tumults, in which the City was continually embroil'd, to accomplish such a design. But this must be ascrib'd partly to the watchful Eye, their Masters, and the whole State had upon them; and partly, to that Cowardise and Degeneracy, which usually in a great measure corrupt and debase the Minds of those, that Fortune has plac'd in a servile Condition, however Noble and Daring they be by Nature; for it is a true saying of *Homer*,

Ἡμῶν γὰρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀπολείνεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εἴτ' ἂν μιν χεῖρ δέλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλθοι.

True Valour n'ere can animate that Mind,
Whole inbred Seeds by Slav'ry are confin'd.

Mr. Abell.

But neither the Care of the State, nor the great Power that Oppression has to debase Men's Souls, could always keep them in Subjection; but Nature sometimes would exert it's self, when either a fair Opportunity invited, or some insufferable Oppression compelled them to endeavour the Recovery of their Liberties, that is, their Lives, their Fortunes into their own Hands. *Athenæus* reports, that in *Attica* they once seiz'd upon the Castle of *Sunium*, and committed Ravages throughout the Countrey; and at the same time made their second Insurrection in *Sicily*, for in that Countrey they frequently Rebell'd, but were at last reduc'd with great Slaughter, no less than a Million of them being Slain (a). Several other efforts we find made by them in other Places, to the great danger, and almost utter subversion of those Countries. Sometimes, in times of War, the *Slaves* would run over to the Enemy, and this Desertion they call'd *αὐτομολεῖν* (b), which, excepting Theft, a Crime almost peculiar to them, was the most common Offence they committed, being in most Places the only way they had to deliver themselves; but if they were taken, they were made to pay dearly for their desire of Freedom, being bound fast to a Wheel, and Unmercifully beaten with Whips, as the *Comedian* tells us,

Ἡ δ' ἄλγε' αὐτομολεῖν παρεσκευασμένον
Ἐπὶ πρῶχ' ἔλθοιτο μαστιγέμενον (c).

(a) *Athenæus* *Deipn.* l. VI. (b) *Aristoph.* *Equit.* (c) *Aristoph.* *Pace*.

If wretched *Slaves* harra's'd, and wear'd out
Under the Thralldom of dire Servitude,
Should but anticipate sweet Freedom's Joys,
And make Revolt to their more gentle Foes,
Fast to a Wheel being bound with Cords, they're Whipt.
Mr. Abell.

The same Punishment was inflicted on them for Theft, as we learn from *Horace* (a),

Non furtum feci, nec fugi, si mihi dicat
Servus, habes pretium, loris non ureris, aio.

Suppose, my *Slave* shou'd say, I neither Fly
Nor Steal : Well, thou hast thy reward, say I,
Thou art not Scourg'd.

Mr. Creech.

Sometimes they were rack'd upon the Wheel, (a Cruelty never practis'd upon any Free-born Person) to Extort a Confession from them, when they were suspected to have been Accessory to any Villainous Design, as *Aristophanes* informs us in his first Comedy, where one says to a *Slave*,

Επὶ τῷ τροχῷ ὃ δὲ σ' ἐκὶ σπείλῳ
Εἰπὲν ἂ πεπαυμένως.

We ought to Wrack you with incessant Pain,
To force you to reveal your Rogueries.

Mr. Abell.

The common way of correcting them for any Offence, was to Scourge them with Whips, wherefore a Villain, that had been guilty of any Crime that deserv'd Punishment, was said *μωπηγῶν*, to stand in need of, and, as it were, Itch for a Scourge. Sometimes to prevent their shrinking, or running away, they were tied fast to a Pillar; and therefore *Hyperides* in *Pollux* saith, *κεμίσαις ἐκ τῷ κιοῖ*, *ἔξειδαι*. For so, I think, that place ought to be read, and not, *κεμίσαι ἐκ τῷ κιοῖ*, *ἔξειδαι* (b). As the Vulgar Editions have it.

If they stood guilty of any notorious Offence, they were Condemn'd to Grind at the Mill, a Labour exceeding toilsom in those Days, when they were forc'd to beat their Grain into Meal, being unacquainted with the easie way of Grinding, that is us'd amongst us, and was the invention of later Ages. And therefore when they had a mind to express the greatness of any Labour, or Toil, it was usual to compare it to Grinding in a Mill, *Tibi mecum eris*, *Crasse*, in *eodem pistrino vivendum*, says *Tully* (c), that is, You and I, *Crasse*, must undergo the same troublesome course of Life. But beside the Labour

(a) *Epist.* lib. I. (b) *On.* l. III. c. VIII. (c) *De Orat.*

they

they were put to, they were beaten with Rods, or Scourges, sometimes, if their Offence was very great, to Death, as we learn from *Terence*, the Scene of whose *Drama* is laid in *Attica*,

Verberibus casum te in pistrinum, Dave, dedam usque ad necem (a).

I'll have you flea'd, you Villainous Curr, to Death.

Mr. Abell.

Or else, as others understand this Place, they were Condemn'd to that Punishment, as long as they liv'd.

These Mills, were call'd in general *Μύλωνς*, which Word, because of the Cruelty exercis'd upon poor *Slaves* there, *Pollux* tells us, was *ὄν ἀφρητός*, Unlucky, or Inauspicious, and not to be nam'd, and therefore calls it *Σιτοπαλῆς οἶκος*. They had several Names from the different Sorts of Grain, that was ground in them, as, *Χυθροκόπαια*, or *Χονδροκόπαια*, *Αλφιτεῖα*, *Ζωτεια*, *Ζώντεια*, or *Ζωτῆα*, and *Ζητεῖα*, whence comes the word *ζατῆύειν*, to examine upon the Rack, as was usual in that Place (b).

Beside this, they Stigmatiz'd them, in the Fore-head, for the most part, and sometimes in other places, for, as *Galen* observes (c), it was Customary to Punish the Member that had Offended, if the *Slave* was a Glutton, his Belly must suffer; if a Tell-tale, his Tongue must be cut out, and so of the rest. The common way of Stigmatizing was by burning the Member with a red-hot Iron, upon which certain Letters were Engraven, till a fair Impression was made, and then pouring Ink into the Furrows, that the Inscription might be the more conspicuous and legible. Persons thus us'd, were call'd *Στιγματίαι*, and *Στιγμῶν*, saith *Pollux*; or *Αἰταγᾶ*, because that Bird was *ποικιλοπτερόν*, of divers colours, as *Aristophanes* tells us (d). *Pliny* calls them *Inscripti* (e); and others *Literati*, as *Plautus*,

— sic hic literatus me finat (f).

And what the same Author means by *Trium literarum homo*, no man can be ignorant. This Punishment was seldom, or never inflicted upon any, but *Slaves*, and with them it was so frequent, that the *Samians*, when they gave a great number of *Slaves* their Liberty, and admitted them to Offices in the State, were branded with the Infamous name of *Literati*,

Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος ὅτι πολυγράμματον,

The Samian People (Fy for Shame)
For store of Letters have great Fame,

Dr. Littleton.

Saith *Aristophanes* in *Plutarch* (g); tho' others, and amongst them *Plutarch* himself, assign different Reasons for this Appellation (h). This

(a) *Andria*. (b) *Pollux* l. III. c. VIII. *Hesychius*. *Suidas*. *Etymolog.* (c) *Lib.* VI. (d) *Avibus*. (e) *Lib.* XVIII. c. III. (f) *Casina* Act. II. Sc. VI. (g) *Pericle*. (h) *Erasm.* *Adag.*

was

was the greatest mark of Infamy, that could be inflicted on them, and therefore *Phocylides* advises to forbear it, even in *Slaves*,

Σπίγματα μὴ γράψης, ἐπονείδειζον δεράποντα (a).

Brand not your *Slave* with Characters of Infamy.

On the contrary in *Thrace*, *Herodotus* tells us, it was accounted a Badge of Honour, and us'd by none but Persons of Credit, nor omitted, but by those of the meanest Rank (b).

At *Athens*, *Slaves* had a little more Humanity shown them, than in most other Places, for if any of them were grievously Oppress'd, they were allow'd to fly for Sanctuary to *Theseus's* Temple, whence to force them was a piece of Sacrilege (c). And those that had been Barbarously treated by their Masters, had the Privilege of commencing a Suit at Law against them, which they call'd *Υόρεως δίκην*, or *Αἰκίας δίκην*, the former of which was against such, as had made any violent Attempts upon the Chastity of their *Slaves*; the latter against those, that had us'd too much Severity in Punishing them; and if it appear'd, that the Complaint was reasonable and just, the Master was oblig'd to Sell his *Slave*.

Beside the being deliver'd from the injurious Treatment of Tyrants, the *Slaves* at *Athens* had a great deal the Advantage of their Brethren in other Places, in many Respects; they might use their Tongues with far greater Freedom, as appears every where from the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, *Plautus*, and *Terence*; and indulge themselves in the Enjoyment of a great many Pleasures, that in other Places they had not the smallest Taste of, insomuch that *Demosthenes* tells us, The Condition of a *Slave* in *Athens* was preferable to that of a Free *Denizon* in some other Cities (d), and *Plautus* sufficiently testifies the truth of what he saith,

Atque id ne vos miremini, homines servulos
Potare, amare, atque ad canam condicere;
Licet hoc Athenis ————— (e).

The Laws at *Athens* don't our *Slaves* restrain
From Pleasure, Mirth, and Gayety of Life,
For they may revel, be inflam'd with Love,
And live as much at Ease, as some Free *Denizens*.

Mr. *Abell*.

Farther, they were permitted to get Estates for themselves, paying only a small Tribute to their Masters every Year out of them, and if they could procure as much as would pay for their Ransom, their Masters had no power to hinder them from buying their Liberty, as may be observ'd from the same Author, who introduces a *Slave* speaking in this manner,

(a) V. 212. (b) Lib. V. (c) *Plutarch*, *Theseo*. (d) *Philipp*. III. (e) *Strabo*.

Quid

Quid tu me vera libertate territas?
Quod si tu nolis, filiusque etiam tuus,
Vobis invitis, atque amborum ingratis,
Vna libella liber possum fieri (a).

Pray, Sir, good Words, since nor you, nor your Son
Can me my Liberty deny, altho'
You pour out Threatnings with such rigorous awe,
For if I please, one Pound can me release,
And purchase Freedom. ————— (Mr. *Abell*.)

Sometimes, if they had been faithful, and diligent in their Master's Business, they dismiss'd them of their own accord; and upon the Performance of any remarkable Service for the Publick, the State usually took care to reward them with Liberty. Such of them as were admitted to serve in the Wars, were seldom left in the Condition of *Slaves*, either for fear the Remembrance of their former Oppression might move them to revolt to the Enemy, or raise a Sedition at Home, so fair an opportunity being put into their Hands; or, to animate them with greater Courage and Constancy to oppose the Invaders, when they were to receive so great a Reward for the Dangers they underwent; or, because it was thought unreasonable, that such as hazarded their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty, should themselves groan under the heavy Yoke of *Slavery*, and be depriv'd of even the smallest part of that, which was in a great measure owing to their Courage and Loyalty; for one, I say, or all these reasons, such as upon emergent Occasions took up Arms for the publick Safety, seldom fail'd of having their Liberty restor'd to them. An instance whereof, to mention no more, we have in the *Slaves*, that behav'd themselves Valiantly in the Sea-Fight at *Arginusæ*, where the *Athenians* obtain'd a signal Victory against *Callicratidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral; and therefore the *Slave* in *Aristophanes*, being almost ready to faint under an heavy Burden, accuseth his own Cowardise, that hindred him from lifting himself amongst the Marine-Forces, and thereby recovering his Liberty,

Οἱμοι κακοδαίμων· τί γὰρ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐναυμάχην (b);

Pox take this Heart, that durst not meet
In boist'rous Seas the *Spartan* Fleet.

Slaves, as long they were under the Government of a Master, were call'd *Οἰκιστῆς*, but after their Freedom was granted them, they were *Δέσμοι*, not being, like the former, a part of their Master's Estate, but only oblig'd to some grateful Acknowledgements, and small Services (c), such as were requir'd of the *Μετρίων*, to whom they were in some few things inferiour; but seldom, perhaps never, arriv'd to the Dignity of Citizens, especially if they had receiv'd their Freedom from a private Person, and not upon a Publick Account; for such

(a) *Cassina*. (b) *Ramus* Act. I. Scen. I. (c) *Christippus* de Concordia l. II.

as were advanc'd for Publick Services, seem to have liv'd in greater Repute, and enjoy'd a larger share of Liberty, than others, that had only merited their Freedom, by the Obligations, they had laid upon particular Persons.

A Tribute of twelve *Drachms* was exacted of the *Métougi*, and the same with an addition of Three *Oboli* was required of the *Free'd-men* (a). Also they were oblig'd to choose a *Προστάτης*, who was to be no other, than the Master, out of whose Service they had been releas'd; upon him they attended almost in the same manner with the *Roman Liberti*, and *Cliemes*; but in Case they behav'd themselves Stubbornly, and Ungratefully towards him, he had power to Arrest them, and carry them before a Judge, by whom, if they were found Guilty, they were depriv'd of their Liberty, and reduc'd to their former miserable Condition; this Suit was call'd *Αποστασία δική*, which name was also given to the complaints made by *Servants*, and *Free'd-men* against their Masters, and *Patrons*, which both of them were allow'd to Prefer, if they were not treated with all the Humanity that was thought due to their respective Conditions; but because all the *Free'd-men's* publick Butinels, like that of the *Métougi*, was to be manag'd chiefly by Proxies; at their restoration to Liberty, both of them had the Privilege of choosing an *Επίτροπος*, or *Curator*, who in case his *Cliem* receiv'd any Injury from his *Patron*, was to Defend him, to Appeal for him, and plead his Cause before the Judges, who out of respect to the *Patron*, were appointed out of his own Tribe (b).

This was the Condition of *Slaves* in *Athens*, which, tho' in it self deplorable enough, yet if compar'd with that of their Fellow-sufferers in other Cities, seems very easie, at least tolerable, and not to be repin'd at. I might here give you an account, of the various Conditions of *Slaves* in the several Countries of *Greece*, such as the *Penestæ* in *Thessaly*; the *Clarotæ*, and *Minoitæ* in *Crete*; the *Corynephori* at *Sicyon*; the *Gymnitæ* at *Argos*, and many others; but I shall only at present lay before you the State of the *Helotæ* in *Sparta*, which, because of the frequent mention made of them in Authors, must not be omitted; and from their Treatment (tho' they were a more Gentile sort of *Slaves*, and enjoy'd more Privileges (c) than the rest) will appear the Truth of what *Plutarch* tells us, was commonly said of *Sparta*, *Εν Λακεδαιμονίῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον μέγιστον ἐδούλευον ἑνὶν, ἢ τὸ δούλον μέγιστον δούλον*, That in *Sparta* he that was Free, was most so; and he that was a *Slave*, was the greatest *Slave* in the World (d).

The *Helotæ* were so call'd from *Helos*, a *Laconian* Town, Conquer'd by the *Spartans*, who made all the Inhabitants Prisoners of War, and reduc'd them into the condition of *Slaves* (e).

The *Free-men* of *Sparta*, were forbidden the Exercise of any mean or Mechanical Employment, and therefore the whole Care of supplying the City with Necessaries was devolv'd upon the *Helots*, the Ground

(a) Harpocrat. (b) Suidas, Harpocrat. (c) Pollux. l. III. c. VIII. (d) Plutarch. Lycurg. (e) Strabo l. VIII. Harpocrat.

was till'd, and all sorts of Trades manag'd by them, whilst their Masters, Gentlemen like, spent all their time in Dancing, and Feasting, in their Exercises, Hunting matches, and the *λεχαί*, or places where good Company us'd to meet (a).

But the being Condemn'd to such Drudgeries all their Lives, had been, at least, supportable, had they not been also treated in the most Barbarous manner, abus'd beyond the patience of Man, and often Murder'd without committing any Fault, and without any shew of Justice. And of this the *Κρυπτιὰ*, or secret Law, is a sufficient proof; It was an Ordinance, (these are *Plutarch's* own Words,) by which those, who had the care of the Young-men, dispatch'd privately some of the ablest of them into the Countrey, from time to time, Arm'd only with Daggers, and taking a little necessary Provision with them; these in the Day-time, hid themselves in the Thickets and Clifts, and there lay close; but in the Night issu'd out into the High-ways, and Murder'd all the *Helots* they could light upon; sometimes they set upon them by Day, as they were at work in the Fields, and kill'd them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* reports, in his History of the *Peloponnesian* War. The same Author tells us, (saith *Plutarch*), that a good number of them being crown'd by Proclamation, (which was a token of their being set Free) enfranchis'd for their good Services, and led about to all the Temples in token of Honour, disappear'd all of a sudden, being about the number of Two-thousand, and no Man either then, or since could give any Account, how they came by their Deaths. *Aristotle* adds, that the *Ephori*, so soon as they were enter'd into their Office, us'd to declare War against them, that they might be Massacred with a pretence of Law.

It is confess'd on all hands, (proceeds my Author,) that the *Spartans* dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to Excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their Publick Halls, that their Children might see, *What a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken man is*. They made them to Dance uncomely Dances, and Sing ridiculous Songs; forbidding them expressly to use any that was Serious, and Manly, because they *Would not have them Prophan'd by their Mouths*. For this reason, when the *Thebans* made an Incursion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Helots* Prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to Sing the Odes of *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spendon*, Poets in repute at *Lacedemon*, For (said they) *they are our Master's Songs, we dare not Sing them* (b).

Having given you a Survey of the usage, *Slaves* generally met with amongst the Ancients, it remains that I give you an account how they came to fall into this deplorable Condition, from that Liberty, which all Men are by Nature made Masters of. And it seems to have happen'd these Three ways: First, from Poverty, whereby Men being unable to subsist of themselves, and perhaps, deeply in Debt, were forc'd to

(a) Plutarch. Lycurgo. (b) Plutarch. ibidem.

part with their Freedom, and yield themselves *Slaves* to such as were able to maintain them; or Sell their Bodies to their Creditors, and pay them in Service, what they were not able to do in Money. Secondly, Vast numbers were reduc'd to *Slavery* by the chance of War, by which the Conquered became wholly at the disposal of their Conquerors. Thirdly, By the perfidiousness of those that Traded in *Slaves*, who would often Steal Persons of Ingenuous Birth and Education, and Sell them. *Aristophanes* tells us, the *Thessalians* were notorious for this sort of Villainy,

ΠΕ. Πόθεν ἔν' ἔξεις δεράποντας;
ΧΡ. Οὐκ οἶμαι ἀργυρεῖς δύναι. ΠΕ. Τίς δ' ἔσται πρῶτον ὁ πωλῶν,
ὅταν ἀργυρεῖον καλέινῃς ἔχει; ΧΡ. Κερδαίνειν βυλόμανθ' τις
βιμπροῦσ', ἥκων ἐκ Θησπυλίας περὶ πλείων ἀνδραποδιστῶν (a).

POV. How will you, Sir, get *Slaves*? CHR. I'll Buy with Coynt.

POV. But where? since all the Merchants leave of Sale,
Having got Wealth enough. CHR. I'll warrant you,
Slave-mongers will come here from *Thessaly*,
Driv'n by hopes of getting more. —

Mr. Abell.

But if any Person were convicted of having betray'd a Free-man, he was severely Punish'd by *Solon's* Laws, except it were a Daughter, or a Sister, for those they were permitted to Sell, if they had caught them with a Man (b).

At *Athens*, they had several places in the *Forum* appointed for the Sale of *Slaves*, of which I have spoken already; and upon the first of every Month, the Merchants, call'd *ἀνδραποδιστῆται*, brought them into the Market, and expos'd them to Sale (c), the Cryer standing upon a Stone erected for that purpose, call'd *Πεσσοστόλιον*, and calling the people together (d); whence *Cicero* opprobriously calls the *Tribunes*, *emprios de Lapide*, because they were suspected to have been hir'd to the management of an Affair (e).

At *Athens*, when a New-bought *Slave* was first brought Home, there was an Entertainment provided to welcome him to his new Service, and certain Sweet-meats were pour'd upon his head, which for that reason they call'd *Καταχυσματα* (f). But I do not find that this Ceremony was practis'd in other Places; tho' in all Countries, *Slaves* were Bought and Sold like other Commodities; the *Thracians* are particularly remarkable for Purchasing them with Salt, and therefore they were call'd *πρὸς ἁλὸς ἐργασμῖνα*; *Eustathius* adds, that *Ἀλώνητα δαλαεῖα*, signified those, that were Bought at a very low Rate. The *Chians*

(a) *Plut. Ag. II. Sc. V.* (b) *Plutarch. Solone.* (c) *Aristoph. Ec. Equit.* (d) *Polux I. III. c. VIII.* (e) *Orat. in Pisonem.* (f) *Aristoph. Pluto, & Pollux loc. cit.*

are reported to have been the first that gave Money for them (a); whereas before, they were usually exchang'd for other Commodities; indeed, the Ancient Trade was wholly manag'd that way; *Ætner's* Heroes are often said to have exchang'd their Captives for Provisions, and particularly at the end of the Seventh *Iliad*,

Εὐδεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο χρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί,
Ἄλλοι μὲ χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἔρινοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι βοέσσιν,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπέδεσσιν, πίνοντο δ' δαῖτα δαλειαῖα.

The Grecian Chiefs by bartering of their Ware,
Their choice Provisions, and their Wine prepare;
Some Brass exchange, some Iron, some Beast's hydes,
Some *Slaves* of War, some Cattle. —

Mr. Abell.

Whence it appears, that the Barbarous Oppression, and Cruelty us'd towards *Slaves*, was not an effect of the Pride of later Ages, but practis'd in the most primitive and simple Times; how long it continued, is not certain.

Adrian is said to have been the first, that took away from Masters, the power of putting their *Slaves* to Death, without being call'd to Account for it. And in the Reign of *Nero*, and other Cruel Emperours of *Rome*, the Masters were forc'd to give them Civil Treatment, for fear they should accuse them, as Persons disaffected to the Government.

But the growth of *Christianity* in the World seems to have put a final Period to that unlimited Power, that Lords in former Ages claim'd over their *Slaves*; for the *Christians* behav'd themselves with abundance of Mildness, and Gentleness towards them; partly, to encourage them to embrace the *Christian* Religion, the Propagation of which they aim'd at more, than the Promotion of their own private Interests; and partly, because they thought it Barbarous, and Unnatural, that Persons endu'd by Nature with the same Powers and Faculties, the same Tempers and Inclinations with themselves, should be treated with no more Kindness, than those Creatures, that are without Reason, and have no Power to reflect on their own Condition, nor to be sensible of the Miseries they lie under.

(a) *Cal. Rhod. Antiquitat I. XXV. c. IX.*

CHAPTER XI.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Magistrates* of *Athens* are divided by *Æschines* (a) into Three sorts, the Ground of which Distinction, is taken from the different methods of their Election, and Promotion.

1. *Χερσπονηται*, were such as receiv'd their Dignity from the People, met together in a Lawful Assembly, and were so call'd from the manner of their Election, in which the People gave their Votes by holding up their Hands.

2. *Κληρωτοι*, were those that ow'd their Promotion to Lots, which were drawn by the *Thesmothetæ*, in *Theseus's* Temple.

3. *Αιετοι*, were extraordinary Officers, appointed by the whole People, or particular Tribes, to take care of any Business; such were the Surveyors of the publick Works, and such like.

According to *Solon's* Constitutions, no Man was capable of being a *Magistrate*, except he was possess'd of a considerable Estate; but by *Aristides's* means, the Poorer sort were admitted to a share in the management of the Government, and every Free *Denizon* rendred capable of appearing for the highest Preferments. Yet such was the Modesty of the Commons, that they left the chief Offices, and such as the care of the Common-wealth depended upon, to Persons of superiour Quality, aspiring no higher, than the management of petty and trivial Businesses (b).

But tho' no Man's Quality, or Condition, could exempt him from bearing publick Offices, yet his course of Life, and Behaviour might; for if any Man had liv'd a Vitious, and Scandalous Life, he was thought unworthy of the meanest Office; it being improbable that a Person, that could not behave himself so as to gain Reputation in a private Capacity, should be able to demean himself Prudently and Wisely in a publick Station; or that he, who had neglected his own Concerns, or fail'd in the management of them, should be capable of undertaking publick Business, and providing for the Common-wealth. And therefore before any Man was admitted to a publick Employ, he was oblig'd to give an account of himself, and his past Life, before certain Judges in the *Forum*, which was the Place appointed for this Examination, which they call'd *Δοκιμωσία* (c). Nor was this alone thought sufficient, for tho' at this time they pass the Tryal with Credit, yet in the first Ordinary Assembly after their Election, they were a second time brought to the Test, when, if any thing Scandalous was alledg'd, and made out against them, they were depriv'd of their Honours (d).

(a) Orat. in Ctesiphont. Ulpian. in Androtiana. (b) Xenophon de Rep. Athen. (c) Lyfia Orat. in Evandr. Æschines contra Timarchum. (d) Demosthen. in Theocr.

And when their Offices were expir'd, they were oblig'd to give an account of their Management to the *Notaries*, and the *Logistæ*, which was call'd *Ευθυμ*, and if any neglected to do it, or, had not undergone the former Probation, the People were forbidden, by an express Law, to present him with a Crown, which was the usual Reward of such as had gain'd themselves Honour and Reputation, by the careful and wise Management of publick Employments. Also till their Accounts were pass'd, they were not permitted to Sue (a) for any other Office, or Place of Trust, or to Travel into any Foreign Country, or to dispose of their Estates, or any part of them, whether by Will, or Consecrating them to Pious uses, or any other way; but the whole was to remain entire, that in case they should be found to have embezzl'd the Publick Revenues, the City might not loose by them (b).

The Day in which the *Magistrates* entred upon their Offices, was the first of *Hecatombæon*, the first Month in the *Athenian* Calendar; it was a Solemn Festival, which from the occasion had the Name of *Εοσθηρία*, and was celebrated with all the expressions of Mirth, and Joy us'd at such publick Days. Also Sacrifices were Offer'd to the Gods by the Senators, and most of the other *Magistrates*; and Prayers made for the Prosperity of the City, in the Chappel of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, the *Counsellors* (c).

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Nine Archons, &c.

THE chief of *Magistrates* of *Athens* were Nine in Number, and had all the common Name of *Archontes*, or Rulers. They were elected by Lots, but were not admitted to their Offices, till they had undergone a two-fold Tryal, one in the Senate-house, call'd *Ανάκρισις*, and a second in the *Forum*, call'd *Δοκιμωσία*. The Questions which the Senate propos'd to them, were such as these, Whether they were descended from Ancestors, that had been Citizens of *Athens* from three Generations? Of what Tribe, and Hundred they were, and whether they bore any Relation to *Apollo*, and *Jupiter Hercules*? Whether they had been Dutiful to their Parents, had Serv'd in the Wars, and had a competent Estate (d)? And, as some are of Opinion, the same Questions were demanded of all the other *Magistrates* (e).

But what was more peculiar to these *Magistrates*, was the Oath required of them, before their Admission, in the *Portico*, call'd *Βασιλειος*

(a) Suidas, Hesychius, Æschin. Orat. de Ement. Legat. (b) Æschin. in Ctesiphont. (c) Suidas, Ulpian. in Medianam, Antiphon. Orat. de honesta. (d) Demosthen. in Eubulid. Pollux Onom. l. VIII. c. XIII. (e) *Dicaærius* contra *Aristogor.*

να, to this Effect; That they would observe the Laws, and administer Justice without partiality, would never be corrupted by Bribes, or if they were, would dedicate a Statue of Gold to the *Delphian Apollo*: From thence they went into the Citadel, and there repeated the same Oath.

This done, they undertook their Charge, some parts of which were to be executed by them separately, according to their respective Offices, others equally concern'd them all. They had all the Power of Punishing Malefactors with Death, were all Crown'd with a Garland of Myrtle; they had a joyn't Commission for appointing the *Δικασται*, and *Αθλοδότηται* by Lots, Electing out of every Tribe one; as also of Constituting the *Ισπαρχοι*, *Φύλαρχοι*, and *Στρατηγοι*, of inquiring into the Behaviour, and Management of other *Magistrates*, and deposing such as were by the Suffrages of the People declar'd to be unworthy of bearing the Office, that had been committed to them (a). And as a recompence for their Services, they were free from all Taxes, and Contributions exacted of other Citizens for the Building of Men of War, which was an immunity never granted to any besides themselves.

And thus much of the Nine *Archons* in common, I shall now speak of them in particular; only first begging leave to tell you, that concerning the first Original of their Names nothing certain is recorded; but *Sigonius* conjectures, that the Names of *Βασίλειος*, and *Ἀρχων*, were in imitation of the chief *Magistrates* of former Ages, wherein the City was first Govern'd by *Kings*, and then by *Archons*; and that of *Πολίμωχος*, in memory of the *General* of the Army, an Officer usually created by the first *Kings* to assist them in times of War. And the *Θεομαχισταί*, as their Name imports, seem to have been constituted in behalf of the People, to protect them in the possession of their Laws and Liberties, from the usurpation of the other *Archons*, whose power before *Solon's* regulation of the Common-wealth seems to have been far greater; and more unbounded, than afterwards; for by that Law-giver it was Order'd, that their Offices should consist chiefly in these Things, that follow.

Ἀρχων, so call'd by way of Eminence, was Chief of the Nine, and is sometimes nam'd *Επινομος*, because the Year took it's denomination from him. His Jurisdiction reach'd both Ecclesiastical, and Civil Affairs. It was his Business to determine in all Causes betwixt Men and their Wives; concerning Wives brought to Bed after the Death of their Husbands; concerning Wills and Testaments; concerning Dowries, and Legacies; to take care of Orphans, and provide Tutors, and Guardians for them; to hear the Complaints of such as had been injur'd by their Neighbours; and to Punish such as were addicted to Drunkenness; also to take the first cognizance of some publick Actions, such were those they call'd *Εισαγγελίαι*, *Φάσεις*, *Ενδείξεις*, *Εφηγήσεις*, of which in their place. He kept a Court of Judicature in the O-

(a) *Pollux* ibid. Idem ubique laudatur in his capitibus,

dejan,

deum, where Tryals about Victuals, and other Necessaries were brought before him. It was his Duty also to appoint *Censors*, call'd *Επιμεληταί*, to make Provision for the Celebration of the Feasts, call'd *Διονύσια*, and *Θεργήλια*, with some other Solemnities; to take care for the regulation of Stage-plays, and provide Singers, Choristers, and other Necessaries for them (a).

Βασίλειος, had a Court of Judicature in the *Royal Portico*, where he decided all Disputes that happen'd amongst the Priests, and the Sacred Families, such as were the *Ceryces*, *Eteobutadae*, &c. to whom certain Offices in the Celebration of Divine Worship belong'd by Inheritance. Such also, as were accus'd of Impiety, or Prophanation of any of the Mysteries, Temples, or other Sacred things were brought before him. It was his Business to assist in the celebration of the *Eleusinian*, and *Lenean* Festivals, and all those, in which they ran Races with Torches in their hands, viz. *Panathenaea*, *Hephestia*, and *Promethaea*; and to Offer publick Sacrifices for the Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth; in several of which Duties, he had the Assistance of his Wife, whom they call'd *Βασίλισσα*, who, if not descended from a Family that was of the whole Blood of *Athens*, or had been Marri'd to another Husband before the *Βασίλειος*, was not duly qualified for her Place by Law. Beside this, he had some concernment in Secular Affairs, for Disputes about inanimate things were brought before him; as also accusations of Murder, which it was his Business to take an Account of, and then refer them to the *Areopagites*, amongst whom he had a right of Suffrage, but was oblig'd to lay by his Crown, (which was one of the Badges of his Office) during the Tryal (b).

Πολίμωχος, had under his care all the Strangers, and Sojourners in *Athens*, and exercis'd the same Authority upon them, that was us'd by the *Archon* towards the Citizens. It was his Duty to Offer a Solemn Sacrifice to *Enyalios*, (who is by some taken for *Mars*, by others for one of his Attendants) and another to *Diana*, Sirnam'd *Αρσενία*, from one of the *Athenian* Burroughs; to celebrate the Exequies of the famous Patriot *Harmodius*; and to take care, that the Children of those Men that had lost their Lives in their Countrey's Service, should have a competent Maintenance out of the publick Exchequer.

But because these three *Magistrates* were often, by reason of their Youth, not so well skill'd in the Laws, and Customs of their Countrey, as might have been wish'd, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was Customary for each of them, to make choice of two Persons of Age, Gravity, and Reputation to sit with them upon the Bench, and direct them as there was Occasion. These they call'd *Πάρεδροι*, or Assessors, and oblig'd them to undergo the same Probation in the Senate-house, and publick Forum, with the other

(a) *Pollux* Onomastic. hic & ubique, *Lipstas* in *Alcibiadem*, *Demosthen.* in *Maecartat.* *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, & ubique in his capitibus. (b) *Demosthenes* in *Lacritum*, & *Nearam*.

K

Magistrates,

Magistrates, and like them too, to give an Account how they had behaved themselves in their respective Trusts, when their Offices were expir'd.

The six remaining *Archons* were call'd by one common Name, *The-smothetæ*. They receiv'd Complaints against Persons Guilty of false Accusations, of Calumniating, of Bribery, of Impiety, which also was part of the *King's Office*, but with this difference, that the Accusers did only *φαίνειν τὸν ἀσεβῆ*, inform against the Impious, by word of Mouth at the *King's Tribunal*, whereas before the *The-smothetæ*, they did *γράφειν*, deliver in their Indictment in Writing. Also all Causes, and Disputes between the Citizens, and Strangers, Sojourners, or Slaves, and Controversies about Trade and Merchandize were brought before them. Appeals to the People were Preferr'd, the publick Examination of several of the *Magistrates* perform'd, and the Suffrages in publick Assemblies taken by them. They ratified all publick Contracts, and Leagues, appointed the Days upon which the Judges were to sit, and hear Causes in their several Courts of Judicature, took care that no Laws should be establish'd, but such as conduc'd to the Safety, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and Indicted those, that endeavour'd to seduce the unwary Multitude, and perswade them to give their Consent to what was contrary to the Interest of the Common-wealth.

Εὐθῦνοι, were Ten Officers appointed to assist the *Archons*, and pass the Accounts of the *Magistrates*, and to set a Fine upon such as they found to have imbezzl'd the publick Treasure, or any way injur'd the Common-wealth by their male-administration. *Aristotle* (a) tells us, they were sometimes call'd *Εξετάται*, and *Συνήγοροι*, and others will have them to be the same with the *Λογισταί*; but these are by *Aristotle* said to be distinguish'd from them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

OΙ ἑνδεκά, the Eleven, so call'd from their Number, were elected out of the Body of the People, each of the Ten Tribes sending one; to which there was added a *Γραμματεὺς*, or Register, to make up the Number; sometimes they were call'd *Νομοφύλακες*, Keepers of the Laws, which appellation was taken from their Office, being in some things not unlike that of our *Sheriffs*; for they were to see Malefactors put to Execution, and had the Charge of such as were committed to the publick Prison. They had also Power to seize Thieves, Kidnappers, and Highway-men upon Suspicion, and, if they confess'd

(a) *Polit. l. VI. cap. ultimo.*

the Fact, to put them to Death; if not, they were oblig'd to Prosecute them in a Judicial Way.

Φύλαρχοι, were *Magistrates* that presided over the *Athenian Tribes*, one of which was allotted to each of them. Afterwards, this Name became peculiar to a Military Command, and the Governours of Tribes were call'd *Επιμηλητῶν φυλῶν*. Their Business was to take care of the publick Treasure, that belong'd to each Tribe, to manage all their Concerns, and call them together to Consult, as oft as any thing happen'd, that required the presence of the whole Body.

Φυλοῦσασιλῆεις, seem to have had, in most things, the same Office, with respect to particular Tribes, that the *Βασιλεὺς* had, with respect to the Common-wealth. They were chosen out of the *Εὐπατρίδαι*, or Nobility, had the care of publick Sacrifices, and other Divine Worship peculiar to their respective Tribes, and kept their Court in the *Portico* call'd *Βασιλειον*, and sometimes in the *Βασιλείον*.

Φερετρῆαρχοι, and *Τεττινῆαρχοι*, had in the several *Φερετρίαι*, and *Τεττινῆαι* the same Power, that the *Φύλαρχοι* Exercis'd oyer the whole Tribe.

Δήμαρχοι, had the same Offices in the *Δῆμοι*, took care of their Revenues, out of which they paid all the Duties requir'd of them, assembled the People in the Burroughs under their Jurisdiction, all whose Names they had written in a Register, and presided at the Election of Senators, and other *Magistrates* chosen by Lots. Sometimes we find them call'd *Ναύαρχοι*, and the Burroughs *Ναυαρχίαι*, because each of them was oblig'd, besides two Horse-men, to furnish out one Ship for the publick Service.

Λεξιάρχοι, were Six in Chief, but were assisted by Thirty inferiour Officers, in laying Fines upon such as came not to publick Assemblies, and making Scrutiny amongst those that were present; such also as were busie in the Market they compell'd to leave their Buying and Selling, and attend on the publick Business, and this they did by the help of the *Τοξόται*, who were certain petty Officers, or rather Servants, much like the *Roman Liētors*, and our *Sheriff's Livery-men*, *Bay-liffs*, &c. the City of *Athens* had a Thousand of them, that liv'd in Tents, erected in the middle of the *Forum*, and were afterwards remov'd to the *Areopagus*. Their name seems to have been taken from the Arms they usually carried with them, in the same manner that the Life-guards of Kings are call'd *Δορυφόροι*. Sometimes they are call'd *Δημοσποὶ Επόπται*, a Name, that was taken from their Offices; sometimes *Πάσινοι*, from *Pensinus*, one of the Primitive *Athenians*, that either first instituted this Office, or gave rules for the Ordering of it; and sometimes *Σκυῶναι*, from the Countrey of *Scythia*, for generally Men of that Countrey were chosen into this Place, as being Brawny, Sturdy Fellows; and therefore one of them is introduc'd by *Aristophanes*, speaking in an uncouth and Barbarous manner (a). But to return to the

(a) *Aristophanes, ejusque Scholiast. Acharn. & The-smoph.*

Lexiarchi, They were the Persons that had the keeping of *λεξιμαρχία*, *λεξιμαρτέιον*, or *λοδομαρτε*, or publick Register of the whole City, in which were written the Names of all the Citizens, as soon as they came to be of Age to enter upon their paternal Inheritance, which they call'd *Λήξις*.

Νομοφύλακες, were Officers, whose Business it was to see that both the *Magistrates*, and Common People liv'd conformably to the *Laws*, and to Punish the Stubborn and Disobedient (a). To this End in publick Assemblies they had Seats appointed with the *Προεδροί*, that they might be ready to Oppose any Man that should Act contrary to the *Laws*, and receiv'd Customs, or Promote any thing against the publick Good. As a Token of the Honourable Station they were plac'd in, they always wore a white Ribband in the Solemn Games, and publick Shows, and had Chairs erected for them, over-against those of the Nine *Archons*.

Νομοδιδται, were a Thousand in Number, their Office was not (as the Name seems to imply) to enact new *Laws* by their own Authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the Senate, and the People's ratification; but to inspect the old, and if they found any of them useless, or prejudicial, as the State of Affairs then stood, or Contradictory to another, they caus'd them to be abrogated by an Act of the People. Beside this, they were to take care that no Man should Plough, or Dig deep Ditches within the *Pelasgian* Wall, to apprehend Offenders, and send them to the *Archon*.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

THE *Treasurers*, and *General Receivers* of *Athens* were of several Sorts; but before I proceed, to give an Account of their Offices, it will be necessary to premise a word or two concerning the publick Revenues; which are by the Accurate *Sigonius* divided into these four following Sorts;

1. *Τέλη*, signifie those Revenues that were brought in by Lands, Mines, Woods, and other publick Possessions, set apart for the use of the Common-wealth; and the Tributes paid by the *Sojourners*, and the *Free'd-Servants*; as also the Customs required of certain Arts, and Trades, and particularly of Merchants for the exportation, and importation of their Goods.

2. *Φόροι*, were the annual Payments exacted of all their Tributary Cities, which after *Xerxes's* Overthrow, were first levy'd by the *Athenians*, as Contributions to enable them to carry on the War, in case, as was fear'd, the Enemy should make a new Invasion upon them. The first

(a) Cicero de Legib. lib. III. Columella de Re Rust. lib. XII. cap. III.

Collector of this Tax was *Aristides*, who (as *Plutarch* reports in his Life) assess'd all particular Persons, Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability; and the Sum rais'd by him, amounted to Four-hundred, and Sixty Talents. To this *Pericles* added near a Third part, (proceeds my Author) for *Thucydides* reports, that in the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War, the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates Six-hundred Talents. After *Pericles's* Death the *Orators* and Men Powerful amongst the People, proceeded to encrease it by little and little, till it amounted to One-thousand, and Three-hundred Talents; and that not so much because of the extraordinary Expensiveness of the Wars, as by exciting the People to Largesses, Play-house-expences, and the erecting of Statues, and Temples.

3. *Εισφοραί*, were Taxes laid upon the Citizens, as well as *Sojourners*, and *Free'd-Servants*, by the Order of the Assembly, and Senate, for the defraying of extraordinary Charges, occasion'd by long and unsuccessful Wars, or any other Means.

4. *Τιμήματα*, were Fines and Amercements, all which were carried into the Exchequer, except the Tenth part, that was given to *Minerva*, and the Fiftieth part, which belong'd to the rest of the Gods, and the Heroes call'd *Επιώνυμοι*. Having said thus much of the publick Money, I shall now proceed to the Persons, that had the Disposal, and Management of it.

Επιστάτης, was elected by Lot out of the *Prytanes*, and had in his Custody the Keys of the publick Exchequer, which Trust was thought so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the rest of the Honours and Offices of this *Magistrate* I shall speak in another place.

Παλήται, were Ten in number, and, together with those that had the care of the Money design'd to be expended upon publick Shows, had the Power of letting out the Tribute-money, and all the Revenues, and Selling Estates that were Confiscated; all which bargains were ratified in the name of their *President*. Beside this, it was their Office to Convict such as had not paid the Tribute, call'd *Μετίκταιον*, and Sell them by Auction. Under these were certain inferiour Officers, call'd *Εκλογεῖς*, whose business it was to Collect the publick Money, for such as had Leases of the City's Revenues, whom they call'd *Τελώναι*; these were always Persons of good Credit themselves, and beside their own Bonds, were oblig'd to give other Security for the payment of the Money due according to their Leases, in which if they fail'd any longer than till the Ninth *Prytanea*, they were under a Forfeiture of twice the Principal, to be paid by themselves, or their Sureties, upon neglect of which they were all cast into Prison, and their Estates confiscated (a). After the expulsion of the *Thirty Tyrants*, certain Officers, call'd *Συνδικοί*, were Created, with power to take cognizance of all Complaints about the confiscation of Goods, as appears from an Oration of *Lyfias* in behalf of *Nicias*.

(a) Suidas, Ulpianus in Demosthen. &c.

Επιμετρηταί, were Officers that Rated all those, of whom Taxes and Contributions were requir'd, according to every Man's Ability, kept the publick Accounts, and Prosecuted such as were behind hand with their Contributions.

Αποδέκται, were Ten General Receivers, to whom all the publick Revenues, Contribution-money, and Debts ow'd to the publick, were paid, which done, they Register'd all their Receptions, and cross'd out of the publick Debt-book, such as had discharg'd their Debts, in the presence of the whole Senate. If any Controverſie happen'd about the Money, or Taxes, they had power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty Point, or of high Concern, for such they refer'd to the hearing of some of the Courts of Judicature.

Αντρεφιδός ἢ *Βυλῆς*, was a publick Notarie, appointed, at the first institution of the Office, by Election, and afterwards by Lot, to take a Counter-pain of the Accounts of the *Αποδέκται*, for the prevention of all Deceit, and Mistakes.

Εκκλησιονομίαι, or *Εκκλησιονομαῖαι*, had the same Offices in the Tributary Cities, that belong'd to the *Αποδέκται* in their own Territories.

Περάκται, were those that receiv'd the Money due to the City, from Fines laid upon Criminals.

Ταμίαι ἢ *Θεῶν*, ἢ *Θεῶν*, were those that receiv'd that part of the Fines, which was due to *Minerva*, and the rest of the Gods, which was done before the Senate. They were Ten in Number, were chosen by Lots out of the *Πεντακισιόμεδμοι*, or Nobles, and had power of remitting any Man's Fine, if it was made appear to them, that the *Magistrates* had unjustly impos'd it. *Pollux* tells us, they were the same with those they call'd *Κωλακείται*, and these, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* reports, us'd to receive not only the Money due to the Gods from Fines, but other Incomes design'd for Civil Uses, and particularly the *Τελεῶδολα*, distributed amongst the Judges, and therefore call'd *Δικαστικὸς μισθός*. They were so nam'd q. *Κωλακεί*, because they were a kind of Priests, and us'd to claim as their Due the Reliques of Sacrifices; amongst which were the Skins, and the *Κωλαί* (a).

Ζητηταί, were Officers appointed upon extraordinary Occasions to enquire after the publick Debts, when thro' the neglect of the *Receivers*, or by other means they were run up to large Sums, and began to be in danger of being lost, if they were not call'd in.

The distinction of the Officers hitherto mention'd; has been taken chiefly from the different Receptions of the publick Money; I shall proceed in *Sigonius's* method, and give you an account in the next place of those, that were distinguish'd by the different manners of disbursing it. And to this End, you must know the Publick Treasure was divided into Three sorts, according to the various Uses in which it was employ'd, the First, they call'd

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Avibus, Vespis.*

1. *Χρήματα* ἢ *δοικήσεως*, being such as were expended in civil Uses.

2. *Στρατιωτικὰ*, those that were required to defray the Charges of the War.

3. *Θεωρικά*, such as were consecrated to pious Uses; in which they included the Expences at Plays, publick Shows, and Festivals, because most of them were celebrated in Honour of some of the Gods, or in Memory of some deceas'd Heroe; and *Pollux* tells us, the Money given to the Judges, and the People, that met in the publick Assemblies, was call'd by this Name.

Ταμίης ἢ *Δοικητής*, otherwise call'd *Επιμελητής* ἢ *ἡγεὼν* *οὐρασιδων*, was the principal Treasurer, being far superiour to all the rest in Honour, and Power, created by the People, and continu'd in his Office for Five Years, after which, if he had behav'd himself with Honesty and Integrity, it was an usual thing for him to be elected a Second and Third time.

Αντρεφιδός ἢ *Δοικησεως*, seems to have been one that kept a Counterpain of the chief *Treasurer's* accounts, to preserve them from being falsified, or corrupted.

Ταμίης ἢ *Στρατιωτικῶν*, was the *Pay-master General* of the Army.

Ταμίης ἢ *Θεωρικῶν*, or *ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ Θεωρικῷ*, had the disposal of the *Θεωρικὰ χρήματα*, for the Uses above mention'd. But the greatest and most troublesome part of his Office consisted in distributing them to the Poor Citizens, to buy Seats in the Theater; which Custom was first begun and enacted into a Law by *Pericles*, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty (a); for, as *Libanius* observes, in the Primitive Ages of the Common-wealth, when the Theaters were compos'd of Wood, the People, being eager of getting places, us'd to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes Beat and Wound one another; to prevent which inconvenience, it was order'd that every one, before he enter'd into the Theater, should pay two *Oboli*, or a *Drachm*, according to *Harpocration*, for admittance; and least by this means the Poorer sort should be depriv'd of the pleasure of Seeing, every Man was allow'd to demand that Sum of the publick Exchequer (b).

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Athenian Magistrates.

Στραται, were so call'd from their Office, which was to lay in Corn for the use of the City, and to this end the *Ταμίης* ἢ *δοικησεως*, was to furnish them with as much Money, as they had occasion for.

(a) *Plutarch. Pericle.* (b) *In Olynthiac.*

Athens was Seated in a barren and unfruitful Countrey, that was not able to furnish it's own Inhabitants with necessary Provisions, whereby they were forc'd to fetch Corn from Foreign Nations, and supply their own Wants by the Superfluities of others; and this it was, that caus'd them to institute this Office.

Σιτοφύλακες, were Fifteen in Number, Ten of which Officiated in the City, and Five in the Piræus; their business was to take care, that Corn and Meal should not be Sold at too dear a Price, and to appoint the size of Bread. Nearly related to these were the Σιτομέτραι, or Αποδισταί, whose Office was to see, that the Measures of Corn were just and equal.

Αγοράνομοι, were Ten in Number, Five belonging to the City, and as many to the Piræus. Their business lay in the Market, where they had the care of all Vendibles, except Corn; and were especially oblig'd to see that no Man wrong'd, or any way circumvented another in Buying, or Selling (a).

Μετρητοί, were Officers that inspected all sorts of Measures, except those of Corn; there were Five of them in the City, and double that number in the Piræus, in which the greatest Mart in Attica was kept.

Εμπορίαι ἐπιμεληταί, were Officers that belong'd to the Haven; they were Ten in number, and the Chief part of their business was, to take care, that two parts, at least, of all the Corn, that was brought into the Port, should be carry'd into the City, and that no Silver should be exported by any Private person, except such as design'd to Trade in Corn (b).

Ναυτοδίκαι, or Υποδίκαι, had Cognizance of Controversies that happen'd between Merchants, and Mariners, and examin'd Persons, that, being the Children of Strangers both by the Father, and Mother's side, had by fraud inserted their Names into the publick Register, thereby claiming the Privileges of Free-born Citizens; this they did upon the Twenty-sixth of every Month. Not much different from these were the Επαγωρίαι, according to Sigonius, and Emmius's account of them, only they were to hear such Causes in matters of Trade, as requir'd dispatch, and could not be differr'd to the Monthly Sessions of the Ναυτοδίκαι. But Pollux tells us, that, beside those Tryals, they had Cognizance of Controversies about Feasts and publick Entertainments.

Ασπίδοι, were publick Scavengers.

Οδοποιοί, were the Surveyors of the Ways.

Επιστάται τῶν ὕδατων, were those that took care of the Aqueducts, and other Conveyances of Waters. But the Fountains belong'd to other Officers, call'd Κενοφύλακες. And the Offices of these Four are by Aristotle comprehended under the name of Ασπιωμία.

Επιστάται τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, were Officers, with whom was entrusted the Care, Contrivance, and Management of all publick Edifices, except the City-Walls, for which there were peculiar Curators, call'd

(a) Theophrast. de Legibus. (b) Demosthen. in Lacritum.

from

from their Offices Ταχοποιοί, whose number was usually the same with that of the Tribes, every one of which had the choice of one Ταχοποιός, as often as Occasion requir'd.

Σωφρονισταί, were in number Ten, and, as their Name imports, took care that the Young-men behav'd themselves with Sobriety and Moderation (a). For the same end, the Θεσμοθεταί us'd to walk about the City in the Night-time, and correct such as they found committing any Disorder (b).

Οἰνοποταί, were Three Officers, that provided Lights and Torches at the publick Entertainments, and took care that every Man drunk his due Proportion (c).

Γαμικονόμοι, also had an Office at publick Feasts, Sacrifices, Marriages, and other Solemnities, and took care that nothing should be done contrary to Custom (d).

Γυναικονόμοι, were Magistrates, whose business it was to Regulate the Women's Apparel, according to the Rules of Modesty and Decency; and set a Fine upon such as were too Nice, and Phantastical in their Dresses, which they expos'd to publick View in the Ceramicus.

Λειτουργοί, were Persons of considerable Estates, who by their own Tribe, or the whole People, were order'd to perform some publick Duty, or supply the Common-wealth with Necessaries at their own Expences. Of these there were divers Sorts, all which were elected out of Twelve-hundred of the richest Citizens, which were appointed by the People to undergo, when they should be requir'd, all the burden-som and chargeable Offices in the Common-wealth, every Tribe electing an Hundred and Twenty out of their own Body; tho', as Sigonius has observ'd, this was contrary to Solon's Constitution, by which every Man of what Quality soever, was oblig'd to serve the Publick, according to his Ability.

These Twelve-hundred were divided into two Parts, one of which consisted of such as were possess'd of the greatest Estates, the other of Persons of meaner Abilities. Each of these were divided into Ten Companies, call'd Συμβουλαι, which were distinct Bodies, and had distinct Governours, and Officers of their own. They were again subdivided into two Parts, according to the Estates of the Persons that compos'd them; and thus out of the first Ten Συμβουλαι, were appointed Three-hundred of the most wealthy Citizens in Athens, who upon all Exigences were to furnish the Common-wealth with necessary supplies of Money, and, together with the rest of the Twelve-hundred, were requir'd to perform all extraordinary Duties in their Turns (e).

Χορηγοί, were at the expence of Players, Singers, Dancers, and Musicians, as oft as there was Occasion for them at the celebration of their publick Festivals, and Solemnities (f).

(a) Aeschin. in Alexicho. (b) Ulpian. in Orat. advers. Mediam. (c) Athenæus lib. X. (d) Idem lib. VI. (e) Ulpian. in Olympiac. II. & Aesch. I. (f) Idem Orat. de Muneribus, Plutarchus de Prudentia Atheniensium.

Γυμνασίου, were at the charge of the Oil, and such like necessaries for the Wrestlers, and other Combatants (a).

Ἑσπέραιες ἢ Φυλῶν, were such as upon publick Festivals made an Entertainment for their whole Tribe (b).

Τελερκετοὶ were oblig'd to provide all sorts of Necessaries for the Fleet (c).

Εἰσφερόντες, were requir'd, according to their Abilities, to supply the Publick with Money for the payment of the Army, and other Occasions (d).

Beside these, upon extraordinary Occasions, when the usual supplies were not sufficient, as in Times of long and dangerous Wars, the Rich Citizens us'd generously to Contribute as much as they were able to the publick Necessities, beside what was requir'd of them, and could not be avoided. These are by Pollux call'd ἐπιδιδόντες ἐπιδοσεις, εἰσφέροντες ἐκόντες, ἐθελονταί, &c.

Others there were, that were not properly Magistrates, yet, because they were employ'd in publick Business, must not be omitted in this Place.

Such were the Σωδῆγοι, or Orators appointed by the People, to Plead in behalf of any Law, that was to be abrogated, or enacted, of which I have spoken in another place.

Πρόροις, were Ten in number, elected by Lots, to Plead publick Causes in the Senate-house, or Assembly, and for every Cause wherein they were retain'd, they receiv'd a Drachm out of the publick Exchequer. They were sometimes call'd Σωτήρες, and their Wages τὸ σωτηρικόν (e).

Πρεσβεις, were Embassadors chosen by the Suffrages of the People to treat with Forreign States. Sometimes they were sent with full Power to act according as themselves should judge most conducive to the Safety and Honour of the Common-wealth, and then they were Πρεσβεις αὐτοκράτορες, or Plenipotentiaries, and were not oblig'd, at their return home, to render an Account of their Proceedings; but their Power was usually limited, and they liable to be call'd in Question, if they exceeded their Commission, by concluding any Business, besides what they were sent about, or in any other Manner, than what was prescribed them.

The Πρεσβεις were usually attended by a Κήρυξ, or Herald; and sometimes the Κήρυκες were sent upon Embassies by themselves, as Sigmundus observes, especially in the primitive Times, when all Embassies were perform'd by these Men, who were accounted Sacred and Inviolable, not only as being descended from Mercury, and employ'd in his Office, but because they were publick Mediators, without whom all Entercourse, and hopes of Reconciliation between Enemies must be at an End. Therefore, as Eustathius observes (f), whenever Ulysses

(a) Ulpianus in Leptinian. (b) Demosthen. Metiana, & Leptiniana. (c) Flutarch. loc. citato. (d) Lysias Orat. de Muneribus. (e) Aristophan. Scholiast. in Vespas. (f) Iliad. α'. p. 183. Edit. Basil.

in his Travels dispatch'd his Scouts to discover what sort of Countrey and People, the Winds and Seas had brought them to, he always sent a Κήρυξ along with them, whereby they were secur'd from receiving any harm in all parts of the World, whither they were driven, except in the Countries of the Lastrygones, Cyclopes, and such Savages, as were altogether Barbarous, and void of Humanity.

Beside the fore-mention'd Magistrates and Officers, there were several others, as the Πευπνίαις, Περίδοι, &c. But of these, and such as had Military Commands, or were employ'd in the divine Service, I shall give an Account in their own places.

CHAPTER XVI.

Of the Council of the Amphictyones.

BEING, in the next place, to speak of the Athenian Councils, and Courts of Justice, I cannot omit the famous Council of the Amphictyones; which, tho' it sat not at Athens, nor was peculiar to that City, yet the Athenians, and almost all the rest of the Grecians were concern'd in it.

It is commonly thought to have been first instituted, and receiv'd it's Name from Amphictyon, the son of Deucalion (a); but Strabo is of Opinion, that Acrisius, King of the Argives, was the first that founded, and gave Laws for the Conduct and Management of it (b); and then it must have it's Name from Αμφικτιονς, because the Inhabitants of the Countries round about met in that Council (c); and Androcion in Pausanias tells us, that the primitive Name of those Senators was Amphictiones, however in later Ages it hath been chang'd into Amphictyones. But the former Opinion receives confirmation from what Herodotus reports of the Place, where this Council was Assembled, viz: That in it was a Temple Dedicated to Amphictyon, and Ceres Amphictyonis (d); and Strabo also reports, that this Goddess was Worshipp'd by the Amphictyones.

The Place, in which they Assembled, was call'd Thermopylae, and sometimes Pyle, because it was a strait, narrow Passage, and, as it were, a Gate, or Inlet into the Countrey. Hence these Councillors are often call'd Πυλαγγοί, and the Council Πυλαγγοί (e); But the Scholiast upon Sophocles tells us, that this Name was given them from Pylades, the Friend of Orestes, who was the first that was arraign'd in this Court, having assisted in the Murder of Clytemnestra. Sometimes they met at

(a) Pausanias Phocicis, Suidas, &c. (b) Geogr. l. IX. (c) Suidas. (d) Lib. VII. cap. CC. (e) Hesiodor. Hesych. Suidas, Harpocration, Strabo, Pausanias Acroicis.

Delphi, where they were entrusted with the care of *Apollo's Temple*, and the *Pythian Games*, which were celebrated in that Place (a), the Situation of which rendred it very commodious for them to Assemble in, for it was Seated in the midst of *Greece*, as the *Geographers* tell us.

The Persons, that compos'd this Assembly, were, according to *Pausanias*, the Representatives of the *Ionians*, amongst whom the *Athenians* were included, *Dolopeans*, *Thessalians*, *Ænians*, *Magnesiens*, *Meleens*, *Phthians*, *Dorians*, *Phocians*, and the *Locrians*, that Inhabited near Mount *Cnemis*, and were call'd, upon that account, *Epimenidii*. *Strabo* reports, that, at their first Institution, they were Twelve in Number, and were delegated by so many Cities. *Harpocration* also, and *Suidas* reckon up Twelve Nations, of which this Council consisted, viz. *Ionians*, *Dorians*, *Perrhæbians*, *Bæotians*, *Magnesiens*, *Achæans*, *Phthians*, *Meliens*, *Dolopians*, *Ænians*, *Delphians*, *Phocians*. *Æschines* reckons only Eleven, instead of the *Achæans*, *Ænians*, *Delphinians*, and *Dolopians*, placing these Three only, viz. *Thessalians*, *Oetæans*, and *Locrians* (b).

Afterwards, in the Time of *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, and Father of *Alexander the Great*, the *Phocians*, having ransacked and spoil'd the *Delphian Temple*, were by a Decree of the *Amphietyones* Invaded by the rest of the *Grecians*, as a Sacrilegious and Impious Nation, and after a Ten-Years War, depriv'd of the Privilege of sitting amongst them, together with their Allies, the *Lacedæmonians*, who were one part of the *Dorians*, and, under that Name, had formerly Sate in this Assembly; and their vacant Places were supply'd by the *Macedonians*, who were admitted, in return of the good Services they had done in the *Phocian War*. But about Sixty-eight Years after, when the *Gauls*, under the Command of *Brennus*, made a terrible Invasion upon *Greece*, Ravaging and Destroying all before them, sparing nothing Sacred or Prophane, and with a Barbarous and Sacrilegious Fury, Robb'd and Despoil'd the *Delphian Temple*; the *Phocians* behav'd themselves with so much Gallantry, signalizing themselves in the Battel above the rest of the *Grecians*, that they were thought to have made a sufficient Atonement for their former Offence, and restor'd to their Ancient Privilege and Dignity (c).

In the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar* they suffer'd another Alteration, for that Emperour, having worsted *Anony* in a Sea-fight at *Actium*, in Memory of that Victory Founded a new City, call'd it *Nicopolis*, and was desirous that it's Inhabitants should be admitted into this Assembly, and to make Way for them, ordered, that the *Magnesiens*, *Meleens*, *Phthians*, and *Ænians*, who till that Time had distinct Voices, should be number'd with the *Thessalians*, and send no Representatives, but such as were common to them all; and that the Right of Suffrage, that formerly belong'd to those Nations, and the *Dolopians*

(a) *Pausan. Phocicis*, & *Achinis*, aliique. (b) *Orat. Peri Paρapρεσς*. (c) *Pausanias Phocicis*.

(a People whose State and Name were extinct long before) should be given to the *Nicopolitans* (a).

Strabo, who flourish'd in the Reigns of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*, reports that this Council, as also the general Assembly of the *Achæans*, was at that Time dissolv'd; but *Pausanias*, who liv'd many Years after, under *Antoninus Pius*, assures us, that in his Time it remain'd entire, and that the number of the *Amphietyones* was then Thirty, being delegated by the following Nations, viz. the *Nicopolitans*, *Macedonians*, *Thessalians*, *Bæotians*, (who in former Times were call'd *Æolians*, and Inhabited some Parts of *Thessaly*) *Phocians*, *Delphians*, *Locrians*, call'd *Ozole*, with those that lie oppolite to *Eubæa*, *Dorians*, *Athenians*, and *Enæans*.

This Assembly had every Year only two set Meetings, one in the beginning of Spring, the other in Autumn (b), except some extraordinary Occasion called them together. The Design of their Meetings, was to determin publick Quarrels, and decide the Differences that happen'd between any of the Cities of *Greece*, when no other Means were left to compose them. Their Determinations were always receiv'd with a great deal of Respect and Veneration, and held inviolable, the *Grecians* being always ready to joyn against those that rejected them, as common Enemies.

An Assembly of Neighbouring Cities, met to Consult about the common Good, seems usually to have been call'd *Amfictyonia*, and, beside the Famous one already spoken of, *Strabo* mentions another held in the Temple of *Neptune*, at *Træzen*, at which the Delegates of the Seven following States were present, viz. *Hermione*, *Epidaurus*, *Ægina*, *Athens*, the *Præfians*, *Nauplians*, and the *Orchomenians* of *Bæotia* (c).

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Athenian *Εκκλησία*, or Publick Assemblies.

ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, was an Assembly of the People met together according to Law, to Consult about the Good of the Commonwealth. It was of two sorts, the First of which they call'd *Κυρία*, the other *Σύγκλητος*.

Κυρία, were so call'd, διὰ τὴν κυρεῖν τὰ ψηφίσματα, because in them the People confirm'd and ratified the Decrees of the Senate; or rather, because they were held upon ημεῖς κυρία, or ἀελομένη ημεῖς νομίμως, Days constant, and appointed by Law (d).

They were held four Times in Five and Thirty-days, which was

(d) *Idem ibid.* (b) *Strabo. loc. cit.* (c) *Geogr. lib. VIII.* (d) *Suidas, Aristoph. Schol. Acharn.*

the time that each *Πρυτανεία*, or Company of *Prytanes*, presided in the Senate. The first *Assembly* was employ'd in approving, and rejecting *Magistrates*, in hearing *Actions* call'd *Εισαγγελία*, and proposals concerning the publick Good; as also in hearing the Catalogue of such Possessions, as were confiscated for the Service of the Common-wealth, and several other things. The second made Provision both for the Community, and Private Persons; and it was permitted every Man to prefer any Petition, or speak his Judgement concerning either of them. In the third, Audience was given to the Embassadors of Foreign States. The fourth was wholly taken up with Religion, and matters relating to the Divine Worship (a). The First *Assembly* was upon the Eleventh Day of the *Prytanea*; the second, upon the Twentieth; the third, upon the Thirtieth; the fourth, upon the Thirty-third. Some there are, that reckon by the Month, and tell us, that they had three *Assemblies* every Month, upon the First, Tenth, and Thirtieth Days; or upon the Tenth, Twentieth, and Thirtieth (b). But the former Computation seems to be more agreeable to the Custom of the Ancient *Athenians*, amongst whom were Ten *Πρυτανείαι*, according to the number of their *Tribes*, each of which Rul'd Thirty-five Days, in which they had Four *Assemblies*. Afterwards, the number of the *Tribes* being increas'd by an Accession of two New ones, the *Πρυτανείαι*, were also Twelve in number, each of which rul'd a Month, and then perhaps *Ulpian's* Computation might take place.

Συνκλητοὶ Ἐκκλησίαι, were so call'd ἀπὸ τῆς συγκαλεῖν, because the People were summon'd together, whereas in the *Κυρίαί*, they met of their own Accord, without receiving any Notice from the *Magistrates*, as *Ulpian* observes (c). The Persons, that summon'd the People, were commonly the *Στατήροισι*, or the *Κήρυκες* in their Names, because the Occasion of these extraordinary *Assemblies* was, for the most part, the coming on of some sudden, unexpected, and dangerous War; sometimes the *Prytanes*, if the Senate so order'd it, as they usually did, when any Civil Affairs, in which the *Στατήροισι* were not concern'd, requir'd a quicker Dispatch, than could be given them in the *Κυρίαί*.

Κατεκκλησίαι, as *Pollux*, or *Κατακκλησίαι*, as *Hesychius* calls them, were *Assemblies* held upon some very weighty and inomentous Affair, to which they summon'd not only those *Citizens*, that resided in the City, but all that liv'd in the Countrey, or were in the Ships, then at Anchor in the Haven.

The places, where the *Ἐκκλησίαι* were Assembled, were several, as First, *Ἀγορά*, or the Market-place; and there, not the *Athenians* only, but most other Cities, had their publick Meetings, because it was usually very capacious. Hence the *Assemblies* themselves came to be call'd *Ἀγοραί*, and to make a Speech, *ἀγορεύειν*, as *Harpocration* observes.

Πνύξ, was a Place near the Cittadel, so call'd ἀπὸ τὸ πνυκνῶδες τοῖς λιθοῖς, ἢ τοῖς κρητοῖς, ἢ ἀπὸ τὸ πνυκνῶδες ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς βελύχας, because

(a) *Pollux* l. VIII. c. VIII. (b) *Ulpian*, in *Demosthen*, *Aristoph*, *Schol*. (c) In *Orat*, de falsi Legat.

because

because it was fill'd with Stones, or Seats set close together, or from the Crowds of Men in the *Assemblies*, and therefore *πνυκίτης*, is by the *Comedians* taken for the Thronging and Pressing of a Multitude (a). It was remarkable for nothing more, than the meanness of it's Buildings, and Furniture, whereby in Ages, that most affected Gaiety and Splendor, it remain'd a Monument of the Ancient Simplicity (b).

The Theater of *Bacchus*, in later Times was the usual place, in which the *Assemblies* were held (c), but even then *Pnyx* was not wholly forsaken, it being against Law to Decree any Man a Crown, or Elect any *Magistrates* in any other Place, as *Pollux*, or, at least, the *Στατήροισι*, as *Hesychius* reports.

The Ordinary *Assemblies* were held in the fore-mention'd Places, but such as were call'd upon extraordinary Occasions, were not confin'd to any certain Place, being sometimes held in the *Piræus*, where there was a Forum, call'd *Ἰσποδάμεια ἀγορά*, *Munychia*, or any other Place capacious enough to contain the People.

The *Magistrates*, that had the care and management of these *Assemblies*, were the *Prytanes*, *Epistata*, and *Proedri*.

The *Prytanes* sometimes call'd the People together, and always before their meeting set up a *Πρόδρομος* in some place of general Concourse, in which was contain'd the Matters to be consulted upon in the following *Assembly*, to the end that every Man might have time to consider of them, before he gave his Judgment (d).

Πρόδρομοι, were so call'd from the first places, which they had in the *Assemblies*. Whilst the *Tribes* of *Athens* were no more than Ten, the *Proedri* were Nine in number, being appointed by Lots out of the Nine *Tribes*, which at that time were exempted from being *Prytanes*. Their Business was to propose to the People the Things they were to deliberate upon, and determin in that Meeting (e), at the End of which their Offices expir'd.

Επιστάτης, the President of the *Assembly*, was chosen by Lots out of the *Proedri*; the chief part of his Office seems to have consisted, in granting the People Liberty to give their Voices, which they were not permitted to do, till he had given the Signal (f).

If the People were remis in coming to the *Assemblies*, the *Magistrates* us'd their utmost Endeavours to compel them; they shut up all the Gates, that only excepted, thro' which they were to pass to the *Assembly*, they took care that all Vendibles should be carried out of the Market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and if this was not sufficient, the *Logistæ* (whose business this was) took a Cord dy'd with Vermilion, with which they detach'd two of the *Τοξῶν* into the Market, where one of them standing on one side, and another on that which was opposite, pursu'd all they found there, and mark'd with the Cord as many as they caught,

(a) *Aristoph*, *Schol*, *Acharn*, *Equit*, &c. (b) *Pollux* lib. VIII. c. VIII. (c) *Demosthen*, *Mediana*. (d) *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (e) *Ulpianus* in *Timocrat*. (f) *Harpocration*, *Demosthenes* *Androtiana*, *Æschines* in *testiphont*.

all

all which had a certain Fine set upon them, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* observes at this Verse,

Οἷδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ λαλῶσι, κἄνω καὶ κἄτω
Τὸ χοινίον φεύγουσι τὸ μεμλωμένον (a).

They in the *Forum* chat, and up and down
Scamper t'avoid the Cord Vermilion-dy'd.

Mr. *Abell*.

If any Boisterous and Tempestuous Weather, or sudden Storm, which they call'd *Διοσμεία* (b), or Earth-quake happen'd, or any Inauspicious Omen appear'd, the *Assembly* was immediately adjourn'd. But if all things continu'd in their usual Course, they proceeded in this Manner.

First, the place, where they were appointed to meet, was purified by killing young Pigs, which, as was usual in such *Lustrations*, they carried round about the utmost Bounds of it; on the outside of which no Man was permitted to stand, because those places were accounted Prophane and Unsanctified, and therefore unfit for the transacting business of so great consequence, as that in which the Welfare and Safety of the State was nearly concern'd; this we learn from *Aristophanes*, in whom the publick *Cryer* warns the People to stand on the inside of the *καθάρματα*, for so they call'd the Sacrifices Offer'd at Expiations,

Πάσειδ', ὡς ἂν ἐντὸς ᾗτε τὰ καθάρματα.

The Person, that Officiated in the *Lustration*, was call'd *Καθαριστής*, and *Περίστωρος*, from *Περίστω*, another Name for *Καθάρματα* (c), and *Επίκρισις*, according to *Pollux*.

The *Expiatory* Rites being ended, the publick *Cryer* made a Solemn Prayer for the Prosperity of the Common-wealth, and the good Success of their Counsels and Undertakings (d). For amongst the Primitive Heathens, all things were carried on with a great shew of Piety and Devotion; and so great a share they thought their Gods had in the management of Human Affairs, that they never undertook any thing of Weight or Moment, especially in publick Business, without having first invoc'd their Direction, and Assistance.

Then he pronounc'd a bitter Execration against such, as should endeavour any thing in that *Assembly* to the Prejudice of the Common-wealth, praying, That he, and his whole Family might be made remarkable examples of the Divine Vengeance (e).

Then the *Proedri* propos'd the things, that were to be Consulted about, and repeated the Decree of the Senate, which, in most businesses of Importance, took care that nothing should be propos'd to

(a) *Acham.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol. ibid* (c) *Aristoph. Schol. ibid.* & *Concionatric. &c. Suidas, Harpocration.* (d) *Demosthen. Timocras.* (e) *Demosthen. Negl. Παραπρόσβουας.*

the

the *Assembly*, before it had pass'd their House. Then the People were ask'd, whether the Senate's Decree should pass into a Law; and this they call'd *Προχειρονομία*, as being antecedent to the final determination. If they approv'd it, Good; if not, a Consultation was to be held about it, in this Method;

The *Proedri* having given the Command, the *Cryer* proclaim'd with a loud Voice, *Τίς ἀρεσθῶεν βύλεται*; Who will make an Oration? Then first those, that were above Fifty Years of Age, rose up, and ascending the *Suggestum* deliver'd their Opinions, after them the next in Years, and so on to the Youngest (a). For as they judg'd it unreasonable, that any Man's Quality or Age (so he were not under Thirty) should debar him from uttering what he had conceiv'd for the good of the Common-wealth, so on the other Hand, it was thought very undecent, and unbecoming for Young-men to give their Opinions, before they had heard what were the Sentiments of such, as Years and Experience had render'd more fit and able to judge.

But the Wisdom of the Law-giver thought it not expedient to permit every Man without distinction to deliver his Opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous Crime, of Impiety, Prophaneity, or Debauchery, had Fled from their Colours, or were deeply Indebted to the Common-wealth, he excluded from having any thing to do in such Consultations (b); it being scarce probable that Persons of wicked Lives, or desperate Fortunes should endeavour any thing conducive to the Peace and Prosperity of the State, but rather that they should design the Confusion and Ruin of it, that themselves might be enrich'd with the Spoils of Honest Men, and be at Liberty to take their full Career in their unlawful Pleasures, without the restraint of Laws, and fear of Punishments.

When the debates were ended, the *Cryer* by the Command of the *Epistata*, or *Proedri* as others report, ask'd the People, *Whether they would Consent to the Decree*; permitting them to give their Voices, and thereby either establish, or reject it, the doing which they call'd *Επιψηφίζειν τὸ ψήφισμα*, or *Διδόναι Διαχειρονομίαν τῷ δήμῳ*.

The manner of giving their Suffrages, was by holding up their Hands, and therefore they call'd it *Χειρονομία*; and *Χειροτομεῖν* signifies to Ordain, or Establish any thing; *ἀπαχειροτομεῖν*, to disannul by Suffrage. This was the common Method of Voting, but in some Cases, as particularly when they depriv'd *Magistrates* of their Offices for Male-administration, they gave their Votes in private, lest the Power and Greatness of the Persons accus'd, should lay a restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their judgments and Inclinations.

As soon as the People had done Voting, the *Proedri*, having carefully examin'd the number of the Suffrages, pronounc'd the Decree ratified, or thrown out, according as the Major-part had approv'd, or

(a) *Aristophan. Acham. Demosthenes, & Aeschines in Ctesiphont.* (b) *Demosthen. in Aristogit. Aeschines in Ctesiphont.*

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rejected

rejected it. The Business being over, the *Prvtanes* dismiss'd the Assembly, as we read in *Aristophanes* (a),

Οἱ γὰρ Πρωτάνεις λύουσι τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the Senate of the Five-hundred.

By *Solon's* Constitution the whole Power and Management of Affairs were plac'd in the People, it was their Prerogative to receive Appeals from the Courts of Justice, to abrogate old Laws, and enact new, to make what Alterations in the State they judg'd convenient, and, in short, all Matters, whether Publick or Private, Foreign or Domestick, Civil, Military, or Religious were determin'd by them.

But because it was dangerous, that Things of such vast Moment, and Concern should be without any farther care committed to the Disposal, and Management of a giddy and unthinking Multitude, that every cunning and subtil Fellow might impose upon by smooth Words, and fair Pretences, and persuade to enact Things contrary to their own real Interests, and destructive of the Common-wealth; the wise Law-giver to prevent such pernicious Consequences, judg'd it absolutely necessary for the Preservation of the State, to institute a great Council, consisting only of such as were Persons of the best Credit and Reputation in the City, whose business it should be to inspect all Matters before they were propounded to the People; and take care that nothing, but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general Assembly (b). At the same time he instituted, at least, regulated another Council, I mean that of the *Areopagites*, which, tho' inferiour to the former in Order and Power, yet was superiour to it in Dignity and Esteem, and therefore was call'd *ἡ γὰρ Βουλὴ*, or the upper Council; to this he gave the Inspection and Custody of the Laws, supposing that the Common-wealth being held by these two, as it were by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be tost by tumults, and made a prey to such as had Knavery enough to design, and Cunning and Eloquence to entice the People to their own Destruction (c).

At the first Institution of the former Council, it consisted only of Four-hundred Senators, one Hundred of which were appointed out of each Tribe, for the Tribes in *Solon's* time were only Four in Number (d).

They were elected by Lots, in drawing of which they made use of

(a) *Acharens*. (b) *Plutarch. Solon*. (c) *Idem*. (d) *Idem*.

Beans, and therefore *Thucydides* calls them *Βαλάντις δὲ πὺνάμιν*, and the Senate, *Βουλὴ δὲ πὺνάμιν*. The manner of their Election was thus: On a certain Day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, the President of every Tribe gave in the Names of all the Persons within his District, that were capable of this Dignity, and had a mind to appear for it; these were engraven upon Tablets of Brass, call'd *Πανάκια* (a), and cast into a Vessel set there for that purpose; into another Vessel were cast the same numbers of Beans, an Hundred of which were White, and all the rest Black. Then the Names of the Candidates, and the Beans were drawn, one by one, and those, whose Names were drawn out together with the White Beans, were receiv'd into the Senate (b).

About Eighty-six Years after *Solon's* regulation of the Commonwealth, the number of Tribes being increas'd by *Clisthenes* from Four to Ten; the Senate also receiv'd an Addition of one Hundred, which being added to the former, made it to consist of Five-hundred, and from that Time, it was call'd *Βουλὴ ἑπτακισίων*.

Afterwards, two new Tribes were added to the former in Honour of *Antigonos*, and his Son *Demetrius*, from whom, they receiv'd their Names; and then the Number of the Senators was augmented by the accession of another Hundred (c); for in both these last Alterations, it was order'd, that out of every Tribe Fifty should be elected into the Senate. As to the manner of Election, that continu'd the same, excepting only, that instead of an Hundred White Beans drawn by each Tribe, they had now only Fifty, according to the Number of their Senators.

After the Election of Senators, they proceeded in the next place to appoint Officers to preside in the Senate, and these they call'd *Πρωτάνεις*. The manner of their Election was thus; The names of the Tribes being thrown into one Vessel with Nine Black Beans, and a White Bean cast into another, the Tribe, whose Fortune it was to be drawn out together with the White Bean, presided first, and the rest in the Order, in which they were drawn out of the Vessel; for every Tribe presided in it's Turn, and therefore, according to the Number of Tribes, the *Quick* Year was divided into Ten parts, each of which consisted of Thirty-five Days; only the Four first Parts contain'd Thirty-six, thereby to make the *Lunar* Year compleat, which, according to their Computation, consisted of one Hundred and Fifty-four Days (d). Others are of Opinion that those four Supernumerary Days were employ'd in the Creation of *Magistrates*, and that, during that Time, the Athenians had no *Magistrates* at all (e), and therefore they call'd them *Ἀναρχοὶ ἡμέρας*, and *Ἀρχαίσις*. Afterwards, when the Tribes were increas'd to Twelve, every one of them presided a Full Month in the Senate, as we learn from *Pollux* (f). The Time, that every Compa-

(a) *Harpocrat*. (b) *Sigonius & Emmius de Rep. Athen* & ubique in hac parte hujus libri. (c) *Stephan. Byzant. de Urb. & Populis*. (d) *Harpocrat*. (e) *Liban. Argument. in Androtian*. (f) *Lib. VIII. cap. IX*.

ny of *Prytanes* continu'd in their Office, was term'd *Πρυτανεία*, during which they were excus'd from all other publick Duties (a).

Beside these, there were other Officers in the *Senate*, all which were elected by Lots. The first was *Επιστάτης*, or President of the *Prytanes*, who had the Custody of the publick Seal, and Keys of the publick Exchequer; which was accounted a Trust so great, that no Man was permitted to enjoy it above one Day, or to be elected into it a second Time (b).

Every Time the *Senate* was assembled, the *Επιστάτης* appointed Nine *Πρόεδροι* by Lots, electing one out of every *Tribe*, except that which had the Honour of Presiding (c). Both of these were different from the *Επιστάτης*, and *Πρόεδροι* in the Popular Assemblies.

One thing more there is remarkable in the Election of *Senators*, that beside those, who were immediately admitted into the *Senate*, they chose Subalterns, who, in case any of the *Senators* were depos'd for Male-administration, or died before the expiration of their Offices, should without any farther trouble supply their Places; and these they call'd *Επιλαρχόντες* (d).

The Authority of the *Prytanes* consisted chiefly in assembling the *Senate*, which, for the most part, was done once every Day, (Festivals only excepted) and oftner if occasion requir'd. And that they might be ready to give Audience to all such as had any thing to propose, that concern'd the Common-wealth, they constantly resorted to a Common-hall near the *Senate-house*, call'd *Prytaneum*, in which they offer'd Sacrifices, and had their Diet together (e).

If any Man offer'd any thing, that deserv'd to be taken into Consideration, they engrav'd it upon Tablets, that all the *Senators* might before-hand be acquainted with what was to be discuss'd at their next Meeting; in which, after the *Prytanes*, or *Epistata* had propounded the Matter, every Man had liberty to declare his Opinion, and give his Reasons either for, or against it. This they did standing, for it is every where observable in ancient Authors, that no Person, of what Rank or Quality soever, presum'd to speak sitting, and therefore whenever a Poetical *Heroe* makes an Oration, he is always first said to rise,

Τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέπει πένθος ὤμιλος Ἀχιλλεύς,

Saith *Homer*; and *Ovid*, to trouble you with no more Instances, mentions the same Custom,

Surgit ad hos clypei Dominus sempiemplicis Ajax.

When all had done speaking, the Business design'd to be pass'd into a Decree, was drawn up in Writing by any of the *Prytanes*, or other *Senators*, and repeated openly in the *House* (f); after which, leave

(a) Ibid. cap. ult. (b) Idem l. VIII. c. VIII. (c) Ibid. & Harpocr. (d) Harpocras. (e) Pausanias. (f) Demosthen. Orat. in *Leptinem*. & in *Nearam*.

being

being given by the *Epistata*, or *Prytanes*, the *Senators* proceeded to Vote, which they did in private, by casting Beans into a Vessel plac'd there for that purpose. The Beans were of two Sorts, Black, and White, and if the Number of the former was found to be greatest, the Proposal was rejected; if of the latter, it was enacted into a Decree (a), which they call'd *Ψήφισμα*, and *Πρόεδρον*, because it was agree'd upon in the *Senate* with a design to have it afterwards propounded to an Assembly of the People, that it might receive from them a farther Ratification, without which it could not be pass'd into a Law, nor have any Force or Obligatory Power, after the end of that Year, which was the Time that the *Senators*, and almost all the other *Magistrates* laid down their Commissions.

The Power of this Council was very great, almost the whole care of the Common-wealth being devolv'd upon them; for the Commonalty being by *Solon's* Constitutions invested with supreme Power, and entrusted with the Management of all Affairs, as well publick, as private, it was the peculiar charge of the *Senate* to keep them within due Bounds, to take cognizance of every thing before it was refer'd to them, and to be careful that nothing should be propounded to them, but what they upon mature Deliberation had found to be conducive to the publick Good. And beside the care of the Assembly, there were a great many things, that fell under the cognizance of this Court, as the Accounts of *Magistrates* at the expiration of their Offices (b), and the care of poor Persons, that were maintain'd by an Allowance out of the publick Exchequer (c). It was their business to appoint Gaolers for the publick Prisons, and to examine and punish Persons accus'd of such Crimes, as were not forbidden by any positive Law (d), to take care of the Fleet, and look after the Building of new Men of War (e), with several other Things of great Consequence.

Now because these were Places of great Trust, no man could be admitted to them, till he had undergone a strict *Δοκιμασίαν*, or Probation, whereby the whole Course of his Life was enquir'd into, and found to have been manag'd with Credit and Reputation, else he was rejected (f).

And to lay the greater Obligation upon them, they were required to take a Solemn Oath, the substance whereof was this; That they would in all their Counsels endeavour to promote the publick Good; and not advise any thing contrary to the Laws. That they would sit as Judges in what Court soever they were elected to by Lots, for several of the Courts of Justice were supply'd with Judges out of the *Senate*. That they would never keep an *Athenian* in Bonds, that could give Three Sureties of the same Quality, except such as had bought or collected, or been engag'd as a Surety for the publick Revenues, and did not pay the Common-wealth, and such as were guilty of treasonable Practices against the Government. But this (as *Demosthenes* interprets it) must

(a) Ulpianus. (b) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VIII. (c) Harpocras. (d) Pollux. (e) Aristoph. Avidus, & Libanius Argument. in *Androtianum*. (f) *Æschines* in *Timarch*.

be understood only of Criminals before their Condemnation (a), for to put them in Fetters after Sentence pass'd upon them, was no breach of the Law.

If any of the *Senators* was convicted of breaking his Oath, committing any Injustice, or behaving himself otherwise, than as became his Order, the rest of his Brethren expell'd him, and substituted one of the *Ανταρχοι* in his place. This they call'd *Εκφυροποιήσιν*, from the Leaves, which they made use of in giving their Suffrages, in the same manner that the *Ospreys* were us'd by the Commonalty in decreeing the *Ostracism*. But this Custom was not very ancient, being invented upon the account of one *Xenotimus*, an Officer, that by changing the Beans (which till that time were always made use of) was found to have corrupted the Suffrages (b).

On the contrary, such as had behav'd themselves with Justice and Integrity, were rewarded with an Allowance of Money out of the publick Exchequer (c). And if any Men of War had been built during their Regency, the People in their publick Assembly Decreed them the Honour of wearing a Crown; if not, the Law prohibited them from Suing for this Privilege, as having been wanting to the Common-wealth, whose Safety and Interest depended upon nothing so much, as the Strength and Number of their Ships (d).

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Senate and Court of Areopagus.

THE Name of this Senate was taken from the place, in which it was wont to be assembled, being an Hill not far distant from the Cittadel (e), call'd *Αρειοπάγης*, or *Αρειος πύργος*, that is, *Mars's Hill*, from *Mars*, the God of War and Blood, because all wilful Murders came under the cognizance of this Court (f); Or, as Fables tell us, from the arraignment of *Mars*, who was the first Criminal that was Try'd in it (g); Or, lastly, because the *Amazons*, whom the Poets feign to have been the Daughters of *Mars*, when they besieg'd *Athens*, pitch'd their Camps, and offer'd Sacrifices to the God of War in this place (h).

When this Court was first instituted it is uncertain, some there are, that make it as ancient as *Cecrops*, the first Founder of *Athens*, others think it was begun in the Reign of *Cranus*; and lastly, others

(a) *Demosthen. Timocrat.* (b) *Tollux lib. VIII. cap. V. Harpocration. Etymolog. Suidas.* (c) *Demosthen. Timocrat.* (d) *Idem Androtiana.* (e) *Herodotus lib. VIII. (f) Suidas.* (g) *Pausan. Aristides Panathen. Suidas.* (h) *Æschylus Eumenidib. Etymologici Autor.*

bring

bring it down as low as the times of *Solon*. But this Opinion, tho' defended by Authors of no less Credit than *Plutarch* (a), and *Cicero* (b), is in express terms contradicted by *Aristotle* (c), and one of *Solon's* Laws cited by *Plutarch* himself, wherein there is mention of Judgments made in this Court, before *Solon* had reform'd the Common-wealth. What seems most probable, is, that the Senate of *Areopagus* was first instituted a long time before *Solon*, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superiour to the *Ephete*, another Court instituted by *Draco* (d), and invested with greater Power, Authority, and larger Privileges, than ever it had enjoy'd before.

The number of the Persons that compos'd this venerable Assembly is not agree'd upon, by some it is restrain'd to Nine, by others enlarg'd to Thirty-one, by others to Fifty-one, and by some to more. *Maximus* tells us, it consisted of Fifty-one, *πέντε ες ὀντακίδων* & *πέντε* & *βίη* *σώφρον* *Διφροβίωντων*, beside such of the Nobility, as were eminent for their Vertue, and Riches; by which Words he seems to aim at the *Nine Archons*, who were the constant Seminary and Nursery of this great Assembly, and, having discharg'd their several Offices, pass'd every Year into it (e). This was the reason, why their Number was not always the same, but more, or less, according as those Persons happen'd to continue a greater, or lesser Time in the Senate. Therefore when *Socrates* was condemn'd by this Court, (as the nature of his Crime makes it evident he was) we find no less than Two-hundred-four-score and one giving their Votes against him, besides those who Voted for his Absolution: And in an Ancient Inscription upon a Column in the Cittadel at *Athens*, erected to the Memory of *Rufius Festus*, *Pro-consul* of Greece, the Senate of *Areopagus* is said to consist of Three-hundred.

All, that had undergon the Office of an *Archon*, were not taken in to this Senate, but only such of them, as had behav'd themselves well in the discharge of their Trust; and not they neither, till they had given an account of their Administration before the *Logiste*, and obtain'd their Approbation, after an enquiry into their Behaviour, which was not a bare piece of Formality, and a Thing of Course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular (f). This being done, after the performance of certain Sacrifices at *Limne*, a place in *Athens* Dedicated to *Bacchus*, they were admitted upon set Days (g). Thus it was order'd by *Solon's* Constitutions, which were nicely and punctually observ'd for many Ages; but towards the Declination of the *Athenian* Grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent Ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observ'd. And then, not the *Archons* only, but others, as well those of loose Lives, and mean Fortunes, as Persons of high Quality, and strict Vertue, nay, and even

(a) *Solone.* (b) *De Offic. l. I.* (c) *Tolis. l. II.* (d) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X.* (e) *Plutarch. Solone, & Pericle.* (f) *Plutarch. Pericle, Pollux l. VIII. c. X. Demosthen. Timocrat.* (g) *Demosthen. in Nearam.*

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Forreigners too were taken into this Assembly, as appears by several Instances produc'd by the Learned *Meursius*, and particularly that of *Rufius Festus*, mention'd in the afore-said Inscription, as a Member of it.

Aristides tells us, this Court was ἡ τοῖς Ἕλλησι δικαστικὴν πρῶτον ἐξ ἀρχαίων, the most sacred and venerable Tribunal in all Greece; and if we consider the Justice of all their Sentences, and judicial Determinations, the unblameableness of their Manners, their wise and prudent Behaviour, and their high Quality, and Station in the Common-wealth, it will easily appear, that this Character was not unreasonable, or undeserv'd. To have been sitting in a Tavern, or publick House, was a sufficient Reason to deny an *Archon's* admission into it (a); and tho' their Dignity was usually continu'd to them as long as they liv'd, yet if any of the Senators was convicted of any Immorality, he was without Mercy or Favour presently expell'd. Nor was it enough that their Lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was requir'd of them, their Countenances, Words, Actions, and all their Behaviour must be compos'd, serious, and grave to a Degree beyond what was expected from other (the most vertuous) Men. To laugh in their Assembly, was an unpardonable piece of Levity (b), and for any of them to write a Comedie, was forbidden by a particular Precept of the Law (c).

Nay, so great an Awe and Reverence did this solemn and grave Assembly strike into those that sat in it that *Isocrates* (d) tells us, That in his Days, when they were some-what degenerated from their primitive Vertue, however otherwise Men were Irregular and Exorbitant, yet once chosen into this Senate, they presently ceas'd from their vicious Inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the Laws and Manners of that Court, ἢ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἡθυσὶς ἐμμενεν, than to continue in their wild and debauch'd Course of Life. And so exactly upright and impartial were their Proceedings, that *Demosthenes* (e) tells us, that to his Time there had never been so much as one of their Determinations, that either Plaintiff or Defendant had any just reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all Parts of Greece, that even Foreign States, when any Controversies happen'd among them, would voluntarily submit to their Decision: *Pausanias* (f) reports in particular of the *Messenians*, that, before their first Wars with the *Spartans*, they were very desirous that their Quarrel should be refer'd to the *Areopagites*, and both Parties stand to their Determination.

It is reported that this Court was the first, that sat upon Life and Death (g); and in later Ages, a great many capital Causes came under its Cognizance; before it were brought all Incendiaries, all such as Deserted their Countrey, against whom they proceeded with

(a) *Athenaeus* lib. XIV. (b) *Aeschin.* in *Timarch.* (c) *Plutarch.* de *Gloria Atheniens.* (d) *Areopagitica.* (e) *Aristocratea.* (f) *Messeniac.* (g) *Etymologic.* V. *Ἀπὸς πύργου.*

no less Severity, than was us'd to those that were convicted of Treason; for both were alike punish'd with Death (a); such also as had laid wait for any Person's Life, whether their wicked Contrivances were Successful, or no, for the very designing to murder any Man was thought to deserve no less than Capital Punishment; others are of Opinion, that such Causes were try'd at the Tribunal of the *Palladium* (b). However that be, it is certain, that all Wounds given out of Malice, all wilful Murders, and particularly such as were effected by Poyson, came under the Cognizance of this Court (c). Some say that there was no appeal from the *Areopagites* to the People; but others, amongst whom is *Meursius*, are of a contrary Opinion, and assure us, that not only their Determinations might be call'd in Question, and, if need was, retracted by an Assembly of the People (d), but that themselves too, if they exceeded the due Bounds of Moderation in inflicting Punishments, were liable to Account for it to the *Logistae* (e). The same Author tells us afterwards, that this Court had power to cancel the Sentence of an Assembly, if the People had acquitted any Criminal that deserv'd punishment (f), and to rescue out of their hands such innocent Persons, as were by prejudice or mis-information condemn'd by them. Perhaps in both these Opinions there is something of Truth, if you understand the former of the *Areopagus* in its primitive State; and the other, when its Power was retranch'd by *Pericles*.

Their Power in the Common-wealth was very great, for by *Solon's* Constitution, the Inspection, and Custody of the Laws were committed to them (g), the publick Fund was dispos'd of and manag'd according to their Discretion (h), the Care of all Young-men in the City belong'd to them, and it was their Business to appoint them Tutors, and Governours (i), and see that they were educated suitably to their several Qualities (k). Nor did they only superintend over the Youth, but their Power was extended to Persons of all Ages, and Sexes; such as liv'd disorderly, or were guilty of any Impiety, or Immorality, they punish'd according to the merit of their Offences; and such as were eminent for a vertuous course of Life they had Power to reward. To this End, they went about with the *Gynaecomoi* to all publick Meetings, such as were Marriages, and solemn Sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a Banquet, to see that all things were carried on with Decency, and Sobriety (l). Idleness was a Crime that came more especially under their Cognizance, and (which seems to have been an Institution peculiar to *Solon*) they were empower'd and commanded to enquire strictly after every Man's course of Life, and to examine by what means he maintain'd himself in the Station he was in, that so there might be no Room for such as liv'd by unlawful Arts, by

(a) *I. Iyergus* in *Leocratem.* (b) *Harpocrat.* *Suidas.* (c) *Demosthen.* *Aristocrat.* *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. X. aliique. (d) *Dinarchus* *Orat.* in *Aristogiton.* (e) *Demosthen.* in *Nearam.* *Aeschin.* in *Ctesiphont.* (f) *Demosthen.* pro *Corona.* (g) *Plutarch.* *Solone.* (h) *Plutarch.* *Themistocle.* (i) *Aeschines* *Philosophus* in *Aziccho.* (k) *Iyergus* *Areopagitic.* (l) *Athenaeus* l. VI

Cheating and Cozenage, or Theft and Rapine (a). Beside this, matters of Religion, Blaſphemy against the Gods, Contempt of the Holy Myſteries, and all ſorts of Impiety, the Conſecration alſo of new Gods, erection of Temples and Altars, and introduction of new Ceremonies into Divine Worſhip, were refer'd to the Judgment of this Court; therefore *Plato*, having been inſtructed in the knowledge of one God in *Aegypt*, was forc'd to diſſemble or conceal his Opinion, for fear of being call'd to an Account for it by the *Areopagites* (b); and *Saint Paul* was arraign'd before them, as a ſetter forth of ſtrange Gods, when he preach'd unto them *Ieſus*, and *Anaſtaſis*, or the Reſurrection (c). Theſe were the chief Buſineſſes that this Senate was employ'd about, for they ſeldom intermeddled in the Management of publick Affairs, except in caſes of great and imminent Danger, and in theſe the Common-wealth uſually had recourſe to them, as their laſt and ſureſt Refuge (d).

They had three Meetings in the *Areopagus* every Month, upon the Twenty-ſeventh, Twenty-eighth, and Twenty-ninth Days (e). But if any Buſineſs happen'd that required diſpatch, it was uſual for them to aſſemble in the *Βασιλική Στῆν*, or *Royal Portico*, which they encompass'd with a Rope, to prevent the Multitude from thronging in upon them (f), as was uſual alſo in other Courts of Juſtice.

Two things are very remarkable in their Judgments; Firſt, that they ſat in the open Air (g), a Cuſtom practis'd in all the Courts of Juſtice, that had Cognizance of Murder; partly, becauſe it was unlawful for the Accuſer and Criminal in ſuch Caſes to be under the ſame Roof; and partly, that the Judges, whoſe Perſons were eſteem'd Sacred, might contract no Pollution from converſing with Men prophane and unhallowed, for ſuch they were accounted, that had been guilty of ſo black and heinous a Crime (h). Secondly, they heard and determin'd all Cauſes at Night, and in the Dark, to the End, that having neither ſeen the Plaintiff, nor Defendant, they might lye under no Temptation of being byaſſed or influenced by either of them (i).

Actions about Murder were uſher'd into the *Areopagus* by the *Βασιλεύς*, who was allow'd to ſit as Judge amongſt them, laying aſide his Crown, which was one of the Badges of his Office (k).

The common Method, they proceeded in, was this: The Court being met, and the People excluded, they divided themſelves into ſeveral Committees, each of which had their Cauſes assign'd to be heard and determin'd by them ſeverally, if the multitude of buſineſs was ſo great, that the whole Senate could not take Cognizance of them ſingly. Both theſe designations were perform'd by Lots, to the End, that every Man coming into the Court before it was determin'd

(a) *Plutarch. Solone, Valer. Max. l. II. c. VI.* (b) *Justinus Martyr.* (c) *Act. Apoſtol. XVIII. 13, 19.* (d) *Argument Orat. Androt.* (e) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X.* (f) *Demoſthen. Orat. I. in Ariſtogeit.* (g) *Pollux loc. citat.* (h) *Antiphon. Orat. de exco. Herodis.* (i) *Lucian. Hermotimo.* (k) *Pollux.*

what Cauſes would fall to his Share, none of them might lye under any Temptation of having his Honesty corrupted with Bribes (a).

Before the Tryal began, the Plaintiff and Defendant took ſolemn Oaths upon the Teſticles of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull, by the *Σεμνὴ Δεῦρ*, or *Furies*. The Plaintiff (in caſe of Murder) ſwore that he was related to the deceaſed Perſon, (for none but near Relations, at the fartheſt a Couſin, were permitted to proſecute the Murderer) and that the Priſoner was the cauſe of his Death. The Priſoner ſwore that he was innocent of the Crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirm'd their Oaths with direful Imprecations, wiſhing, That, if they ſwore falſly, Themſelves, their Houſes, and their whole Families might be utterly deſtroy'd and extirpated by the Divine Vengeance (b), which they look'd upon to be ſo dreadful, and certain, that the Law inflicted no Penalty upon thoſe that at ſuch a Time were guilty of Perjury, remitting them, as it were, to be puniſh'd by an higher Tribunal.

Then the two Parties were plac'd upon two ſilver Foot-ſtools; the Accuſer was plac'd upon the Stool of *Ἰσχύς*, or *Injury*; the Priſoner upon the Stool of *Αναιδεία*, or *Impudence*, or, according to *Adrian Junius's* Correction, of *Αναπία*, or *Innocence*; theſe were two God-deſſes, to which Altars, and afterwards Temples, were erected in the *Areopagus* (c). The Accuſer in this place propos'd three Queſtions to the Priſoner, call'd by *Æſchylus*, *τρία παλαιόματα* (d), to each of which he was to give a diſtinct Answer. The firſt was, *εἰ κατέκτανες*; Are you guilty of this Murder? to which he made answer, *ἐκτόν*, or *οὐκ ἐκτόν*, Guilty, or, Not guilty. Secondly, *ὅπως κατέκτανες*; Why did you commit this Murder? Thirdly, *Τινὲς βελεβούτας κατέκτανες*; Who were your Partners and Accomplices in the Fact?

In the next place the two Parties impleaded each other, and the Priſoner was allow'd to make his Defence in two Orations, the firſt of which when he had ended, he was permitted to ſecure himſelf by Flight, and go into voluntary Banishment, if he ſuſpected the goodneſs of his Cauſe; which Privilege if he made uſe of, all his Eſtate was conſiſcated, and expos'd to Sale by the *Πωληταί* (e). In the primitive Times both Parties ſpoke for themſelves (f), but in later Ages they were permitted to have Counſel to plead for them. But whoever it was that ſpoke, he was to repreſent the bare and naked Truth, without any Preface, or Epilogue, without any Ornaments, Figures of Rhetorick, or any other inſinuating Means to win the Favour, or move the Affections of the Judges (g).

Both Parties being heard, if the Priſoner was reſolv'd to ſtand the Tryal, they proceeded to give Sentence, which they did with the

(a) *Lucian. Bis accuſato.* (b) *Demoſthen. Ariſtoerat. Dinarchus in Demoſthen. l. 13 in Theomneſtum. Pollux l. VIII. c. X.* (c) *Pauſanias, Cicero de Legib. l. II.* (d) *Eumenidibus.* (e) *Demoſthen. in Ariſtoerat. Pollux l. VIII.* (f) *Sextus Empiricus adv. Mathematic. l. II.* (g) *Ariſtoteles Rhetoric. l. I. Lucianus Anacharſide, Demoſthen. Quintilian. alique innumeri.*

most profound Gravity and Silence; hence *Αρεοπαγίτες σιωπηλότεροι*, and *Αρεοπαγίτες σεμνότεροι* came to be proverbial Sayings; tho' some derive them from their Reserve, and severe Gravity, and therefore *Αρεοπαγίτες*, is usually taken for a grave, majestick, rigid Person; and others, from the great care they took to conceal the Transactions of their Senate, of which the Poet speaks,

Ergo occulta reges, in Curia Martis Athenis (a).

The manner of giving Sentence was thus; There were plac'd in the Court two Urns, one of which was of Brass, and they call'd it *ὁ ἔμψιδις*, from the place it stood in; *κρίσις*, because the Votes cast into it pronounc'd the Accusation valid; and *θανάτου*, because they decre'd the death of the Prisoner. The second Urn was of Wood, being plac'd behind the former, into it they, that acquitted the Prisoner, were to cast their Suffrages; for which reasons it was call'd *ὁ ὑπερ*, or *ὁ ὀπίσσω*, *ὁ ἀκούσις*, and *ὁ εἰς* (b). Afterwards the Thirty Tyrants, having made themselves Masters of the City, order'd them to give their Voices in a manner more publick and open, by calling their *Calculi* upon two Tables, the former of which contain'd the Suffrages, that acquitted, the latter those, that condemn'd the Prisoner, to the End, that it might be known, which way every Man gave his Voice, and how he stood affected to their interest and Proceedings (c).

Beside the Crimes that came peculiarly under their Cognizance, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their Sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an Appeal to the Court, to which they properly belong'd, as *Sigonius* observes.

The Senators of *Areopagus* were never rewarded with Crowns for their Services, being not permitted to wear them (d); but receiv'd a sort of Maintenance from the Publick, which they call'd *Κεῖμα*, (e); and, *Mewsius* has observ'd out of *Lucian* (f), that they had the same Pension, that was allotted to some other Judges, viz. three *Oboli* for every Cause, they gave judgment upon.

Their Authority was preserv'd to them entire, till the time of *Pericles*, who, because he could not be admitted amongst them, as never having born the Office of an *Archon*, employ'd all his Power and Cunning against them, and having gotten a great Interest with the Commonalty, so embroil'd and routed their Senate by the assistance of *Ephialtes*, that most of the Causes and Matters, which had been formerly try'd there, were discharg'd from their Cognizance (g). From this time the *Athenians*, being, in a great measure, free'd from the restraint, that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient Vertue, and in a short time let loose the Reins to all manner of Licentiousness (h), and therefore are compar'd by

(a) *Juvenal. Sat. IX.* (b) *Aristophan. Schol. Vesp. Equit.* (c) *Lyfias in Agorari.* (d) *Æschines in Ctesiphont.* (e) *Hesychius in Κεῖμα.* (f) *Bis accusato.* (g) *Plutarch. Pericle.* (h) *Isocrates Areopagis.*

Plutarch to a wild unruly Horse, that, having flung his Rider, would be govern'd and kept in no longer. The same Vices and Excesses, that were practis'd in the City, crept in by degrees amongst the *Areopagites* themselves; and therefore *Demetrius*, one of the Family of the *Phalerean*, being censur'd by them as a loose Liver, told them plainly, that if they design'd to make a Reformation in the City, they must begin at Home, for that even amongst them there were several Persons of as bad, and worse Lives, than himself, and (which was a more unpardonable Crime, than any that he had been guilty of) several, that debauch'd and corrupted other Men's Wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduc'd by Bribes (a).

CHAPTER XX.

Of some other Courts of Justice.

Επι Πάλλαδιᾳ, was a Court of Judicature instituted in the Reign of *Demophoon*, the Son of *Theseus*, upon this Account: Some of the *Argives* under the Conduct of *Diomedes*, or, as others say, of *Agamemnon*, being driven in the Night upon the Coasts of *Attica*, land-ed at the Haven of *Phalerus*, and, supposing it to be an Enemies Country, went out to spoil, and plunder it. The *Athenians* presently took the Alarm, and having united themselves into one Body under the Conduct of *Demophoon*, repuls'd the Invaders with great Loss, killing a great many of them upon the place, and forcing the rest to retire into their Ships; but upon the approach of Day, *Scamas*, the Brother of *Demophoon*, finding amongst the dead Bodies the *Palladian*, or Statue of *Minerva* brought from *Troy*, discover'd that the Persons, they had kill'd, were their Friends, and Allies; whereupon (having first advis'd with an Oracle) they gave them an honourable Burial in the place where they were slain, consecrated the Goddess's Statue, erecting a Temple to her, and instituted a Court of Justice, in which Cognizance was taken of such as were indicted for involuntary Murders. The first that was arraign'd in it, was *Demophoon*, who, in his return from the fore-mention'd Conflict, kill'd one of his own Subjects by a sudden turn of his Horse. Others report, that *Agamemnon* being enrag'd at the loss of his Men, and dissatisfied at *Demophoon's* rash and hasty Attempt upon them, refer'd the Quarrel to the decision of Fifty *Athenians*, and as many *Argians*, whom they call'd *Εφεῖ*, *Ἀφ' ὧν πᾶσι ἀποφασίζοντο ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ δὲ κρινοῖτο*. because both Parties committed the Determination of their Cause to them.

(a) *Atheniensis Διαπύροσθ.*

Afterwards, the *Argians* were excluded, and the number of the *Ephetae* reduc'd to Fifty-one by *Draco*, whom some affirm to have been the first Instituter of them; but others with more probability report, that he regulated and reform'd them, augmented their Power, honour'd them with many important Privileges, and made them Superior to the Senate of *Arcopagus*. In this State they continu'd till *Solon's* Time, by whom their Power was lessen'd, and their Authority restrain'd, the Causes which had formerly been try'd by them, were discharg'd from their Cognizance, and only those about Man-slaughter, and Chance-medly, and, as some say, Conspiracies against the Lives of Citizens, that were discover'd before they took effect, left to them.

Fifty of them were appointed by Election, Five being chosen out of every *Tribe*, but the odd Man was appointed by Lots; all of them were Men of good Characters, and virtuous Lives, of severe Manners, and a settled Gravity, for no Person under the Age of fifty Years was admitted into their Number.

Causes were entred in this Court by the *Βεπλός*, and the Proceedings were in some things agreeable to those of the *Arcopagus*, for both Parties, the Plaintiff, and Defendant, were oblig'd to confirm their Allegations by solemn Oaths, and Curses, and then, the Orators having perform'd their parts, the Judges proceeded to give Sentence (a).

Επι Δελφίνω, was a Court of Justice in the Temple of *Apollo Delphinus*, and *Diana Delphinia*. Under it's Cognizance came all Murders, wherein the Prisoner confess'd the Fact, but pleaded that it was committed by permission of the Laws, as in the case of self-preservation, or adultery, for it was allow'd any one to kill an Adulterer, if he caught him in the Act (b). The first Person that was try'd in this Court, was *Theseus*, who, in his Journey to *Athens*, had slain the Robbers, that infested the Ways between *Troizen* and that place; and afterwards the Sons of *Pallas*, that rais'd a Rebellion against him (c).

Επι Ηγυμναίω, was a Court of Judicature, which had Cognizance of Murders committed by Things without Life, or Sence, as Stones, Iron, Timber, &c. which, if they kill'd a Man by Accident, or by the direction of an unknown Hand, or of a Person that had escap'd, had Judgment pass'd upon them in this place, and were order'd to be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* by the *Φυλοεπιστάτης*. This Court was as ancient as *Erecltheus*, and the first thing, that was brought to Tryal in it, was an Ax, wherewith one of *Jupiter's* Priests kill'd an Ox, (an Animal accounted very sacred in those Days) that had eaten one of the consecrated Cakes, and as soon as he had committed the Fact, secur'd himself by Flight (d). This place also was the Common-Hall, in which publick Entertainments were made, and the sacred Lamp, that burn'd

(a) *Pausanias*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. X. (b) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (c) *Pollux* loc. cit. *Pausanias*. (d) *Idem*. *Ælian*. V. H. lib. VIII. cap. III. *Harpocration*.

with

with a perpetual Fire, was kept by Widows, that had pass'd the years and desires of Marriage, and were devoted to the Mother of the Gods, which Lamp, as *Plutarch* in the Life of *Numa* tells us, was extinct under the Tyranny of *Aristion*; it was always manag'd with the same Rites and Ceremonies, that were us'd at *Rome*, about the *Vestal* Fire, which he saith was ordain'd and instituted after the Pattern of this, and another holy Fire of the same Nature among the *Delphians*.

Εν Φρεάττω, *Εν Φρεάττω*, was sear'd upon the Sea-shore in the *Piræus*, and receiv'd it's Name *δὲ τῆ φρεάττω*, because it stood in a Pit, and therefore *Pollux* calls it *Εν Φρεάττω*, or, as is more probable, from the Heroe *Phreutis*. The Causes heard in this Court, were such as concern'd Persons that had fled out of their own Countrey for Murder, or, those that fled for involuntary Murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate Murder. The first Person, that was try'd in this Place, was *Teucer*, who, as *Lycophron* reports, was banish'd out of *Salamis*, by his Father *Telamon*, upon a groundless suspicion, that he had been accessory to *Ajax's* Death. The Criminal was not permitted to come to Land, or so much as to cast Anchor, but pleaded his Cause in his Bark, and if found guilty, was committed to the Mercy of the Winds, and Waves; or, as some say, suffer'd condign punishment: if innocent, was only clear'd of the second Fact, and (as 'twas customary) underwent a Twelve-month's Banishment for the former (a).

The Judges that presid'd in all these Courts, were (after *Draco's* Time) the *Ephetae*, as *Harpocration* observes (b). The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c), speaks of other Judges that were elected by Lots to hear Causes in all the Courts of Justice, which, however it might be done in later Ages, it is certain was never practis'd among the primitive *Athenians*, except it may be understood of some of the inferiour and less remarkable Courts, which I am inclin'd to believe. The Method of electing these Judges is describ'd in this Manner: At *Athens* there were Ten Courts of Justice, according to the Number of the *Tribes*, upon each of these were engraven large Capital Letters, all painted with Red, or, as others report, with different Colours, from some of which several of the Courts receiv'd their Names, as *Φοινικῆν*, *Βατράχων*, &c. Now when Causes were to be heard, the *Thesmothete*, accompanied with a *Register*, appointed the Judges to take Cognizance of them by Lots, on which were inscrib'd the Letters belonging to the Courts; the Lots being drawn, the Judges took each of them his Chance, and went to the Court, on which the same Letter, which was upon his Lot, was engrav'd, where he receiv'd from the publick Cryer a Tablet, on which he was to write the Heads of the Orations of both Parties, and a Staff, which was in former Ages the constant, and perhaps only Badge of Judicial, and Sovereign Power, therefore the *Συνάγῃς* in *Homer* are accounted sacred, and the most solemn Oaths taken by them,

(a) *Demosthen*, in *Arist.* *Harpocrat.* *Pollux* loc. cit. *Heyschius*. (b) *Voce* *Εφίται*. (c) *Pluto*.

ΑΔ

Αλλ' ἐκ τοι ἐρέω, καὶ ὅπῃ μέγαν ὄρκον ὀμῶμαι,
 Ναί μὰ τὸδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν ὅποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζυς
 Φύσει, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτα τομῇ ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν,
 Οὐδ' ἀνασκήσει, πρὶν γὰρ ἔα ἡ χαλκὸς ἐλεφε
 Φύλλα τε, καὶ φλοιὸν· νῦν αὖτε μὲν ἦεν Ἀχαιῶν
 Ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δινάσπολοι, οἳ τε δέμισας
 Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύεται. ——— (a)

But this I do with solemn Oath declare,
 An Oath, which I'll by this same Scepter swear,
 Which in the Wood hath left it's native Root,
 And sapless n'ere shall boast a tender shoot,
 Since from it's sides relentless Steel has torn
 The Bark, but now by Grecian Chiefs is born,
 Chiefs that maintain the Laws of mighty Iove
 Committed to their Charge.

Mr. Hugh Hinchin of Linc. Coll.

Sometimes we find the Scepters of Kings, and great Persons adorn'd
 with Studs of silver, or gold,

Ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίην

Χρυσείοις ἢ λαοῖσι πεπαρμένον. ——— (b)

—— he cast his Scepter on the Ground
 Emboss'd with Studs of Gold.

To return, the Athenian Judges, having heard the Causes, they were
 appointed to take Cognizance of, went immediately and deliver'd back
 their Scepter to the Prytanes, from whom they receiv'd the reward due
 to them.

And thus much may suffice concerning the Courts for Capital Of-
 fences; it remains that I give you an account of those, which had
 the Cognizance of Civil Affairs.

(a) Iliad. α'. v. 233. (b) Iliad. α'. v. 245.

CHAPTER XXI.

Of some other Courts of Justice, their Judicial Pro-
 cesses, &c.

Παράσιτον, was, as the Name seems to import, a Court of no great
 Credit or Reputation, having Cognizance only of trivial Mat-
 ters, whose value was not above one Drachm. Pollux reports, there
 were two Courts of this Name, one of which was call'd Παράσιτον
 μέζον, and the other Παράσιτον μίσην. The Persons, that sat as Judges,
 were the Eleven Magistrates, call'd οἱ Εἰσδηκοί (a).

Τρίγωνον, was, in all probability, so call'd, because it was Tri-
 angular (b).

Τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκου, receiv'd it's Name from the Temple of the Heroe
 Lycus, in which it was erected. The same Person had a Statue in all
 the Courts of Justice, by which he was represented with a Wolf's
 face, and therefore Λύκος δεικνύς signifies Sycophants, who by Tens,
 that is, in great Numbers, frequented those Places (c).

Τὸ Μητρίχην, was so call'd from one Metrichus, an Architect, by
 whom it was built. It was a Court much frequented, and of better
 Note than the Three former; and the Persons that sat as Judges were
 required to be of good Birth and Credit, free from publick Debts, and,
 at the least, thirty Years of Age (d).

The Judges in all these Courts were oblig'd to take a solemn Oath,
 by the Paernal Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter the King, that they would
 give Sentence uprightly, and according to Law; which Oath, as
 also that which was taken by those that judg'd in the Heliea, was given
 in a Place near the River Ilissus, call'd Ardetus, from a Heroe of that
 Name, who in a publick Sedition united the contesting Parties, and
 engag'd them to confirm their Treaties of Peace by mutual Oaths in this
 Place. Hente it was, that common and profane swearers were call'd
 Ἀρδητῆται (e).

Of all the Judicatories, that handled Civil Affairs, Ηλιαία was far
 the greatest, and most frequented, being so call'd ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, be-
 cause it was an open place, and therefore expos'd to the Sun (f).

The Judges, that sat in this Court, were, at the least, Fifty, but the
 more usual Number was Two, or Five-hundred, being appointed

(a) Harpocrat. Suidas &c. (b) Idem. (c) Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. Zenobius,
 Harpocrat. Pollux, Suidas, &c. (d) Pollux &c. (e) Etymolog. Pollux, Suidas, Hesych.
 Harpocrat. (f) Ulpian. in Demosthen. (g) Idem. Aristoph. Schol. Nub. Equit.
 Vesp. Suidas.

by Lots out of the Body of the People ; but if the Exigency of the Causes required, they were increas'd to a Thousand, and then they were forc'd to joyn two Courts together, sometimes to Fifteen-hundred, or Two-thousand, and then Three, or Four Courts were united, to contain so vast a Multitude (a).

They had Cognizance of Civil Affairs of the greatest Weight and Importance, and were not permitted to give Judgment till they had taken a solemn Oath, the Form whereof was this, as we find it in *Demosthenes* (b) ; "I will give Sentence according to the Laws, and the Decrees of the People of Athens, and the Council of Five-hundred; "I will not consent to place the supreme Power in the hands of a single Person, or a Few; nor permit any Man to dissolve the Commonwealth, or so much as give his Vote, or make an Oration in defence of such a Revolution : I will not endeavour to discharge private Debts, nor to make a Division of Lands, or Houses : I will not restore Persons sent into Banishment, nor pardon those that are condemn'd to die, nor expel any Man out of the City, contrary to the Laws, and Decrees of the People, and Council of Five-hundred, nor permit any other Person to do it : I will not elect any Person into any publick Employ, and particularly I will not create any Man *Archon*, *Hieromnemon*, *Embassador*, publick *Herald*, or *Syndrus*, nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those Offices, that are elected by Lots upon the same Day with the *Archons*, who has undergon any former Office, and not given in his Accounts; nor that any Person shall bear two Offices, or be twice elected into the same Office in one Year : I will not receive Gifts myself, nor shall any other for me, nor will I permit any other Person to do the like, by any means, whether direct, or indirect, to pervert Justice in the Court of *Heliaea* : I am not under Thirty Years of Age : I will hear both the Plaintiff, and Defendant, without Partiality, and give Sentence in all the Causes brought before me : I swear by *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Ceres*; if I violate this Oath, or any part of it, may I perish with my whole Family, but if I religiously keep and observe it, may we live and prosper.

These seem to have been the Ten publick Courts in Athens; others there were of less Note, where particular Magistrates, or the *Διαίτηται*, or the *Πρωταγόνοισι*, took Cognizance of Causes belonging to their several Offices; such was the Court at *Cynosarges*, *Odeum*, *Theseus's Temple*, *Bucoleum*, and some others.

The method of Judicial Process was thus;

When any Man had receiv'd an Injury, for which he required satisfaction, he went to the Magistrate, whose business it was to take Cognizance of such Complaints, and report them to the Court; to him he deliver'd in a Tablet, wherein was written his own (the Plaintiff's) Name, and the Criminal's, together with an account of the Crime

laid to his charge, and the Name of the *Κλητήρ*, or Bayliff, by whom he was summon'd to make his appearance before the Magistrate, which was the first thing to be done in these Proceedings, and call'd *Κλητεύειν* (a). But before this, the Magistrate ask'd the Plaintiff, Whether he was resolv'd to prosecute his Action, and had Witnesses that would swear to his Indictment; and whether he had all things in readiness to proceed to a Tryal: This Examination was call'd *Ανέκρισις* (b).

The Person accus'd, being summon'd to appear before the Magistrate, had a certain Day appointed to answer for himself, and was oblig'd to give sufficient Bail, that he would make his appearance at the Time appointed (c).

This being done, the Magistrate proceeded to the election of Judges, which was perform'd by Lots; and they, upon the *πυθία ημέρα*, or appointed Day, came to the Tribunal, and took their Places; the publick Cryer having before commanded all those that had no Business to depart in these Words, *Μεπίστητε ἔξω*. Then to keep the Crowds from thronging in upon them, the Court was surrounded with a Rope, by the command of the Magistrate, and Sergeants appointed to keep the Doors, which they call'd *Κυγκλίδες*, being the same with those which the Romans call'd *Cancellatae* (d). Now least any of the Judges should be wanting, Proclamation was made in this manner, *Εἰ πῆ ὕμνησιν ἡλικίας, εἰσὶτω*, If any Judge be without the Door, let him enter; for if any Man came after the Cause began to be discuss'd, he could not have Admission, as not being capable of giving Sentence, because he had not heard all that both Parties could say for themselves (e).

Then the Magistrate propos'd the Cause to the Judges, and gave them Power to determine it; the doing which they call'd *εἰπάειν τῷ δίκῳ εἰς τὸ δικάζεσθαι*, the Cause it self *Δίκη εἰσπρωγμένη*, and the Person that enter'd it *Εἰσπρωγμένος*. For by the Laws of Athens, there were certain Causes brought before several of the Magistrates, who had no Power to determine them by a final Decision, but were only to examine into the Matter, and, if it deserv'd to be heard in the Court, refer it to the Cognizance of Judges appointed for that purpose, upon a Day fix'd by himself, and this is what they call'd *Ἡγμενία δικάσθαι*.

Then the Indictment was read by the publick Cryer, in which were contain'd the reasons of the Accusation, with an account of the Injury said to be receiv'd, the manner also of it, and the damage suffer'd by the Plaintiff; the Heads of which the Judges took in writing (f).

If the Person accus'd did not make his appearance, Sentence was given against him without any farther trouble, and this they call'd *Ἐξ ῥήμης καταδικαζόμεναι*, and *ἐξήμελω ὀφλισκόμεναι*. But if in the space

(a) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. X. *Stephan. Byzant.* V. *Ἡμενία*. *Harpoerat.* (b) *Orat. in Timocrat.*

(a) *Ulpian. in Demosthen. Aristoph. Schol.* (b) *Demosthen. in Olympiod. Idem in Nicostrot.* (c) *Aristoph. Concion.* (d) *Pollux l. VIII. c. X.* (e) *Aristophar. ejusque Schol. Vesp.* (f) *Demosthen.*

of Ten Days he came and presented himself, proving that he had been detain'd by Sickneſs, or any other extraordinary and unavoidable Neceſſity, the former Sentence was diſannull'd, and therefore this Proceeding they call'd Δίκη μὴ ἔσσε. Then the Tryal was to be brought on aſreſh within the ſpace of two Months by the Defendant, and this they call'd Ἀντλήσις, and the doing ἀντλαῖν δίκην; but if he neglected to have the Cauſe decided in that Time, the former Sentence was to ſtand good, and be put in Execution upon him (a).

Beſide this, the Defendant was permitted to make three Pleas for himſelf, before the Cauſe was put to a final Deciſion:

1. Πρεκρεφή, or Παρεκκρετυλία, whereby he alledg'd that the accuſation was not Δίκη εἰσαγωγική, or capable of being tryed at that time; as, for inſtance, if the Injury, ſaid to be receiv'd from him, had been done ſo long before, that the Law could take no hold of him for it; or, if he had been before tryed, and acquitted, or condemn'd, and puniſh'd for it. This Plea the Defendant obviated by proving the contrary of what the Plaintiff objected; and this, with the Παρεκρεφή, was by one common Name call'd Διακρετυλία (b).

2. Υπωμοσία, whereby he deſired the Judicial Proceſs might be differ'd, giving in upon Oath, that ſome urgent Occaſion, ſuch as the ſickneſs of himſelf, or Relations, hindred him from attending the Court at that Time (c).

3. Αντρεφή, whereby the Defendant turn'd Plaintiff, and retorted the Accuſation upon his Adverſary (d).

If the Defendant urg'd none of theſe Pleas, but was willing that the Tryal ſhould immediately go forward, he was ſaid δῖθυδικεῖν, and the Proceſs was call'd δῖθυδικία. Then both Parties took ſolemn Oaths; the Plaintiff ſwore, That he had been injur'd by the Defendant: the Defendant, That he had not injur'd the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff's Oath was call'd Ἀνωμοσία, the Defendant's Προωμοσία, as moſt of the Grammarians are of Opinion, but in Pollux, the Defendant's Oath is Ἀνωμοσία, and Plaintiff's Προωμοσία; and both of them were nam'd Διωμοσία. Theſe Oaths, together with the allegations of the Witneſſes, were deliver'd in writing to the Judges, by whoſe order they were put together into a Veſſel of Braſs, or ſometimes of Earth, call'd Εἶδος (e). In Cauſes wherein the Publick was concern'd, the Plaintiff took a farther Oath, that he would accept no bribes, nor be by any means prevail'd upon to act treacherouſly in the Cauſe, or deſiſt from the legal proſecution of it (f).

Before the Tryal began, both Parties were oblig'd to depoſite a certain ſumm of money, which they call'd Πεντακτίαν, into the hands of the Magiſtrate that enter'd their Cauſe into the Court, who, upon failure of the payment immediately expung'd the Cauſe out of the Roll,

(a) Ulpian. in Demosthen. Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VI. (b) Pollux loc. cit. Harpocrat. &c. (c) Harpocrat. (d) Hesych Pollux loc. cit. (e) Pollux, Suidas, Harpocrat. Ariſtoph. Schol. Vesp. (f) Aeschines in Timarch.

and hindred it from proceeding any farther. If the Cauſe in Debate was concerning the value of an Hundred Drachms, or upwards to a Thouſand, they depoſited three Drachms; if it's value was upwards of a Thouſand, and not above Ten-thouſand, they depoſited Thirty, which, after the Deciſion of the Cauſe were divided among the Judges, and the Perſon, that was Caſt, was oblig'd, beſide the payment of other Charges, to reſtore the Money to his Adverſary (a).

Παρακαταβολή, was a ſumm of Money depoſited by thoſe that ſued the Common-wealth for conſiſcated Goods, or any others that were claim'd by the publick Exchequer, or private Perſons for the inheritances of Heireſſes; the former depoſited the fifth; the latter the tenth part of the Eſtate contend'd for (b).

Περάσεις, was one Drachm depoſited in Law-ſuits about ſmall and private Matters, which were decided by the Διαρηταί (c).

Επωδία, was a Fine laid upon thoſe that could not prove the Indiſtment they had brought againſt their Adverſaries, ſo call'd, becauſe they were oblig'd to pay the fixth part of the Value of the thing they contend'd for, from δῶδε, becauſe out of every Drachm, they depoſited one Obolus, which is the fixth part of a Drachm (d). Some of theſe ſumms were depoſited in all Law-ſuits, a very few excepted, before the Tryal could proceed.

Then the Witneſſes were produc'd, and if any of them refus'd to make his Appearance, he was ſummon'd by a Sergeant, whom they call'd Κλητής, and if he ſeem'd unwilling to be an Evidence, had three things propos'd to him, viz. To ſwear to the Fact; To abjure it, or deny that he was privy to it; or, laſtly, to pay a Muſt of a Thouſand Drachms; he that was ſin'd for reſuſing the Oath, or that took it out of fear, was ſaid ἐκκλητεύεσθαι; he that was only ſummon'd, and took it voluntarily κλητεύεσθαι (e). The Oath was taken at the Altar with all the Solemnity imaginable, to which end they erected Altars in all the Courts of Judicature.

The Perſons that gave Evidence, were Men of Credit, Free-born, and diſintereſted; for no Man's Oath was taken in his own Cauſe, and ſuch as by their ill Behaviour had forfeited their Privileges, and were ἀπμοι, or, diſfranchiſ'd, had not Reputation enough to deſerve belief; the Slaves were not permitted to have any Concern in publick Buſineſs, and therefore could neither be Evidences, except they were examin'd upon the Rack, nor plead in any Court of Juſtice (f).

There were two ſorts of Evidences; the firſt of which they call'd Μαρτυρία, when the Perſon that ſwore, was an Eye-witneſs of the Fact: The other Εκμαρτυρία, when the Juror receiv'd what he teſtified from a third Perſon, that had been an Eye-witneſs of it, but was at that time either dead, or in a Foreign Countrey, or detain'd by Sickneſs, or hindred by ſome other unavoidable Accident from mak-

(a) Pollux, Harpocrat. (b) Idem. (c) Idem. (d) Idem. (e) Idem. (f) Vide Petrum de Legibus Atticis.

ing his Appearance; for, except in such Cases, the Allegations of ablent Persons were never taken for Lawful Evidences (a).

When the Witnesses were sworn, the Plaintiff being plac'd upon the left hand of the Tribunal, and the Defendant upon the right (b); both of them spoke set Orations in their own behalf, that were, for the most part, compos'd, by some of the Orators, which Custom was first introduc'd by *Anuphon* a *Rhamnusian* (c). Sometimes, if they desired it, the Judges granted them *Συνήγοροι*, or, Advocates to plead for them, the doing which they call'd *ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνήγορεῖν*, to plead for a Fee (d). And least by the length of their Orations they should weary the Judges patience, and hinder them from proceeding to other Business, they were limited to a certain Time, call'd *ἀγρομετρημίην ἡμέραν* (e), which was measur'd by a *Κλεψυδρα*, or Hour-glass, differing from ours in this, that instead of Sand, they made use of Water; and to prevent all Fraud and Deceit, there was an Officer constituted on purpose to distribute the Water equally to both sides, whom, from his business, they call'd *Εφύδωρ*, or *Εφ' ὕδωρ*. When the Glass was run out, they were permitted to speak no farther, and therefore we find them very careful not to loose, or mispend one drop of their Water, and whilst the Laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other business happen'd to intervene, they gave order that the Glass should be stopp'd (f). Yet if any Person had made an end of speaking, before the Time allotted him was expired, he was permitted to resign the remaining part of his Water to any other that had Occasion, and this is meant by the Orator when he saith, *τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐμὸν λαλεῖται*, let him speak till what remains of my Water be run out.

When both Parties had made an End of speaking, the publick Cryer, by the Command of the Magistrate that presided in the Court, order'd the Judges to bring in their Verdict; and in such Cases, as the Laws had made Provision, and appointed Penalties for, (which were call'd *Ἀγωνεῖς ἀπομνηστοί*) a single Verdict, whereby the Person was declar'd Guilty, or, not Guilty, was sufficient; but in those Cases, that the Laws were silent in, (which they call'd *Ἀγωνεῖς προμητοί*) a second Sentence was required, if the accused Person was brought in Guilty, to determin what punishment was due to his Offence (g). And here, before they proceeded to give Sentence, the condemn'd Person was ask'd, What damage he thought his Adversary had receiv'd from him, and what recompence he ought in Justice to make him? And the Plaintiff's account, which, together with the Indictment he had deliver'd in before, was taken into consideration; and then, the circumstances on both sides being duly and impartially weigh'd, the final and decretory Sentence was given.

The most ancient way of given Sentence was by Black and White

(a) Harpocrat. Pollux. (b) Aristotel. Problem. (c) Idem Rhetor. lib. I. cap. XXXIII. (d) Clemens Alexandrin. (e) Harpocraton. (f) Demosthen. (g) Harpocrat. 110.

Sea-shells, call'd *Χοιρῆαι*; or Pebbles, call'd *ἑῆφοι*, Ovid hath taken notice of this Custom,

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis arisque Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa (a).*

Black, and White stones were us'd in ages past,
These to acquit the Pris'ner, those to cast.

Mr. Hutchin.

After them, *σπινδυλοὶ*, which were pellets of Brass, came into use; which, when laid aside, *κύμμοι*, or Beans succeeded; they were of two sorts, White, and Black; the White were whole, and were made use of to absolve, the Black were bor'd through, and were the instruments of condemnation (b).

Hence it is, that in *Aristophanes* (c) Judges, that liv'd upon the Gifts they receiv'd for doing Justice, are call'd *Κυαμετῶρες*, Eaters of Beans; and *λοσυὴ ψῆφος* is a Proverb, not much different from *ἄγρομετρημίην*, or *Amalthææ capra*, being usually applied to things that bring in large gains, and are a maintenance to their Masters (d).

These Beans the Judges took from the Altar, and two Urns, which they call'd *Κάδοι*, or *Καδοσχοί*, being plac'd, they cast in their Beans thro' a little Tunnel call'd *Κημὸς*, holding them only with three Fingers, viz. the Fore-finger, Middle, and Thumb, that it might be impossible for them to cast in above one at a Time. The rest of their customary Rites, are much-what the same with those I have already describ'd in the Judgments of the Court of *Areopagus*, except that in private Causes there were four Urns plac'd in the Court, as *Sigomius* has observ'd out of *Demosthenes* (e).

But this perhaps might be occasion'd by the Number of the Persons concern'd in the Tryal, for if there were more than two Competitors, that laid claim to an Estate, each of them had a distinct Urn, into which those, that pass'd Sentence on his side, were to cast their Beans, and he that had the greatest number, obtain'd the Victory, which *Sigomius* seems not to have observ'd.

When all had given over Voting, least any Man out of Favour should suspend his Suffrage, the Cryer made Proclamation in this manner, *Εἴ τις ἀψήφιστος, ἀνίσταται*, If there be any that has not given his Voice, let him now arise, and give it.

Then the Urns were open'd, and the Suffrages number'd in presence of the Magistrate, who stood with a Rod in his Hand, which he laid over the Beans, as they were number'd, least any Person should, thro' Treachery, or Mistake, omit any of them, or count the same twice. If the number of the Black Beans was greatest, he pronounc'd the Person guilty, and as a mark to denote his condemnation, drew a long Line, whence *ἅπανσι πᾶσι μακρῶν* in the Comedian, signifies

(a) Metamorph. lib. XV. (b) Pollux, Hesychius, Harpocraton, Aristoph. Schol. Ran. & Vesp. &c. (c) Equit. (d) Hesychius, Eustathius Iliad. γ'. pag. 884. Edit. Basil. (e) Orat. in *Meleagro*.

to condemn All; on the the contrary, he drew a short Line in token of Absolution, if the white Beans exceeded, or only equall'd the number of the Black (a), for such was the Clemency of the *Athenian* Laws, that, when the case seem'd equally disputable on both sides it was provided, that the severe and rigorous Commands of Justice should give place to the milder Laws of Mercy and Compassion; and this Rule seems to have been ever observ'd in all the Courts of *Athens*. *Euripides*, to omit a great many others, has mention'd this Custom in several places,

ἴσαι δὲ σ' ἐκωλύουσιν μὴ θανάειν δίκην
 ὕψος τεθείσθαι Λοξίας γὰρ αἰτίαν
 Εἰς αὐτὸν οἶσσι, μητέρε' ἤχρησας φόνον·
 Καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς ὅδε νόμος τεθίσσεται,
 Νικᾶν ἴσους ὕψοισι τ' ἐκούγοντ' αἰεὶ (b).

Courage *Orestes*, if the Lots hit right,
 If the Black pebbles don't exceed the White,
 You'r safe; and since it awful *Phæbus* was
 The Parricide advis'd, your tottering cause
 He'll on himself transfer: and hence shall be
 This Law transmitted to Posterity,
 That Lots, if equall, shall the Pris'ner free.

Mr. Hutchin.

And again to the same purpose, in another Tragedy,

Γνώμης δικαίας ἔνεκ' ἐξέσωσά σε,
 Καὶ πρὶν γ' Ἀρείοις ἐν πάργοις ὕψος ἴσας
 Κεῖναι, Οὔρεσσι καὶ νόμοισι εἰς ταυτὸ γ'
 Νικᾶν, ἰσῆρεις ὅστις ἀν' ὕψος λάβῃ (c).

Since you with equal Suffrages I free'd,
 When Justice ample Vengeance had decree'd,
 And once before when we debating sat
 At *Areopagus* on your dubious Fate,
 And there the dooming Sentence must have pass'd,
 Had I not you with equal Lots releas'd;
 On this account shall after-ages save
 Such Criminals, as equal Voices have.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Plaintiff was call'd *Διώκων*; the whole Suit, *Διωξίς*; and the Defendant, *Φεύγων*. The Indictment before Conviction was nam'd

(a) *Aristophan.* ejusque Schol. Ran. & Vesp. (b) *Electra.* v. 1265. (c) *Iphigenia Taurica.* v. 1459.

Aitix;

Αἴτις; after Conviction, *Ελεγχίς*; and after Condemnation, *Αδίκημα*. All the Time the Cause was in suspense and undetermin'd, it was expos'd to publick View, being engrav'd in a Tablet, together with the Name of the Person accus'd, and hung up at the Statues of the Heroes surnam'd *Επώνυμοι*, than which there was not a more publick place in the whole City; this they call'd *Εκκλήσις* (a), and it seems to have been done with a design, that all Persons, who could give any Information to the Court, having sufficient Notice of the Tryal, might come and present themselves.

If the convicted Person was guilty of a Capital Crime, he was deliver'd into the hands of the *Ειδέκται*, to receive the punishment due to his Offence: but if a pecuniary Mulct was laid upon him, the *Ταμίαι* & *Θεῖ* took care to see it paid; but in case his Estate was not able to make payment, they issued out a Writ of Outlawry against him, and confin'd him to perpetual Imprisonment (b).

If, on the contrary, the Plaintiff had accus'd his Adversary unjustly, and produc'd false Evidence against him, he was, in some places, oblig'd to undergo the punishment due by Law to the Crime, of which he had falsly accus'd an innocent Person, but at *Athens* had only a Fine laid upon him. And both the Villain that had forsworn himself, and he that suborn'd him were severely prosecuted, the former by an Action of *Ψευδομαρτυρία*, the latter, of *Κακοτεχνία*. Of these, and the punishments due to such Offenders, I shall speak more in another place.

When the Tryals were over, the Judges went to *Lycus's* Temple, where they return'd their *Ραῖδες*, or Staves, or Scepters, which were a badge of their Office, and receiv'd from certain Officers call'd *Κωλοκρέτες* a piece of Money for their service, which, at the first, was only one *Obolus*, afterwards it was encreas'd to two, then to three, and at the length to a *Drachm*, which was six *Oboli*, as we learn from the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (c). And tho' these rewards may seem trifling and inconsiderable Expences, yet the troublesome temper of the *Athenians*, their nice and critical exaction of every little Duty, or Privilege, occasion'd so great a Number of Law-suits, that the frequent payment of these small summs by degrees so exhausted the Exchequer, that they became a burden to the Common-wealth, and are particularly reflected upon by *Aristophanes* (d), who takes occasion every where to ridicule, and expose this quarrelsome, litigious Humour, which was grown to such a height amongst them, that every Corner of the Streets was pester'd with whole swarms of turbulent Rascals, that made it their constant business, to pick up petty Stories, and catch at every occasion to accuse Persons of Credit and Reputation; these they call'd *Συκοφάνται*, which word sometimes signifies False-witness, but is more properly taken for what we call common Barreters, being deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς συκοφάντου, from indicting

(d) *Demosthen.* ejusque Schol. in Median. (b) *Demosthen.* Androtian. Corn. Nep. Miltiade. (c) Ran. Vesp. Item *Suidas*, *Pollux*, *Hesychius*. (d) Ran. pag. 280. Edit. *Amel. Paris*, & Scholiast. ibid.

P

Persons,

Persons, that exported Figs; for amongst the primitive *Athenians*, when the use of that Fruit was first found out, or in the time of a Dearth, when all sorts of Provision were exceeding scarce, it was enacted that no Figs should be exported out of *Attica*; and this Law, not being actually repeal'd, when a plentiful Harvest had rendred it useless, by taking away the reason of it, gave occasion to ill-natur'd, and malicious Fellows, to accuse all Persons they caught transgressing the Letter of it, and from them all busie Informers have ever since been branded with the Name of *Sycophants* (a).

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the *Τεσσαράκονται*, and *Διατηται*.

OI *Τεσσαράκονται*, were Forty Men, that went their Circuits round the several Burroughs, and had Cognizance of all Controversies about Money, when the sum exceeded not ten *Drachms*; also, as *Demosthenes* reports (b), had Actions of Assault and Battery brought to their hearing. *Pollux* tells us, that, at their first Institution, they were no more than thirty in Number; but *Hesychius* reports, the Magistrates, or Judges call'd *Oi Τετάρωνται*, were those, that amerced the People for absenting themselves from the publick Assemblies.

Διατηται, or Arbitrators, were of two sorts,

1. *Κληρωται*, who were Forty-four Men, above the Age of sixty, as *Pollux*, or fifty, as *Suidas* reports, drawn by Lots out of each *Tribe*, to determine Controversies about Money, when the sum was above ten *Drachms*. Their Sentence was not final, so that if either of the contesting parties thought himself injur'd by it, he might appeal to the superiour Courts of Justice (c). At their first Institution, all Causes whatsoever that exceeded ten *Drachms* were heard by them, before they could be receiv'd into the other Courts (d). They pass'd Sentence without obliging themselves by any Oath, but in other things acted in the same manner with the rest of the Judges; they receiv'd a *Drachm* of the Plaintiff, which was call'd *Παράσησις*, and another of the Defendant when they administred his Oath to him; and in case the Parties did not appear at the appointed Time and Place, they staid expecting them till the Evening, and then laid a Fine upon them. Their Office continued a whole Year, at the end of which they gave up their Accounts, and if they were prov'd to have refus'd to give Judgment, or to have been corrupted (e), a Writ of Outlawry was issu'd out

(a) *Suidas*, *Aristoph. Schol. Pluto*, *Equit.* &c. (b) *Orat. in Pantanet.* (c) *Demosthen. Orat. in Aphobum.* (d) *Pollux, Ulpian.* (e) *Demosthen. & Ulpian. Median. Petic. Misc. lib. VIII.*

against

against them. Under them were certain Officers call'd *Εισαγωγείς*, whose business it was, *εισάγειν τὰς δίκας*, to receive the Complaints that fell under the Cognizance of the *Διατηται*, and enter them into their Court (a).

2. *Διαδικηταί*, or *Compromissarii*, were such, as two Parties chose to determine any Controversie betwixt them; and these the Law permitted any Person to request, but oblig'd him to stand to whatever they determin'd, without any farther appeal, and therefore, as a greater obligation to Justice, they took an Oath, that they would give Sentence without Partiality (b).

The determination of the *Διατηται*, was call'd *Δίαιτα*, and *ἀποπέσει*, and to refer any thing to them, *διδωται ἐπιτρέψαι* (c).

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Publick Judgments, Actions, &c.

THE *Athenian* Judgments were of two sorts, Publick, and Private, the former were about such Crimes, as tended to the prejudice of the State, and were call'd *Κληρονομία*; the latter comprehended all Controversies that happen'd between private Persons, and were call'd *Δίκαι* (d). Nor did they only differ as to their Matter, but in the whole Process, and Management of them, and particularly in this, that in private Actions, no Man could prosecute the Offender, beside the Party injur'd, or some of his near Relations, whereas in the Publick, the Laws encourag'd all the Citizens to revenge the publick wrong, by bringing the Criminal to condign punishment (e).

The publick Judgments were these,

1. *Γεφυή*, was an Action, laid upon such as had been guilty of any of the following Crimes (f),

Φόνος, Murder.

Τραῦμα ἐκ πονείας, a Wound given out of Malice.

Πυρκαϊά, Firing the City.

Φάρμακον, Poison.

Βέλος, a Conspiracy against any Person's Life; or, the Crime of the City-Treasurers, that enter'd into the publick Debt-book Persons not indebted to the City (g).

Ιεροσυλία, Sacrilege.

Ασέβεια, Impiety.

(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Demosthen.* (c) *Pollux.* (d) *Isocrates.* (e) *Plutarchus Solone.* (f) *Pollux. lib. VIII. cap. VI. Sigonius de Rep. Athen.* (g) *Harpaer.*

Προδοσία, Treason.

Εταιρησις, Uncleannefs.

Μοιχεία, Whoredom.

Αζάμιον, Cœlibacy.

Ασπρατία, Refusing to serve in the Wars.

Λειπεσπράτιον, Desertion of the Army.

Λειποπύξιον, Desertion of a Man's Station, as when any Person refus'd to serve on Foot, and list'd himself amongst the Horse-men, which by Solon's Laws was esteem'd as great a Crime as a total Desertion of the Army.

Δειλία, Cowardice.

Λειποναύτιον, Desertion of the Fleet.

Αναμύχησις, Refusing to Serve, and Fight in the Fleet.

Τὸ ῥίψαι τὴν ἀσπίδα, Loosing a Man's Shield.

Ψευδογραφία, was an Action, against those that falsly charg'd others, and sued them for publick Debts, which Harpocration calls *Ψευδοκατατίαι*; but this seems rather to have been an Action for false Arrests, according to Pollux.

Συκοφαντία, Barrettry, or false Accusation.

Δώρα, taking Bribes to manage any publick Affair, or pervert Justice; nor was it thought enough to punish the Receiver, but the Person also that offer'd Bribes was prosecuted, and the Action laid against him call'd *Δικητύρις*. The same Action in Causes about Freedom of the City, was by a peculiar Name term'd *Δωροξενία*.

Υβρις, Beating a Free-man, or binding him, as they us'd to do Slaves.

Αρχαίριον, Erasing a Name out of the publick Debt-book, before the Debt was discharg'd.

Αρχαφον μεταλλον, Digging a Mine without acquainting the publick Officers; For before any Person could dig a Mine, he was oblig'd to inform certain Officers, appointed by the People, of his Design, to the end that the twenty-fourth part of the Metal might be reserv'd for the publick Use.

Αλόγιον, was against Magistrates, that had neglected to give up their Accounts.

Παρανόμων γραφή, against such as in proposing a new Law, acted contrary to the old and established Laws.

Εὐθύνη, was against Magistrates, Embassadors, or other Officers that had mis-employ'd the publick Money, or committed any other Offence in the Discharge of their several Trusts. That against Embassadors was sometimes by a peculiar Name call'd *Παραπρεσβασία*.

Δοκιμασία, was a Probation of the Magistrates, and Persons employ'd in publick Business.

Προσβολή, was an Action against Persons disaffected to the Government, and such as impos'd upon the People; against Sycophants, and such as at the celebration of any Festival had caus'd an uproar, or committed any thing undecent, and unsuitable to the Solemnity.

Απογραφή.

Απογραφή, was when any Person, being sued for Debts said to be due to the Publick, pleaded that they were falsly charg'd upon him, withall producing all the Money he was possess'd of, and declaring by what means it came into his Hands. *Suidas* adds, that *Απογραφή* is sometimes taken for an Action against such as neither paid the Fines laid upon them, before the ninth *Prytanea* following their Sentence, nor were able to give sufficient Security to the City.

Απίφρασις, was sometimes the same with *Απογραφή*, as we learn from *Suidas*; but was also usually taken for the Account of Estates given at the Exchange of them together with publick Employments. For when any Man would excuse himself from any troublesome and chargeable Trust, by casting it upon another richer than himself, the Person produc'd by him, had power to challenge him to make an Exchange of Estates, and thereby compell him to undergo the Office he had before refus'd.

2. Φάσις, was commonly taken for the discovery of any hidden and conceal'd Injury, but more peculiarly signified an Action laid against such as exported Corn out of *Anica*, imbezzled the publick Revenues, and converted them to their own private Use, or appropriated to themselves any of the Lands, or other Things, that of right belong'd to the Common-wealth. It is sometimes taken for an Action against those, that were Guardians to Orphans, and either wholly neglected to provide Tenants for their Houses, and Lands, or let them at too easie a rate.

3. Ενδιξις, was against such, as committed any Action, or affected any Place, of which they were incapable by Law; as when a Person disfranchis'd, or indebted to the Publick sued for Offices in the State, or took upon him to determine Controversies in a judicial Way. Also against those, that confess'd the Crimes laid to their charge, without standing the Tryal.

4. Απαγωγή, was the carrying a Criminal taken in the Fact to the Magistrate. If the Accuser was not able to bring him to the Magistrate, it was usual to take the Magistrate along with him to the House, where the Criminal lay conceal'd, or defended himself, and this they call'd *Εφηνγηδαι*, and the Action *Εφηνγησις*.

5. Ανδρολήψιον, or Ανδροληψία, was an Action against such as protected Persons guilty of Murder, by which the Relations of the deceased were empower'd to seize three Men in the City, or House, whither the Malefactor had fled, till he were either surrendred, or satisfaction made some other way for the Murder.

6. Εισαγγελία, was of three sorts; the first was about great and publick Offences, whereby the State was brought into Danger, such Actions were not referr'd to any Court of Justice, but immediately brought before the Senate of Five-hundred, or the popular Assembly, where the Delinquent was severely punish'd, but the Plaintiff underwent no danger, altho' he could not prove his Indictment, except he fail'd of having the fifth part of the Suffrages, for then he was fin'd a thousand Drachms. The second sort of *Εισαγγελία*, was an Action of *Κακωσις*, of which I shall speak in another place; it was brought before the

Archon, to whom the Plaintiff gave in his Accusation, but was not liable to have any Fine laid upon him, tho' Sentence was given against him. The third was an Action against the *Διαγῆται*, prefer'd by Persons that thought themselves unjustly dealt with by them, who ran the hazard of being disfranchis'd, and forfeiting their Freedom, if they were not able to make good their Accusation. Indeed, in all the fore-mention'd Accusations, the *Εισαγγελία* only excepted, this Penalty, together with a Fine of a thousand *Drachms*, was inflicted upon the Plaintiff, if he had not the fifth part of the Suffrages.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Private Judgments, Actions, &c.

Κ *Ακροατίας Δίκη*, was an Action of Slander, by which the Criminal was fin'd five-hundred *Drachms*.

Αίχας Δίκη, was an Action of Battery, in which case there was no set Penalty inflicted by the Laws, but the Judges took an account of the Damages suffer'd by the Plaintiff, and compell'd the Delinquent to make sufficient retribution.

Βιαιών, or, *Βίας Δίκη*, was an Action against such as ravish'd Women, or had us'd Violence towards any Man's Person.

Βλάβης Δίκη, was an Action of Trespass, being against those, that had endammag'd another man's Estate, Lands, Houses, Cloaths, &c.

Καυώσεως Δίκη, *ζεαρή*, or *εισαγγελία*, was an Action enter'd by Heiresses against their Husbands, by Parents against their Children, and Orphans against their Guardians, when they were ill us'd, or injur'd by them.

Αποπομπής Δίκη, was an Action of Divorce, when the Husband had put away his Wife. On the contrary, when the Woman fled from her Husband, the Action was call'd *Απολείψως Δίκη*.

Κλοπής Δίκη, was against Theeves. *Demothenes* (a) reports, that if any Man had stoln above fifty *Drachms* in the Day-time, he was to be indicted at the Tribunal of the Eleven. But if any Theft was committed in the Night, it was lawful to kill the Criminal, if he was caught in the Fact, or to pursue him, and, if he made any resistance, to wound him, and so hale him to the Eleven, by whom if he was convicted of any of those Crimes, that bore an Action of *Απαγωγή*, he was not permitted to give Bail, but immediately suffer'd Death. If any

(a) *Timocrates*.

Person

Person surreptitiously convey'd any thing of the smallest value out of the *Lyceum*, *Academy*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia*, or out of Havens above the value of ten *Drachms*, he was adjudg'd to dye. If any Man was convicted of Theft by a private Judgment, he was to make retribution to the Person he had injur'd, by paying him double the value of what he had depriv'd him of; nor was this punishment alone thought sufficient to expiate his Offence, but it lay in the Judges Power to keep him in Bonds five days, and as many nights, and expose him in that condition to the view of all the People.

Παρακαταθήκης Δίκη, was against such as refus'd to restore any thing committed to their Charge.

Χρέους Δίκη, was a Suit betwixt Debtors and Userers.

Συμβολαίς Δίκη, was an Action against those that would not stand to their Contracts, or Bargains. Not much different from this was *Συνθηκῶν Δίκη*, only, *Συμβολαία* are distinguish'd from *Συνθήκαι* in this, That these chiefly imply private Contracts about the Lone of Money, Division of Inheritances, and References to the *Διαγῆται*, whereas the other are extended, as well to publick Negotiations between Cities and Kingdoms, as to Bargains made by private Persons. Others there are, that acknowledge no such difference betwixt them.

Εἰς διατητῶν αἰρεσιν Δίκη, was an Action against such Persons as would not consent to make a division of Goods, or Estates, wherein other Men were sharers with them.

Διαδικασίας Δίκη, was about publick Duties, whereby it was required that the Person design'd to undertake them, should have a Time appointed, wherein he should enter upon his charge. It is also taken for *Αμφοτέροισι*, and *Ενεπίσημῳ*.

Επιδικασίας Δίκη, when Daughters inherited the Estates of their Parents, they were oblig'd by Law to marry their nearest Relation. This was the occasion of this Suit, which was commenc'd by Persons of the same Family, each of which pretended to be more nearly allied to the Heiress than the rest. The Virgin, about whom the Relations contested, was call'd *Επίδικος*. *Επίκλητος* was a Daughter, that had no Brothers lawfully begotten, and therefore inherited her Father's whole Estate. *Επίπορικος* was one that had Brothers, and shar'd the Estate with them.

Αμφοτέροισι, was a Suit commenc'd by one that made pretensions to the Estate of a deceased Person, as being his Son either by Nature, or Adoption.

Παρακαταβολή, was an Action enter'd by the Relations of the deceased, whereby they claim'd a right to the Estate, as belonging to them by reason of their Consanguinity, or bequeathed by Will. It was so call'd *ἐπὶ τῇ παρακαταβάσει*, because the Plaintiff deposited the tenth part of the Inheritance, if the Cause was private, and the fifth, if

Of the Civil Government of Athens.

if it was a publick Estate he contended for: this he was to forfeit, if he could not make his Plea good.

Αντιγραφή, was a Law-suit about Kindred, whereby any Person claim'd a Relation to such, or such a Family, and therefore it seems to have been of the same Nature with *Παρακαταβολή*.

Διαμαρτυρία, was a Protestation that the deceased Person had left an Heir, made to hinder the Relations from entering upon the Estate.

Επίσημις, was an Action, whereby the *Διαμαρτυρία* was prov'd to be false, and groundless.

Ενεπίσημιμα, was when any Person claim'd some part of another man's Goods, which were confiscated, and sold by Auction.

Σίτε δίκη, when a Husband divorc'd his Wife, the Law oblig'd him to restore her Portion, or, in case he refus'd that, to pay her for each Pound nine Oboli every Month, upon the failure of which he was liable to have this Action enter'd against him in the *Odeum* by his Wife's *Επίτροπος*, or, Guardian, whereby he was forc'd to allow her a separate Maintenance.

Μισθώσεως δίκη, &c. *δίκη*, sometimes call'd *φάτις*, was an Action against Guardians, that were negligent in the management of the Affairs of their Pupils, and either let out their Houses, or Estates, at too small a price, or suffer'd them to lye void of Tenants. When any House was vacant, it was Customary to signifie so much by fixing an Inscription upon the Door, or other part of it, as Mr. *Rous* has observ'd from these words of *Terence*,

Inscripti illico
Ædes mercede (a).

Over the Door I Writ,
This House is to be Let.

Επίτροπος δίκη, was an Action against Guardians, that had defrauded their Pupils. It was to be commenc'd within five Years after the Pupil was come to Age, otherwise it was of no Force.

Ενοική δίκη, when any Man laid claim to an House, he enter'd an Action against the Person that inhabited it, whereby he demanded the Rent of the House. If he claim'd an Estate of Land, the Action was call'd *Χωρίε δίκη*, or, *Καρπὴ δίκη*, because the Fruits of the ground were demanded. If the Plaintiff cast his Adversary in either of the former Suits, he enter'd a second Action against him, whereby he laid claim to the House, or Land, as being a part of his Estate, for which reason it was call'd *Ουσίαι δίκη*. After this, if the Person in possession continued obstinate, and would not deliver up

(a) *Heaut. Act. I. Scen. I.*

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Of the Civil Government of Athens.

the Estate to the lawful Owner, there was a third Action commenc'd, and a Writ of Ejectment issued out against him, which was nam'd *Εξέλις δίκη*, from *ἐξέλλω*, to eject. The same Name is us'd for all Writs of Ejectment upon what account soever.

Βεβαιώσεως δίκη, was an Action whereby the Buyer compell'd the Seller to confirm, or stand to his bargains.

Εἰς ἑμρανὼν κατέσπιν δίκη, was design'd as an enquiry into some thing that was conceal'd, as stoln Goods.

Εξαρέσεως δίκη, was against a Free-man, that endeavour'd to give a Slave his Liberty, without his Master's consent.

Αποσεσίου δίκη, was an Action against Sojourners, that neglected to choose a Patron, of which custom I have spoken in another place.

Αποσεσίου δίκη, was an Action commenc'd by a Master, or Patron against his *Cientes*, such as were the Free'd Slaves, when they refus'd to perform those Services, they were bound to pay to him.

Αφορμῆς δίκη, was a Suit about Money put into the Bankers hands, which the ancient Athenians call'd *Αφορμή*, and the modern *Ενδίκη*.

Αφροίς, was, when a Person deeply indebted desired the People to remit part of his Debt, upon pretence that he was unable to make payment.

Ψευδομαρτυριῶν δίκη, was against false Witnesses.

Κακοτεχνιῶν δίκη, was against those that suborn'd false Witnesses.

Λειπομαρτυρίας δίκη, was against such, as, having promis'd to give Evidence in a Cause, disappointed the Person that rely'd upon them.

Several other Judgments we meet with in ancient Authors, some of which I have already spoken of in other places, and the Names of the rest are so well known, that I need not give you any explication of them; such were *Βολίτε δίκη*, *Αχαιεύσις δίκη*, and some others (a).

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Athenian Punishments, and Rewards.

THE most common and remarkable Punishments inflicted at Athens on Malefactors are these,
Ζυμός, which, tho' sometimes it be us'd in a large and general sence for any punishment, yet has often a more limited and restrain'd signification, being taken for a pecuniary Mult, or Fine, laid upon the Criminal according to the merit of his Offence.

(a) *Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux, Ulpianus in Demosthen. Sigonius de Rep. Athen. & Roussem in Arch. Aitic. Idemque ubique in his capitibus sunt consulendi.*

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ΑΤΙΜΙΑ,

Ατιμία, Ignominy, or publick Disgrace, whereby the Offender was render'd incapable of bearing any Office, pleading in the Courts of Judicature, or giving his Voice in the publick Assemblies, and depriv'd of all other Privileges of a Citizen, that gave him any Title to the management of the Common-wealth. Out of these Men, the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (a) tells us, they appointed whom they pleas'd to labour at the Oars, to which Drudgery, *Plutarch* reports, it was usual to put their Prisoners of War (b).

Δουλεία, Servitude, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was reduc'd into the condition of a Slave. It was never inflict'd on any besides the *Ατιμοι*, Sojourners, and Free'd-servants, because it was forbidden by one of *Solon's* Laws, that any Free-born Citizen should be treated as a Slave.

Σπίγματα, was a severity seldom exercis'd upon any but Slaves, or some very notorious Malefactors, of which before I have spoken more at large.

Στήλη, was, as the word imports, a Pillar, wherein was engraven in legible Characters an account of the Offender's Crime. The Persons thus expos'd to the laughter and reproaches of the World, were call'd *Στηλίται*. Hence *σηλιτευτικός λόγος* is taken for any invective, or defamatory Oration.

Δέσμος, was a punishment, by which the Criminal was condemn'd to Imprisonment, or Fetters. The Prison was call'd by a lenitive Name *Οίκημα*, or House; for the *Athenians* us'd to mitigate and take of from the badness of things, by giving them good and innocent appellations; as a Whore, they would call a Mistress; Taxes, Rates; Garrisons, Guards; and this (saith *Plutarch*) seem'd at first to be *Solon's* contrivance, who call'd the releasing the People from their Debts *Σειούχθεια*, a throwing off a burthen (c). *Plato* tells us, the *Athenians* had three sorts of Prisons; The first was near the *Forum*, and was only design'd to secure Debtors, or other Persons from running away. The second was call'd *Σωφρονιστήριον*, or a House of Correction, such as our *Bride-well*. The third was seated in an uninhabited and lonesome place, and was design'd for Malefactors guilty of Capital Crimes (d). One of their Prisons was call'd *Νομοφυλάκιον*, and the Gate, thro' which Criminals were led to Execution, *Χαρωνεῖον*, from *Charon*, the infernal Ferry-man. At the Prison-door was erected the Image of *Mercury*, the Tutelar Deity of the place, call'd *Στεφυαῖος*, from *Στεφυεύς*, the hinge of a Door.

Of Fetters there were divers sorts, the most remarkable are these: *Κύρων*, a Collar usually made of Wood, so call'd from *κύπτω*, because it constrain'd the Criminal to bow down his head. This punishment

was call'd *Κυρωνισμός*, and hence pernicious Fellows, or Things, are sometimes nam'd *Κύρωνες* (a); others call it *κλοιός*, or *κλοιόν*, or *κο-λοιός*, from *κλείω*, because the Criminal's Neck was shut, or enclos'd within it. Some *Grammarians* tell us, the Neck, Hands, and Feet were made fast in it, and therefore it is probable, it was the same with the *ξύλον πεντεσύνειγρον*, or Fetters with five holes, mention'd by *Pollux*, and seems to resemble the punishment of binding Neck and Heels, us'd amongst our Souldiers. *Aristophanes* calls it *ξύλον τετραπύλον*, as his *Scholiast* informs us in his Comment upon these words in *Lyssistrate*,

——— τὰς δ' Ἀμαζόνας σκίπτει,
As Μίκων ἔγραψεν ἐφ' ἰσπῶν μαχρῶδας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
Ἀλλὰ τέπων χεῖρ' ἅπασαν ἐς τετραπύλον ξύλον
Εὔλαδαρμόσαι λαβόντας τετονὶ τ' αὐχένα.

Women must have their stiff and haughty Necks
With Fetters cramp'd, lest they grow insolent
And us of our Authority divest,
For see here, in this Canvass-pourtraiture
By skilful *Micon* drawn, how th' *Amazons*
Mounted on prancing Steeds with burnisht spears engage
Mr. *Abell*.

Χοῖνιξ, signifies Fetters in which the Feet, or Legs were made fast, as we are inform'd by *Aristophanes* in his *Plutus*, where speaking of an impudent, and insolent Slave, he saith, he deserves to be set in the *Stocks*,

——— αἱ κνήμαι δέ σε βοῶσιν
Ὡ, ὦ· τὰς χοῖνικας, καὶ τὰς πέδας ποδοῦσαι.

You'r ripe, you Rogue, for Fetters, the *Stocks* groan for you.

Not much unlike this seems to have been the *ποδοδέκη*, *ποδοδέκη*, or *ποδοδέκη*, sometimes call'd *ξύλον*, from the matter it was made of (b). *Σανὶς*, was a piece of Wood, to which the Malefactor was bound fast, as the same Poet reports (c),

——— δῆσον αὐτὸν εἰσάγων,
Ὡ τοξότ', ἐν τῇ σανίδι. ———

Here, *Licitor*, bring him in, and bind him to the Rack.

(a) *Ranis*. (b) *Lyfandro*. (c) *Plutarch*. *Solone*. (d) *Plato de Legib. lib. X.*

(a) *Aristophan. Schol. Pluto*. (b) *Aristophan. Schol. Equit*. (c) *Theophrastus*.

And a little after,

——— ζυμὸν ἀποδύσαντά με
κέλευε πρὸς τῇ σανάδι δεῖν ἢ ποδύτω.

Order the Executioner to strip
Me naked, and to cord me to the Rack.

Mr. Abell.

Beside these, many others occur in Authors, which barely to mention would be both tedious, and unnecessary.

Φυγή, perpetual Banishment, whereby the condemned Persons were depriv'd of their Estates, which were publicly expos'd to Sale, and compell'd to leave their Countrey without any possibility of returning, except they were recall'd (which sometimes happen'd) by the same Power that expell'd them; wherein it differ'd from *Οστρακισμός*, which only commanded a Ten years absence, at the end of which, the banish'd Persons were permitted to return, and enjoy their Estates, which were all that time preserv'd entire to them (a). It was instituted not so much with a design to punish the Offender, as to mitigate and pacify the furie of the Envious, that delighted to depress those, who were eminent for their Virtues, and glorious Actions, and by fixing this disgrace upon them, to exhale part of the venomous rancour of their Minds. The first, that underwent this condemnation was, as *Plutarch* reports, *Hipparchus* the *Cholargian*, a Kinsman to the Tyrant of the same Name. *Eustathius* makes it much ancients, and carries it as high as *Theseus's* Time, who, he tells us out of *Theophrastus* and *Pausanias*, was the first that suffer'd it (b). *Heraclides* will have it to have been first instituted by *Hippias*, the Tyrant, a Son of *Pisistratus* (c); *Phonius*, by one *Achilles*, the Son of *Lyco* (d); and *Ælian*, by *Clisthenes*, who also, as he tells us, was the first that underwent it (e). It was never inflicted upon any but great Persons; *Demetrius*, the *Phalerian*, (as *Plutarch* reports) will have it to have happen'd to none but Men of great Estates, and therefore as an argument to prove the plentiful condition of *Aristides*, (whom he maintains to have been possess'd of a large Fortune, contrary to the opinion of most other Writers) he alledg'd, that he was banish'd by *Ostracism*. But my Author is of another opinion, and not without reason, for all Persons were liable to the *Ostracism*, who for Reputation, Quality, Riches, or Eloquence, were esteem'd above the common level, and expos'd to the envy of the People, insomuch, that even *Damon*, Preceptor to *Pericles*, was banish'd thereby, because he seem'd a Man of more than ordinary Sense. Afterwards, when base, mean, and villainous Fel-

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit. & Vesp.* (b) *Iliad. i.* (c) *Lib. de Rep.* (d) *Excerpt. ex Ptolem. Hephest. l. VI.* (e) *V r. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. XXIV.*

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lows became subject to it, they quite left it off, *Hyperbolus* being the last, whom they banish'd by *Ostracism*. This *Hyperbolus* was a very rascally Fellow, who furnish'd all the Writers of Comedy in that Age with matter for their Satirical invectives; but he was wholly unconcern'd at the worst things they could say, and being careless of glory was also insensible of shame; he was neither lov'd, nor esteem'd by any body, but was a necessary tool for the People, and frequently made use of by them, when they had a mind to disgrace, or calumniate any Person of Authority, or Reputation. The cause of his Banishment was this; *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Phæax* at that time were of different Factions, and each of them bearing a great sway in the City, lay open to the envy of the inferior Citizens, who, at *Hyperbolus's* persuasion, were very eager to decree the Banishment of some one of them. *Alcibiades* perceiving the danger they were in, consulted with *Nicias*, or *Phæax*, (for it is not agree'd whether) and so contriv'd matters, that by uniting their several parties, the *Ostracism* fell upon *Hyperbolus*, when he expected nothing of it. Hereupon the People, being offended, as if some contempt or affront had been put upon the Thing, left off, and quite abolish'd it. It was perform'd, to be short, in this manner; Every one taking an *Οστρακον*, or Tyle, carried it to a certain part of the Market-place surrounded with wooden Rails for that purpose, in which were ten Gates, appointed for the ten Tribes, every one of which enter'd at a distinct Gate. That being done, the *Archons* number'd all the Tyles in gross, for if there were fewer than six-thousand, the *Ostracism* was void; then laying every name by it self, they pronounc'd him, whose name was written by the major part, banish'd for ten Years, enjoying his Estate (a). This punishment was sometimes call'd *Κεραμενὴ μίσθξις*, from *κεραμος*, because the *Οστρακον*, by which the People gave their Suffrages were Earthen Tyles, or pieces of broken Pots (b). The like was us'd at *Argos*, *Megara*, and *Mile-tum* (c); and the *Syracusan Πεταλισμός* was instituted upon the same account, in the third Year of the eighty-sixth *Olympiad*, but differ'd from it in this, That this Banishment was but for five Years, and instead of *Οστρακον*, the People made use of *Πέταλα*, or Leaves, usually those of the Olive-tree, in giving their Voices (d).

Θάνατος, Death, was inflicted on Malefactors several ways, the chief of which were these,

Εἰζο, with which the Criminal was beheaded.

Βέλος, with which he was either strangled after the *Turkish* fashion, or hang'd in the manner usual amongst us, for that this was a very ancient, but withal a very ignominious Punishment, appears from *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* and *Telemachus* punish the Men, that took part

(a) *Plutarch. Aristide, Alcibiade, Nicias, Themistocle.* (b) *Hesych. in V.* (c) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (d) *Diador. Sic. lib. XI*

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with the young Gentlemen, who made love to *Penelope*, only with a common and ordinary Death; but the Maid-servants that had submitted to their Lust, and behav'd themselves with scorn and contempt towards their Masters, as being guilty of a more heinous and notorious Crime, they order'd to be hang'd; the manner of it the Poet has describ'd in these words (a),

πῆισμα νιὸς κυανοπράοιο
 Κίον' ἐξάψας μεγάλῃς, πέλῃσιν δόλοιο,
 Τύβ' ἐπεντανύσας, μὴ πρὸς ποδὶ δίδας ἰκνῆ).
 Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἡ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι, ἢ πέλειαι
 ἔρχει ἐνιπλήξωσι, πρὶν θ' ἐσῆκει ἐνὶ δάμνῳ,
 Αὔλιον ἐπέμψαι, συγχεῖς δ' ἐπεδέξατο κοῖτος.
 Ὡς αἶ γ' ἐξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμυρὶ δὲ πάσας
 Δειρῶσιν βεῖχ' ἦσαν, ὅπως ὕκπετα θάνοιεν.
 Ἡσπάρων δὲ πόδεσσι μύνωσά περ, ἔπ' μάλα δ' ἔω.

Then young *Telemachus* a cable ty'd
 Hardned with pitch t'a lofty Pillar's side,
 That he might there make swings above the floor
 For all his nasty Queans, who'd play'd the Whore;
 In hempen Twists they all hung in a Row
 Tossing their Legs, and moving to and fro.
 So have I seen the warbling Larks beset
 With knotty mazes of the Fowler's net,
 How they do make a flutter and a rout
 With wings expanded, tho' they can't get out.

Mr. Abell.

Φάρμακον, Poyson, of which there were divers sorts, yet what they most commonly made use of, was the juice of the Herb κώνειον, *Cicuta*, not much unlike *Hemlock*, which thro' it's extreme coldness is poisonous; it was a draught of this gave *Socrates* his death,

*Rem populi tractas, barbatum hoc crede Magistrum
 Dicere, sorbitio tollit quem dira cicuta.*

You, who sustain the weight of Government,
 To these prudential *Maxims* be attent,
Maxims, not mine, but that grave Sir's, whose fate
 A draught of *Hemlock* did precipitate. (Mr. Abell.)

Saith Persius, meaning *Socrates* (b).

Κρημνός, a Precipice, from which the Malefactor was tumbled headlong.

(a) *Odyss.* x. v. 465. (b) *Satir.* IV. v. 1.

Τύμπανα,

Τύμπανα, or Τύπανα, were Cudgels of wood, with which Malefactors were beaten to death (a), being hang'd upon a Pole, which was also call'd Τύμπανον, and therefore τυμπανίζεῖν is by *Suidas*, and the *Etymologist* expounded χρέμα), and ἐτυμπανίσθησαν, ἐκρεμάσθησαν by *Hesychius*; for their conceit is vain and ridiculous, that would thence infer it to have been a kind of Gallows, or Crows. No less groundless and frivolous is their opinion, that imagine it to have been an instrument, on which Criminals were distended, like the Covering of a Drum, which the *Greeks* call Τύμπανον, and to have been of the same nature with the *Roman* *Fidiculæ*, which were little Cords, by which Men were stretch'd upon the Rack, and seem to have resembled the *Greek* Σχοῖνοι, us'd in the punishment call'd Σχοινισμός.

Σταυροί, the Crows, mention'd in *Thucydides* (b), was us'd in *Greece*, but not so frequently as at *Rome*: it consisted of two Beams, one of which was plac'd cross the other; the figure of it was much what the same with that of the letter T, as *Lucian* tells us (c), differing only from it, because the transverse Beam was fix'd a little below the top of the straight one. The Malefactor was hang'd upon the Beam that was erect, his Feet being fix'd to it with Nails, and his Hands to each side of that which was transverse.

Βάραθρον, was a deep Pit belonging to the Tribe *Hippothoontis*, into which condemn'd Persons were cast headlong, it is sometimes call'd Ορύγμα, whence the publick Executioner receiv'd the appellation of Οὐρανὸς τῷ ορύγματι. It was a dark, noisome hole, and had sharp Spikes at the top, that no Man might escape out, and others at the bottom, to pierce and torment such as were cast in (d). From it's depth and capaciousness, it came to be us'd proverbially for a covetous, Miser, or voracious Glutton, that is always craving, and can never be satisfied; and such an one the *Latins* call'd *Barathro*, hence *Lucius* (e),

Aufer abhinc lacrymas, Barathro, & compeſce querelas.

Forbear thy sighs,
 Thou Miser, cease complaints, and dry thine Eyes.

And *Horace*,

Mendici, mīmæ, Barathrones, hoc genus omne (f).

Beggars, Jack-puddings, *Rooksters*, and such like.

A place of the same Nature was the *Lacedæmonian* Καυάδας, into which *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* being cast, made his escape after a wonderful manner, as *Pausanias* reports (g).

(a) *Aristoph. Schol.* *Pluto*, *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Etymolog.* *Tollux*, &c. ubique in hoc capite. (b) *Lib. I.* (c) *Δίκη πανήγυριον.* (d) *Aristoph. Pluto. Schol.* (e) *Lib. III.* (f) *Satir. lib. I. Sat. II.* (g) *Messeniac.*

Λιδοβολία,

Λιθοβολία, or Lapidation, was a common punishment, and usually inflicted by the primitive Greeks upon such as were taken in Adultery, as we learn from Homer's third *Iliad*, where *Heكتور* tells *Paris*, he deserves to dye this death,

Λάϊνον ἔσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔνεκ', ὅσα ἐόργας.

For all your villanies you shall be ston'd to death.

Many other punishments there were, which they inflicted for particular Crimes, some of which I shall treat of in their proper places.

As the Laws inflicted severe Penalties upon Offenders, thereby to deter Men from Vice and Wickedness, and from base and dishonourable Designs, so again they conferr'd ample Rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to incite others to the practice of Virtue and Honesty, and the performance of good and glorious Actions; and upon the just and equal dispensation of these two Things, it was *Solon's* Opinion, that the Safety of any Common-wealth chiefly depended (a). Now not to mention publick Honours and State-preferments, to which even those of the inferior Sort might not despair of advancing themselves in a popular State, if by their eminent Services they approv'd themselves to the People; beside these, I say, there were several publick Rewards, and Honours conferr'd upon such as had merited enough to be thought worthy of them; The chief of which were these;

Προεδρία, or, the privilege of having the first place at all Shows, Sports, Banquets, and publick Meetings (b).

Εἰκὼν, or, the Honour of having their Pictures, or Statues erected in the Cittadel, Forum, or other publick places of the City (c). With such monuments of Virtue *Athens* seems to have abounded more than any City in the World, as will evidently appear to any, that will be at the pains to peruse *Pausanias's* accurate description of them.

Στέφανοι, or, Crowns, were conferr'd in the publick Assemblies by the Suffrages of the People, or by the Senators in their Council; but of these, because they were for the most part bestow'd upon those that had signaliz'd themselves by their Valour, as also of other Military rewards, I shall give you an account of in another place.

Ατέλεια, was an immunity from all publick Duties, Taxes, and Contributions, except such as were requir'd for carrying on the War, which no man was excus'd from. This Honour was very rare, but yet there want not instances of it, as particularly those of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton's* whole Families, which enjoy'd it for a great many generations (d).

Σιτία, παροσσία, σίτησις ἐν Πρυτανείῳ, was a maintenance al-

low'd such as deserv'd well of the Common-wealth in the Common-hall, call'd *Prytaneum*. This Privilege was granted sometimes to whole Families for the Services of their Ancestors, as particularly to those of *Hippocrates*, *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*. Their common Fare was a sort of Cakes, or Puddings call'd *Μέζα*, upon Holy-days they had an allowance of Bread (a); and beside other provisions, the Tenths of all the Bellies of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice were always reserv'd for them, which if any Man neglected to send, he was liable to be punish'd by the *Prytanes*, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b).

Καὶ σε φανῶ τῷς Πρυτάνεσιν,

ἀδικατέυτας τ' ὁσῶν ἱε-

ρὰς ἔχοντα κοιλίας.

Your Frauds I'll to the *Prytanes* disclose,
Since you with sacrilegious Stealth keep back
The Tithes of sacred Victims Bellies.

A great deal mote might be said about the Honours conferr'd after Death upon such, as had been eminently serviceable to the Common-wealth, in the celebration of their Funerals, and the pious care of their Memories, but this I shall leave to be spoken of in another place, I shall only add that not themselves only, but their Posterity reap'd the fruits of their Virtues, for if any of their Children were left in a poor condition, they seldom fail'd of obtaining a plentiful provision from the Publick; Thus *Aristides's* two Daughters were publicly marry'd out of the *Prytaneum*, the City decreeing each of them three-hundred *Drachms* for her Portion. Nor is it to be wondred (saith my Author) that the People of *Athens* should take care of those that live in the City, since hearing that *Aristogiton's* Grand-daughter was in a low condition in the Isle of *Lemnus*, and, by means of her poverty, like to want Husband, they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to a Person of considerable Quality, and bestow'd upon her a large Farm, as a Dowry. Of which Bounty, and Humanity (saith he) this City of *Athens*, even in this Age, hath given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly had in great Honour and Admiration (c).

(a) *Demosthen. loc. cit. Pollux lib. IX. cap. V. Atheniensium lib. IV. &c.* (b) *Equitibus.* (c) *Plutarch. Aristide.*

(a) *Cicero. Epist. ad M. Brutum.* (b) *Aristoph. Equit.* (c) *Demosthen. Orat. de Falsa Legat. aliiq.* (d) *Demosthen. Orat. in Leptinem. Eiusque Interpret.*

CHAPTER XXV.

Of the Athenian Laws.

IT was Tully's observation, that most of the Arts and Inventions, which are necessary to the management of Human life, owe their first Original to the *Athenians*, from whom they were deriv'd into the other parts of *Greece*, and thence carried into foreign Countreys, for the common benefit of Mankind. But of all the Inventions commonly ascrib'd to them, none has been of greater, or more general use to the World, than that of Laws, which, as *Ælian* (a), and others report, were first establish'd in *Athens*. Most other ingenious contrivances respect the conveniencies of Human life, but upon this depends the very foundation of all Civil Government, and of all mutual Society amongst Men; for by them the Magistrate is directed how to govern, and the People how far to obey; the Magistrate by them is settled in the possession of his Authority over the People, and the People too by them are secur'd from the arbitrary Power, and unreasonable demands of the Magistrate, as well as from the Fraud, Violence, and Oppression of each other.

The Poets tell us, that *Ceres* was the first, that taught the *Athenians* the use of Laws; in memory of which benefit, they celebrated the Festival call'd *Θεσμοφεία*, in which she was Worshipp'd by the Name of *Θεσμοφύξ*, which exactly answers to the *Latin* Name of *Legifera* in *Virgil* (b),

maſtant lectas de more bidentes
Legiferæ Cereri.

To *Ceres*, who first shew'd the use of Laws,
They offer Lambs cull'd out of bleating Flock.

Some of the Laws of her Favourite, *Triptolemus*, are still extant, and I have spoken of them in another place. But to pass by Poetical and groundless fictions, thus much is certain, and evident, viz. That the *Athenians* were govern'd by Laws before the dissolution of their Monarchy, as may be observ'd from what *Plutarch* relates of *Theseus*, viz. That when he divest'd himself of Sovereign Power, and establish'd a Common-wealth in *Athens*, one of the Prerogatives that he thought fit still to retain, was the Custody, or Protection of the Laws.

The first, that gave Laws to the *Athenians* after *Theseus*'s Time, was

(a) Lib. III. cap. XXXVIII. (b) *Æneid*. IV. v. 57.

Draco,

Draco, who was *Archon* in the first Year of the thirty-ninth *Olympiad*. His Laws, *Ælian* (a) tells us, are properly call'd *Θεσμοι*, but are remarkable for nothing but their unreasonable severity; for by them every little offence was punish'd with death, and he that stole an Apple was proceeded against with no less rigour, than he that had betray'd his Countrey. But these extremities could not last long, the People soon grew weary of them, and therefore, tho' they were not abrogated, yet by a tacit consent they were laid asleep till

Solon, the next Law-giver, repeal'd them all, except those that concern'd Murder, call'd *Φονικὰ νόμοι*; and, having receiv'd from the People Power to make what alterations he thought necessary, new modell'd the Common-wealth, and instituted a great many useful and excellent Laws, which, to distinguish them from *Draco*'s *Θεσμοι*, were call'd *Νόμοι*. And least, thro' the connivance of the Magistrates, they should in time be neglected, like those of his Predecessor, He caus'd the Senate, to take a solemn Oath to observe them, and every one of the *Thesmothetæ* vow'd, that if he violated any of the Statutes, he would dedicate a golden Statue as big as himself to the *Delphian Apollo*, and the People He oblig'd to observe them for a hundred Years (b).

But all this care was not sufficient to preserve his Laws from the innovations of lawless, and ambitious Men; For shortly after, *Pisistratus* so far insinuated himself into the People's favour, that the *Democracy* instituted by *Solon* was dissolv'd, and himself invested with Sovereign Power, which at his Death he left in the possession of his Sons, who maintain'd it for some Years; and tho' *Pisistratus* himself, as *Plutarch* reports (c), and his Sons after him, in a great measure, govern'd according to *Solon*'s directions, yet they follow'd them not as Laws, to which they were oblig'd to conform their Actions, but rather seem to have us'd them as wise and prudent Counsels, and vary'd from them, whenever they found them interfere with their interest, or inclinations.

Pisistratus's Family being driven out of *Atica*, *Clisthenes* took upon him to restore *Solon*'s Constitutions, and enacted many new Laws (d), which continued in force till the *Peloponnesian War*, in which the Form of Government was chang'd first by the *Four-hundred*, and then by the *Thirty Tyrants*. These storms being over, the ancient Laws were again restor'd in the *Archonship* of *Euclides*, and others establish'd at the instance of *Diocles*, *Aristophon*, and other leading Men of the City. Last of all, *Demetrius the Phalerean*, being intrusted with the Government of *Athens* by the *Macedonians*, was the Author of a great many new, but very beneficial and laudable Constitutions (e). These seem to have been the chief Legislators of *Athens*, before they submitted to the *Roman* yolk; two others are mention'd by *Suidas*, viz. *Thales* and *Æschylus*, but are not taken notice of in other Authors.

(a) Var. Hist. lib. VIII. cap. X. (b) *Plutarch*. *Solone*, *Diogen. Laert.* (c) *Plutarch*. loc. cit. (d) *Solone*. (e) *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*. *Pericle*, *Isocrat.* *Arcepag* (f) *Plutarch*, *Aristide*.

Beside these, the *Athenians* had a great many other Laws, enacted upon particular occasions, and exigencies of the Common-wealth, by the Suffrages of the People; For I shall not in this place speak of the *ὑποτάγματα τῆς Βουλῆς*, the Decrees enacted by the Senate, because they were not settled and constant Laws, but only, as it were, so many Proclamations, which, being enacted by no greater Authority than that of the Senators, whose Power was only annual, lost all their force and obligation when their Offices expir'd. The manner of making a Law was thus; When any Man had contriv'd any thing, that he thought might conduce to the good of the Common-wealth, he first communicated it to the *Prytanes*, who were certain Officers appointed to receive all sorts of informations of things that concern'd the Publick; the *Prytanes* then call'd a meeting of the Senate, in which the new Project being propos'd, after mature deliberation was rejected, if it appear'd hurtful, or unserviceable; if not, was agree'd to, and then call'd *Πρόταγμα*. Then the *Prytanes* took a Tablet, and wrote upon it the matter that was to be enacted into a Law, and the time in which the People were to meet in a publick Assembly, and determine it, and this was call'd *Πρόγραμμα*.

No Law was to be propos'd to the Assembly, except it had been written upon a white Tablet, and fix'd up some Days before the Assembly at the Statues of the Heroes call'd *ἑταῖοι*, that so all the Citizens might read what was to be propos'd at their next Meeting, and be able to give a more deliberate judgment upon it. When the multitude was come together the Decree was read, and every Man had libertie to speak his mind about the whole, or any clause of it, and if, after due consultation, the Populacy thought it inconvenient, it was rejected; if they approv'd of it, it pass'd into a *ὑπόσταμα*, or *Νόμος*, which, as we learn from *Demosthenes*, were the same as to their obligation, but differ'd in this, that *Νόμος*, was a general, and everlasting Rule, whereas *ὑπόσταμα* respected particular Times, Places, and other Circumstances (a).

No Man without a great deal of caution, and a thorough understanding of the former Laws, and Constitutions durst presume to propose a new one, the Danger being very great if it suited not with the customs and inclinations of the People; *Eudemus* a *Cydiaethenian* is said to have lost his Life on that account, being made a Sacrifice to the rage of the Multitude. Not much unlike this severity was the ordinance of *Zaleucus*, the *Locrian* Law-giver, by which it was appointed, that whosoever propos'd the enacting of a new Law, or the abrogation of an old one, should come into the Assembly, with an Halter about his Neck, and in that dress give his reasons for what he propos'd, which if they were thought good and sufficient, his proposal was embrac'd; if not, he straight-way pour'd out his Soul under

(a) *Demosthen.* ejusque enarrator. *Ulpian.* in *Leptin.* & alibi.

the Hang-man's hands. But the *Athenians* were not quite so rigid, except upon some extraordinary occasion, when the giddy Multitude was hurry'd on with unusual rage and vehemence, as happen'd in *Eudemus's* case; yet if any Man establish'd a Law, that was prejudicial to the Common-wealth, he might be call'd in question, and brought to Tryal for it any time within the space of one Year, but if he was let alone any longer, the Laws took no notice of him. In these cases especially, a writ for transgressing the Laws, call'd *Παρανομίας ῥεασι*, might take hold of him; First, if he had not taken care to publish his Proposal in due time; Secondly, if he propos'd it in ambiguous and fallacious Terms; Thirdly, if he propos'd any thing contrary to any of the former and received Laws; and therefore if any of the old Laws were found to oppose what they design'd to offer, they always took care to have them repeal'd before-hand (a). Because, notwithstanding all this caution, it sometimes happen'd that new Laws were enacted contrary to the old, it was order'd that the *Thesmothetæ* should once every Year carefully peruse the Laws, and if they found any of them oppose another, it was to be propos'd to the People, who were to proceed about it in the method that was us'd in abrogating other Laws, and so one of the Laws made void. In other cases it was unlawful for any Man to endeavour to have any Law repeal'd, without preferring a new one in it's place.

Now because the change of Time, and other Circumstances might make a great many alterations in Affairs, and Ordinances, that had formerly been useful and necessary, by the different State of Things become unprofitable, and perhaps inconvenient, and prejudicial; it was ordain'd by *Solon* that once every Year the Laws should be carefully revis'd and examin'd, and if any of them were found unsuitable to the present State of Affairs, it should be repeal'd; this was call'd *ἀναθεωρεῖν τὰ νόμους*, from the manner of giving their Suffrages by holding up their hands. The method of doing it was thus; On the eleventh Day of the month *Hecatombæon*, after the *Κίεϋξ* had, according to custom, made a solemn Prayer before the Assembly, the Laws were read over in this Order, first those, that concern'd the Senate; then those that respected the People, the nine *Archons*, and then the other Magistrates in their Order. This being done, it was demanded, Whether the Laws then in being were sufficient for the Common-wealth? and if it seem'd necessary to make any alteration in them, the consideration was differr'd till the fourth of *Metagitnion*, upon which Day, was the last Ordinary Assembly, under the first Rank of the *Prytanes*, as the Repetition of the Laws had been at the first. In all this, the *Θισμοὶ*, or Laws concerning such matters, were nicely and punctually observ'd, and the *Prytanes*, and *Proedri* severely punish'd, if any thing was omitted. Upon the first of *Metagitnion*, another Assembly was call'd, and the *Proedri* reported the matter to the People, who did not

(a) *Iidem.*

proceed to the determination of it themselves, but substituted the *Nomothetae* to do it; and appointed five Orators, call'd *Συνδικοί*, to Patronize the ancient Laws in the Name of the People. If the calling of this Assembly was neglected, the *Prytanes*, by *Solon's* Command, had a Fine of a thousand *Drachms* laid upon each of them, and the *Proedri* one of four-hundred; all which the *Thesmothetae* were oblig'd to see paid into the Treasury of *Minerva's* Temple in the Cittadel, but in case they refus'd, the *Thesmothetae* were to bring an Indictment against them at the Court of *Heliea*; which if they neglected to do, themselves were to be deny'd admission into the *Areopagus*. To return, the *Nomothetae*, having heard what the Orators could say in defence of the old Law, gave their Opinions accordingly, and their Sentence was ratified by the People in the following Assembly (a).

Solon, and after his example, the rest of those that enacted Laws in *Athens*, committed their Laws to writing, differing herein from *Lycurgus*, and the Law-givers of other Cities, who thought it better to imprint them in the minds of their Citizens, than to engrave them upon Tablets, where it was probable they might lye neglected and unregarded, as *Plutarch* hath inform'd us in his Life of *Numa Pompilius*; "It is reported (saith he) that *Numa's* Body by his particular command was not burn'd, but that he order'd two stone Coffins "to be made, in one of which he appointed his Body to be laid, and "the other to be a Repository for his sacred Books and Writings, "and both of them to be interr'd under the Hill *Ianiculum*; imitating herein the Legislators of *Greece*, who having wrote their Laws "in Tablets, which they call'd *Κύβευαι*, did so long inculcate the contents of them, whilst they liv'd, into the Minds and Hearts of their "Priests, that their Understandings became, as it were, living Libraries "of those sacred Volumes, it being esteem'd a prophanation of such Mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead Letters". In some places, especially before the invention of Letters, it was usual to sing their Laws, the better to fix them in their memories; which custom, *Aristotle* tells us, was us'd in his Days amongst the *Agathyrsi*, a people near the *Scythians*; and this he phantasies was the reason, why the Musical rules for keeping Time were call'd *Νόμοι* (b).

But *Solon* was of a contrary Opinion, esteeming it the safest way to commit his Laws to writing, which would remain entire, and impossible to be corrupted, when the unwritten Traditions of other Law-givers, thro' the negligence and forgetfulness of some, and the cunning and knavery of others, might either wholly perish in oblivion, or by continual forgeries and alterations be rendred altogether useless and unprofitable to the Publick, but abundantly serviceable to the designs and innovations of treacherous and ambitious Men. The Tables in which *Solon* penn'd his Laws, *Plutarch* tells us, were of wood, and call'd *Αξογες*, and so fashion'd that they might be turn'd round

(a) Ibidem. (b) Problem. Sect. X. cap. XXIX.

in oblong Cases, some of them, he saith, remain'd till his Time, and were to be seen in the *Prytaneum* at *Athens*, being (as *Aristotle* affirms) the same with the *Κύβευαι*. But others are of Opinion, that those are properly call'd *Κύβευαι*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices, and the Rites of Religion, and all the rest, *Αξογες*. Thus *Plutarch* (a). But *Apollodorus*, as he is quoted by the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* (b), will have *Κύβευαι*, to be of Stone, and to signifie any Tablets, wherein Laws, or publick Edicts were written, and to have receiv'd their Name *ὅτι τὸ κεκορυβωμένον εἰς ὕψος*, because they were erected up on high; or from the *Corybantes*, the first inventers of them, as *Theopompus* reports in his Treatise of Piety. *Aristotle* adds, that they were triangular, in his Treatise about the Republick of *Athens*, and is seconded herein by *Pollux* (c), who farther remarks, that the *Αξογες* were quadrangular, and made of Brasse. *Ammonius* (d), to trouble you with no more Opinions about them, will have the distinction to consist in this, That the *Αξογες*, were four-square, containing the Laws that concern'd civil Affairs; whereas the *Κύβευαι*, were Triangular, and contain'd Precepts about the publick Worship. What number there was of them, it is impossible to divine, since none of the ancient Authors have given us any light in this particular. They were kept in the Cittadel, but afterwards were remov'd to the *Prytaneum*, that all Persons might have recourse to them upon any occasion (e); tho' some report that only Transcripts of them were carried thither, and that the Original, written by *Solon's* own hand, remain'd still in the Cittadel. Hence, as *Pollux* is of Opinion, came the Laws to be distinguish'd into *τὰς ὑπὸ τῷ πρυτανεῖον*, and *τὰς ἀνωτὶν νόμους*, the former signifying the Laws that were in the *Prytaneum*, which was in the lower City; the latter, those that were kept in the Cittadel, or upper City. Others are of Opinion, that by *ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ πρυτανεῖον νόμος*, *Demosthenes*, whose expression it is, meant no more, than the lower part of the Tablet, but then, without dispute, he would have mention'd the number of the Tablets, as in other places He, and others usually do, and not have left us in the dark which of the Tablets he meant; Again, the lower part of the Tablet might sometimes happen to contain the first part of the Law, which it is improper to call *ἡ κάτωθεν*, because that word seems to import something beneath the rest, and towards the latter End; for one Tablet was not always large enough to contain a whole Law, as appears from *Plutarch* (f), in whom we find that the eighth Law was engrav'd in the thirteenth Tablet. *Petit* will have *Demosthenes* to mean no more by *ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος*, than the Law, which beneath, or, afterwards in the same Oration is cited by him. Others understand it of the lower Line, because the Laws are said to have been written *βασπερὸν δὲν*, that is, as *Pausa-*

(a) Solone. (b) Nubibus, & Avibus. (c) Lib. VIII. cap. X. (d) Lib. de Different. Voc. (e) Pollux ibid. (f) Solone.

nias explains it (a), when the second line is turn'd on the contrary side, beginning at the end of the former, as the Husband-men turn their Oxen in ploughing, in this manner,

ΕΚ ΔΙΟΣ ΑΡ-
ΥΘΞΗΜΥΧ

It was against the Law for any Man to erase a Decree out of any of the Tablets, or to make any alterations in them; and for the greater security of them, there were certain Persons call'd from their Office Γραμματεῖς, whose business it was to preserve them from being corrupted (b), and, as their Name imports, to transcribe the old, and enter the new ones into the Tablets; they were elected by the Senate, and, to render their Office more creditable, had several badges of Honour conferr'd upon them, of which in their proper place. Thus much of the Athenian Laws in general; their particular Laws have been with great Industry collected by Petit, and are now english'd from the Original Greek by Mr. Abell.

Attick LAWS.

Laws relating to Divine Worship, Temples, Festivals, and Sports.

LET Sacrifices be perform'd with fruits of the Earth. Let it be a Law among the Athenians for ever sacred and inviolable, always to observe due Homage in publick towards their Gods, and native Heroes, according to the usual Customs of their Country; and with all possible sincerity to offer in private First-fruits with anniversary Cakes.

One Drachm shall be the price of a Sheep, eighteen of a Medimn. Cattle design'd for Sacrifice shall be cull'd.

It's order'd, that the Sacrificer carry part of his oblation home to his Family.

All the remains of the Sacrifice are the Priest's Fees.

Whoever easeth Nature in Apollo's Temple, shall be Indicted, and Sentenc'd to Death.

All Slaves and Forreigners are permitted to come to the publick Temples, either out of curiosity of seeing, or devotion.

They, who survive the report of being Dead, are prohibited entrance into the Furies Temple.

Let no violence be offer'd to any one, who flies to the Temples for succour.

While the Celebration of the monthly Festival continues at A-

(a) Eliac. (b) Pollux. lib. VIII. cap. VIII.

them, it's order'd, that no one be defam'd or affronted in Private or Publick, and that no business be carry'd on, which is not pertinent to this Feast.

All, who frequent the Panathenaea, are forbid the wearing of gaudy and foppish Apparell.

It's enacted that at the institution of Panathenaea Majora Homer's Rhapsodies be repeated.

Sojourners are commanded to carry about at publick Processions little Vessels fram'd after the model of a Boat, and their Daughters Water-pots with Umbrellas.

No Forreigner is to be initiated into the Holy Mysteries.

Death shall be his penalty, who divulges the Mysteries.

The Persons initiated shall dedicate the Garments they were initiated in, at Ceres and Proserpina's Temple.

No Woman shall go in her Chariot to Eleusis, and whoever commits Theft, during the Feast kept at that place, shall be fin'd 6000 Drachms.

Let no petitionary Address be made at the Mysteries.

No one shall be Arrested, or Apprehended, during their Celebration.

An Assembly of the Senate shall convene in the Eleusinian Temple, the day following this Festival.

The Festival call'd Θειοφεια is to be annual, at which time there's to be a Gaol-delivery.

Evagoras hath caus'd it to be enacted, that when there's a Procession in the Piræus to the honour of Bacchus, and likewise at the Lenean Procession, Comedies shall be acted, and that during the celebration of the Διονυσιακὰ in the Cittadel, Young-men shall dance, and Tragedians with Comedians act, and that at these times, and while the Θαγηνία continue, no suit of Law, Bailment, or Suretyship shall be made; if trespass be made against any one of these particulars, let the Person herein offending be prosecuted in the usual manner at the popular Assembly held in Bacchus's Theater.

It's establish'd, that the Prytanes the day subsequent to these observances call a Senate in the Theater of Bacchus, upon the Πανδία, where the first thing in debate shall be touching the sacred Rites, after that, the drawing up all the Indictments to be executed on the fore-mention'd Criminals at the Feasts.

No Arrestment shall be attempted on the Διονυσιακὰ.

Execution of condemn'd Prisoners shall be deferr'd till the Θιωρὴ return from Delos.

No oblation of Victims shall be on the Αλῶα.

He, who comes off Conqueror at the Olympick Games, shall receive as his reward 500. Drachms, at the Isthmick, an 100.

Fifteen shall go to the constitution of a Tragick Chorus.

It's forbid that Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides be brought on the Stage, wherefore License is given, that the City-clerk read them publickly.

An emulatory performance among the Tragedians is order'd to be in the Theater, on the Feast call'd *Χύτρα*, and that he, that acts his part best, shall be chosen *Denizon*.

No one under 30 Years of age shall be an Actor.

Let no *Archon* be expos'd by any malignant aspersion in a Comedy.

If any reflections are design'd, let them be palliated under a feign'd Name.

Let all the different Airs, and specifick kinds of Musick be observ'd, and each of them be made use off at it's peculiar Festival.

All spectators shall sit with due Attention and Decorum in the Theatre, and the Beadles are hereby impower'd to turn him out, who shall cause any noise or disturbance, but if any one contradict their commission, and persevere in his rudeness, a Fine shall be his punishment.

Sports exhibited in Honour of *Neptune* are to be in the *Piræus*, grac'd with three Dances perform'd in a ring, where the reward to them who come off best shall be ten *μναῖ*, to them whose performance is one degree below, eight, and six to the third rated Victors.

One day Yearly there's to be a publick Cock-fighting.

Sacrifices are required to be at the beginning of every Month.

Laws concerning them who Officiate in holy Rites.

THE *Βασιλεύς* is to take care that the *Parasites* be created out of the People, whose duty 'tis, each of them to reserve out of his allowance an *Hektem* of Barley without the least deceit, for the maintenance of the *Genuine Citizens* Feast, to be kept in the Temple, according to the custom of the Countrey. The *Acharnensian Parasites* are to lay up an *Hektem* of their dole in *Apollo's* Reservatory, to which Deity they are to Sacrifice; their Chief likewise, the Old men, and Women who have had but one Husband, are oblig'd to joyn in the Sacrifices.

Out of those of spurious Birth, or their Children, the *Parasites* shall elect a Priest, who shall officiate in the *Monthly* Sacrifices, and against him who declines it an Action shall be enter'd.

Two of the sacred *Ceryces* must undergo *Parasiteship*, for the space of one Year in *Apollo's* Temple at *Delos*.

The third part of the choicest of the Oxen is to be conferr'd on the Victor of a prize, the two remaining shall be divided between the Priests and *Parasites*.

Let there be given a just value of Money, to be disburs'd by the Priests for the reparation of the *Αρχεῖον* (or Treasury) of the Temple, and the *Παρασίπων*, or place set apart for the *Parasites* Executing of their Office.

Out of the most vigorous of the Old men, there are to be created

Θαλα-

Θαλασπροι, i. e. Persons to carry sprigs of Olive in the *Panathenæa*, in Honor of *Minerva*.

It is hereby appointed that the Consort of the *Βασιλεύς* shall be a Citizen of *Athens*, and never before Marri'd.

Not the Priests only shall give an account of their demeanour in the Priest-hood, but likewise the *sacred Families*.

No impure Person shall be elected into the Priest-hood.

Laws relating to the Laws.

As for the Review of the Laws, I have purposely omitted it, as being spoken of in the foregoing sheets.

The Decree.

Tisamenus hath establish'd with the consent, and by the Authority of the People that *Athens* shall keep her ancient Form of Government, and make use of *Solon's* Laws, Weights, and Measures, with *Draco's* Sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requisite, the *Nomothetæ* created by the Senate for that purpose, shall engross them on a Tablet, and hang 'em up at the Statues of the *Eponymi*, that they may be expos'd to the publick view of all Passers by; The same Month they are to be given up to the Magistrates, after they have pass'd the Estimation of the Senate of Five-hundred, and the delegated *Nomothetæ*. Be it also farther enact'd, that any private Man may have free access to the Senate, and give in his Sentiments concerning them, after their promulgation; the Senate of *Areopagus* is required to take care that the Magistrates put these Laws in Execution, which for the conveniency of the Citizens are to be engrav'd on the Wall, where before they had been expos'd to publick view. He that propounds a Law not conducing to the common Good, shall be indicted as a Pesterer of the Common-wealth.

The proposer of a Law after the Year's end shall be accus'd, if his Law be pernicious, but yet shall be liable to no Penalty.

No Law shall be repeal'd, before reference be made of it to the *Nomothetæ*, which being done, any *Athenian* may endeavour it's repeal, supposing he substitutes a new Law in it's stead. Both these the *Proedri* shall refer to the Votes of the People; the first proposal shall be concerning the Old Law, whether it be any longer conducing to the publick Good, then the new one shall be propos'd; now which of the two the *Nomothetæ* shall judge best, that shall be in force; yet this caution must be observ'd, that no Law shall be enact'd which gainsays any of the rest, and the Person, who shall give in a Law inconsistent with the former constitutions, shall be dealt with according to the rigour of the Act against those, who promote prejudicial Laws.

He, who to abrogate an old Law promiseth to make a new one, and doth not, shall be Fin'd.

The *Thesmothetæ* shall Yearly assemble in the Repository of the Laws, and cautiously examine whether one Law bears any contradiction to another, whether there be any Law unratified, or duplicates about the same thing; if any of these shall occur in their examination, it shall be written on a Tablet, and read at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Which done, by the *Epistata's* Order, the People shall vote which of them shall be made void, or ratified.

Laws referring to Decrees of the Senate, and Commonalty.

Ἡποικυῖα, or Decrees of the Senate, are to be but of one Year's continuance.

No *Psephism* shall pass to the Commons before the Senate's supervisal.

The Tablets, on which the *Psephisms* are engrav'd, are by no means to be remov'd.

Let no *Psephism*, either of the Senate, or People, be of greater Authority than the Laws.

No Sophistication is to be contain'd in a *Psephism*.

Laws concerning Native, and Enfranchis'd Citizens.

ALL Laws are to be alike Obligatory towards the whole Body of the People.

All Priests, and *Archons* are to be selected out of the Nobility, whose duty 'tis to interpret all Laws both Civil, and Divine.

The *Θῆτες*, or those of the meaner sort, shall be capable of no Magistracy.

The *Θῆτες* shall have right of Suffrage in publick Assemblies, and of being elected Judges.

Let all the Citizens have an equal share in the Government, and the *Archons* be indifferently elected out of them all.

No Persons, but such as have suffer'd perpetual banishment, or those, who with their whole Families come to *Athens* for the conveniency of Trade, shall be enroll'd among the *Denizens*.

Let no Person, that's a Slave by birth, be made free of the City.

No one shall be admitted Citizen, unless a particular eminency of Virtue entitle him to it, yet if the People do conferr a Citizenship on any one for his merits, he shall not be ratified, before the *Athenians*, the next meeting of the Assembly, honour him with six-thousand private Votes, the *Prytanes* likewise shall give them, before the entrance of the Strangers, the Boxes with the *Calculi*, and take away the Largeſſes, which

which were the *Persian* Bucklers. Now these Persons after Enfranchisement shall be altogether incapable of being *Archons* or Priests; as for their Children, they may officiate, if born of a Free-woman; if the persons made Free presume the taking up of any Office, any Free-born Man may bring an Action against them, as Interlopers on his Privileges.

There shall be a disquisition made, whether they, who are inserted in the Register of Citizens, be so, or no; they who shall not be found Citizens on both sides, let them be eras'd out; the determination of this shall be by their own Burrough, by whom if they be cast, and acquiesce in their Sentence without any farther Appeal to an higher Court, they shall be rank'd among the Sojourners; but they, that after Appeal shall be condemn'd by the higher Court, shall be sold for Slaves; or, if acquitted, shall continue in their Freedom.

It's permitted any *Athenian* to leave the City, and take his Family and Goods along with him.

Laws appertaining to Children legitimate, Spurious, or Adopted.

THEY only shall be reckon'd Citizens, whose Parents are both so. He shall be lookt on as a Bastard, whose Mother is not Free.

Let none of Spurious birth, whether male, or female intermeddle with either sacred, or civil Affairs from the time of *Euclides* being *Archon*.

That inheritance shall pass for good, which is given by a childless Person to an adopted Son.

Adoption must be made by Persons living.

No one, except the Person who adopted shall have a legitimate Son, shall relinquish the Family into which he is adopted, to return into his Natural.

Parents may give their Children what Names they will, or change those they have for others.

Whenever Parents come to enroll their Children, whether genuine, or adopted in the publick Register, they are oblig'd to profess by Oath, that they were lawfully begotten of a Free-woman.

Beasts design'd at this time for the Altar are to be of a certain weight, a Goat to weigh fifty *μνᾶς*, and two Sheep fourty-eight.

The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.

I 'LL never do any thing to disgrace this Armour; I'll never fly from my Post, or revolt from my *General*, but I'll fight for my Country, and Religion in an Army, or single Combat; I'll never be the Cause of weakning or endammaging my Country, and if it be my fortune to sail on the Seas, my Country thinking fit to send me in a Colony,

Colony, I'll willingly acquiesce and enjoy that Land which is allotted me, I'll firmly adhere to the present constitution of Affairs, and whatsoever enactments the People shall please to pass, I'll see no body violate or pervert them, but I'll, either singly by my self, or by joining with others, endeavour to revenge them, I'll conform to my Country's Religion: I swear by these following Deities, viz. the *Agrauli*, *Enyalios*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, the *Earth*, and *Diana*.

I'll stand so much up for the Honour of my Country, that, if occasion require, I'll lay down my Life for it.

My endeavours to extend the Dominions of *Athens* shall never cease, while there are Wheat, Barley, Vine-yards and Olive-trees without it's Limits.

Parents shall have full right to disinherit their Children.

No one shall sell his Daughter, or Sister, unless he can prove her to be a Whore.

The first institution of Youth is to be in swimming, and the rudiments of Literature; as for those, whose Abilities in the world are but mean, let them learn Husbandry, Manufactures, with Trades; but they, who can afford a gentile Education, shall learn to play on Musical Instruments, to ride the great Horse, shall study Philosophy, learn how to Hunt, and be instructed in the *Gymnical* exercises.

Let him be disfranchis'd who beats his Parents, or does not provide for them.

If any Man, being found guilty of abusing his Parents, frequent prohibited places, the *Eleven* shall Fetter him, and bring him to Tryal at the *Heliean* Court, where any one, who is impower'd thereto, may accuse him; if he's here cast, the *Heliean* Judges shall inflict upon him what punishment they please, and if they Fine him, let him be clapt up in Gaol till he pays the whole.

No Bastards, or such as have been brought up to no Employ, shall be oblig'd to keep their Parents.

If any one's Estate after his decease shall be call'd in question, the enjoyer of it is oblig'd to prove the Lawfulness of his Parent's getting it, according to that Golden Precept, *Honour your Parents*.

He, that is undutiful to his Parents, shall be incapable of bearing any Office.

If, thro' the infirmity of old Age, or torture of a Disease, any Father be found craz'd and distemper'd in mind, a Son may forthwith have an Action against him, wherein if he be cast, he may keep him in bonds.

Laws belonging to Sojourners.

EVERY *Sojourner* is to choose his Patron out of the Citizens, who is to pay his Tribute to the *Collectors*, and take care of all his other concerns.

Let

Let there be an Action against them, who don't choose a Patron, or pay Tribute.

In this Action no Forreigner shall appear as a Witness.

Let them be cast into Prison before Sentence is past, without any grant of Bailment, on whom the Action of *Ξνία* is laid, but if condemn'd, they shall be sold; whoever is acquitted of this imputation may accuse his adversary of Bribery.

Laws relating to Slaves, and Free'd-servants.

HE that beats another Man's Servant, may have an Action of *Battery* brought against him.

No one may Sell a *Captive* for a *Slave*, without the consent of his former Master, if any *Captive* hath been sold, he shall be rescu'd, and let his rescuer put in Sureties for his appearance before the *Polemarchus*.

If any *Slave's* Freedom hath been unjustly asserted by another, the Assessor shall be liable to pay half the price of the *Slave*.

Any *Slave* unable to drudge under the Imperiousness of his Master, may compell him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle.

Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage.

No *Slaves* are to have their Liberty given them in the *Theater*; the Cryer, that proclaims it, shall be *Ἀτιμω*.

All emancipated *Slaves* shall pay certain services, and due Homage to the Procurers of their Liberty, choosing them only for their Patrons, and not be wanting in the performance of those Duties, to which they are oblig'd by Law.

Patrons are permitted to bring an Action of *Ἀποσάσιον* against such *Free'd-Slaves*, as are remiss in the foremention'd Duties, and reduce them to their pristine state of Bondage, if the charge be prov'd against them; but if the accusation be groundless, they shall entirely possess their Freedom.

Any, who have a mind, whether Citizens, or Strangers, may appear as Evidence in the above-mention'd Cause.

He, that redeems a *Prisoner* of War may claim him as his own, unless the *Prisoner* himself be able to pay his own Ransom.

Maintenance is by no means to be given to a *Slave* careless in his Duty.

Laws concerning the Senate of Five-hundred.

NO one is to be tyice an *Epistata*.

The

The Oath of the Senate I pass by, as before treated of.

The Establishment of *Phocus* runs, That *Senators* with the rest of the *Athenians* shall keep the Feast call'd *Απαρτία*, as is usual by the custom of the Country, and that there shall be an *Adjournment* of the *Senate*, and *Vacations* of lesser Courts for five-days, from the time in which the *Protenthæ* begin to celebrate the Solemnity.

The *Cryer* shall pray for the good success of Affairs, and encourage all Men to lay out their endeavours on that design.

The *Cryer* shall curse him openly, with his Kindred, and Family, who shall appear at the *Sessions*, and plead Causes for Lucre.

Let the most grave of the *Senators*, having decently compos'd their Bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise thoughts to the People; and after them, let such of the rest as will, do the like one by one according to seniority.

In every Assembly let there be one *Tribe* elected to *preside*, and to look after the Laws.

The *Prytanes* are not to authorize the People to Vote twice for the same thing.

The *Senate* of *Five-hundred* may Fine as far as five-hundred *Drachms*.

Let the *Senate* of the *Five-hundred* build new Ships.

Such, as have not built any, shall be re-^{warded} the donation of Crowns.

This *Senate* shall give account of their Administration, and they, who have executed their Offices well, shall be rewarded with Crowns.

Laws which concern Magistrates.

NONE shall be *Magistrates* but they, who have competent Estates.

The Election of *Magistrates* shall be by *Beans*.

It shall be punishable with Death to pass two *Suffrages* for the same Candidate.

The *Archons* shall be created by the People.

No one shall bear the same Office twice, or enter on two several the same Year.

All *Magistrates*, that are elected by *Suffrages*, *Surveyors* of publick Works, and they, who have any Authority in the City upward of thirty days, with those, who preside over the Courts of Judicature, shall not enter on their respective Offices, till they have undergone the accustom'd Examination, and after the expiration of those Offices, they shall give an account of the discharge of their Trust before the *Scribe*, and *Logistæ*, as other *Magistrates* are oblig'd to do.

This

This shall be the manner : So much I receiv'd from the Publick, so much I laid out, or in the reverse.

Such, as have not made up their accounts, shall expend none of their money in Divine uses, nor be Patrons, or Witnesses; nor shall they have license to travel, bear another Office, or have the honour of a Crown conferr'd on them.

It's Death for any one in debt to be invested with a publick Trust.

It's also Death to attempt Usurpation.

Let him be out-law'd, who shall continue in his Magistracy after the dissolution of *Democratical* government, whereupon, it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a Person, and make seizure of his Goods.

A Psephism.

THIS Decree was made by the *Senate* and *Athenian* State, the *Tribe Eantis* being *Prytanes*, *Cleogenes* Clerk, *Boëthus* chief *President*, and *Demophantus* it's *Ingrosser*; the date of this *Psephism* is from the election of the *Senate* of *Five-hundred*, and thus it runs : If any one levels at the ruin of the Common-wealth, or after it's subversion bears any Office, let that Man be censur'd as an Enemy to the State, and dispatch'd out of the way; let all his Goods, saving the tenth part to be confiscated to *Minerva*, be expos'd to Sale: he that kills him, with all his Assistants, shall be blameless herein, and free from the guilt of his Death; all *Athenians* likewise in their several Tribes are oblig'd by Oath to attempt the killing of that Man, who shall in the least seem to affect the Crimes here set down.

The Oath.

I'LL endeavour with my own hands to kill that Man, who shall dissolve the *Athenian* Republick, or after it's subversion shall bear any Office, and he shall be reputed by me wholly free from guilt, either in respect of the Gods or *Demons*, who shall take away his Life, or encourage another so to do; farther, in the distribution of his Goods, I'll pass my Vote, that the *Slayer* shall have half: and He, that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his own Life, shall, with his Heirs, have due Respect and Honour from me, as *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* with their Posterity.

All Oaths, that shall be taken in time of War or any other Juncture, if inconsistent with the *Athenian* Constitutions, shall be null and void.

No Office, impos'd by the People, shall be refus'd by Oath before the *Senate*.

Whoever casts scurrilous abuses on a Magistrate while officiating, shall be Fin'd.

T

Th:

The Examination, and interrogatory Disquisition of the Archons.

WHETHER they are Citizens by a lawful lineage of Progenitors for three generations, and from what Family they assume their Pedigree, whether they derive their Progeny from *Paternal Apollo*, and *Jupiter Herceus*?

Quest. Heark you, Friend, who's your Father?

Answ. What Sir, d'ye mean my Father? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred can you produce to make Evidence?

Answ. Sufficient Sir, first of all these Cousins, then these Persons who have right to the same *Burying-place* with us, these here of the same *Phratia*, and these related to *Apollo Patrius*, and *Jupiter Herceus*, lastly, these Gentlemen of the same *Burrough*, who have repos'd the Trust and Management of Offices in me, and honour'd me with their Suffrages.

Quest. D'ye hear Friend? Who's your Mother?

Answ. What mine d'ye mean? *N.* or *N.*

Quest. What Kindred have you to show?

Answ. These first, and second Cousins, and those of the same *Phratia*, and *Burrough*.

Then the Case is to be put.

Whether they have { Honour'd their Parents?
Fought for their Country?
Possession of an Estate, and all their Limbs sound?

The Archon's Oath.

I'LL be punctual in the observance of the Laws, and, for every default herein, I'll forfeit a Satue of Gold, of equal Proportion with my self, to the *Delphian Apollo*.

An *Archon*, that shall be seen overcharg'd with Wine, shall suffer Death.

If any one is contumeliously piquant, beats any *Thesmetheta*, or blasts his reputation, a crown'd *Archon's*, or any other's, whom the City privileges with an Office, or confers any dignity upon, let him be *Amigo*.

The *Arcopagite Senate*, when Vacancies fall, shall yearly be recruited out of the *Archons*.

The *Arcopagites* shall have inspection into the Deportment, and Behaviour of the *Athenians*.

Let no *Arcopagite* make a Comedy.

The

The Senate of *Arcopagus* shall give an Account of their Management before the *Logiste*.

Let a *Στρατηγός* have Children lawfully begotten, and enjoy an Estate within the Confines of *Anica*.

The Oath of the Στρατηγός.

I'LL twice a Year make an Incurfion into the *Megarenfian Territories*.

I'll inform against such of the *Στρατηγοί*, as shall endamage the Fleet of their Allies.

No one shall be created *Syndic*, or *Aftynomus* above once.

The *Quæstors* shall be chosen by Suffrages.

A *Quæstorship* must not be kept above five Years.

It's Death to go an Embassie without Commission from the Senate, or People.

No one shall be *Secretary* above once under the same Magistrate.

Laws respecting Orators.

NO one under the Age of thirty Years shall speak an Oration in the Senate, or Popular Assembly.

An Inspection into the Orators Lives.

LET no one be a publick Orator, who hath struck his Parents, denied them maintenance, or shut them out of doors; who hath refus'd going into the Army in case of publick Necessity, or thrown away his Shield; who hath committed whoredom, or given way to effeminacy; who hath run out his Father's Estate, or any inheritance left him by a Friend; if, notwithstanding any of these heinous performances, any one shall dare to deliver a publick Oration, let those, who are Commission'd, bring him to the Test in open Court.

Let an Orator have Children lawfully begotten, and let him be master of an Estate within *Anica's* Borders.

If an Orator, either before the Senate, or People, hath not pertinent-ly and distinctly handled the thing propounded, or hath defanc'd twice on the same subject, hath been piquantly censorious, and hath abusively animadverted upon any one's behaviour, hath spoken incoherently to the *Proedri's* determination, or, hath encourag'd any one so to do, or if he hath abus'd the *Epistata* after the rising of the Assembly, or Senate; such an one's Insolence shall be punish'd by the *Proedri* with a mulct

mult of fifty *Drachms*, the *Πρόεδρος* shall have intelligence of his misdemeanours, and if his penalty shall seem too light for his Crimes, besides his Fine, let him be hal'd to the next convention of the *Senate*, or *Assembly*, where if condemn'd, the *Senate* passing private Votes, the *Proedri* shall exact a Fine from him to be paid to the *Πρόεδρος* for his *Παράνομια*, or breach of the Laws.

Laws treating of Duties, and Offices.

THE *Archons* shall appoint in the Assembly by Lots a certain number of *Flute-players* to be at the *ῥέσις*, or publick Dancings.

No Stranger shall joyn in a Dance with a *Chorus*, if he do, the *Choragus* shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

Let it be lawfull to inform against a Stranger to the *Archon* before his entrance into the Theater.

A stranger, if indicted by a *Χορηγός* for dancing, shall be Fin'd fifty *Drachms*, and a thousand, if he persist after prohibition.

Those Dancers, who are disfranchis'd, are to be drove of the Stage.

Sixteen Men are to be chosen out of all the publick Companies, to contribute equally towards the building a Man of War, which service they are to engage in from twenty-five years of Age to forty.

The qualification for a *Trierarch* is, that he be worth ten *Talents*, according to which estimation he is to be chosen, but if his Estate is rated more, let him build Ships equivalent, yet at most but three, with a Skiff; they, who are not worth so much, shall be join'd together so many of them, till their Estates make up the sum.

The *Trierarchs*, and *Overseers* of the Navy shall be commission'd to register their Names, who, being of the same *Συμμοχία*, are indebted to the Common-wealth for Ship-rigging, for which they shall sue them.

He, that owes rigging, shall either give it, or be main-priz'd.

All *Trierarchs* elect shall betake themselves to the Ships, they are constituted over.

All *Trierarchs* are to render an account of their Administration.

There shall be yearly Appointments for the exchange of Offices, where he, that shall be design'd a *Δειτεργός*, shall be exempted from serving, if he can produce any vacant person richer than himself, and if the person produc'd confess that he is more wealthy than the other, he shall be put in the other's place among the *Three-hundred*, but if he denies it, let them change Estates.

His Lands and Tenements shall be inspected into, who shall offer himself in the Exchange.

They, who do quit their own Estates for those of their neighbours, shall be oblig'd by Oath to discover them in this Form.

I'll fairly and honestly make known the estimate of all my Possessions, except

except such, as consist in those silver Mines, that the Laws exact no Duties from.

Three days shall be allow'd for those, who are to make exchange of their Estates, to produce them.

No one shall be compell'd to exhibit his Estate, which lies in Mines.

Laws about the Refusal of Offices.

NO Man, except the *Archons*, shall be excus'd from the *Trierarchship*.

No one shall be exempted from contributing to the Assessment for the levying of Souldiers.

Laws concerning Honours to be conferr'd on those, who have deserv'd well of the Common-wealth.

NO Person shall make a custom of eating in the *Prytaneum*.

He, who shall be invited, and refuse to come, shall be Fin'd.

They, who are maintain'd in the *Prytaneum*, shall have *Μαζα*, and, on Festivals, bread.

All Crowns, if presented by the People, shall be given in the popular Assembly, if by the *Senators*, in the *Senate*, and in no other place shall any be presented.

None, except the whole body of the *Senate*, and popular Assembly, with particular *Tribes*, or *Burroughs*, shall be privileg'd to conferr Crowns.

No *Tribe*, or *Burrough* may presume on the Authority of bestowing Crowns in the Theater upon any of their own Members, if they do, the Cryer that proclaims them shall be disfranchis'd.

No Stranger shall have a Crown given him in the Theater without the People's consent; when given, it shall be consecrated to *Minerva*.

Every Forreigner, who is honour'd with a Crown, shall bring Certificates of a regular and sober Life.

No one, tho' never so wealthy, except he be of the kindred of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, or an *Archon*, shall claim Immunity from serving in publick Offices; from this time hereafter the People shall gratifie no one without such an Exemption, but he, who supplicates for it, shall be disfranchis'd, together with all his House and Family, and shall be liable to the Actions of *Γραφή*, and *Ενδεξις*, by which if convicted, he shall suffer the same Fate with those, who, tho' indebted to the Publick, officiate as Judges.

Honours conferr'd by the People shall stand good; but with this Proviso, that, if the Persons so dignified prove after examination to be unworthy of them, they shall be void.

Laws referring to the Gymnasia.

NO School shall be open'd before Sun-rising, or kept open after Sun-set.

None, except the School-master's Sons, and Nephews, shall be permitted entrance into School, if beyond the customary age for sending Youth thither, but more especially if Lads frequent it at the same time; to the breach of this Law the penalty of Death is annex'd.

No School-master shall give any adult person leave to go to *Mercury's Festival*; if he transgress herein, and do not thrust him out of the School, the Master shall suffer according to the Law enacted against the corruptors of Free-born Children.

Let all *Choragi* elected by the People be above forty years of Age. No Slave shall presume to anoint, or perform exercises in the *Palaestra*.

Laws relating to Physicians and Philosophers.

NO Slave, or Woman shall study, or practice *Physick*.

All Free-born Women have liberty to learn, and practise *Physick*. Let no one teach *Philosophy*. This Law was made when the thirty Tyrants had the dominion of Athens.

No one is to keep a *Philosophy-School*, unless by the Senate and People's approbation; he, that doth otherwise, shall be put to Death.

Laws concerning Judges.

AFTER a Magistrate's determination, Appeal may be made to the Courts of Justice.

They, who are degraded from the *Senate*, may sit as *Judges* in the Courts.

All the *Athenians* shall draw Lots for the distribution of every one into particular Courts.

The Judges Protestation I omit, as before treated of.

Of Laws relating to Law-suits.

LET the *Bayliff*, or Person that arrests be registred.

Whosoever doth not appear on the Day appointed for the Tryal of his Cause, shall suffer for his remissness by an Action call'd *Δίκη ἐρημική* and be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, but if a just excuse be brought for his staying

staying away, his punishment shall be redress'd by another Action call'd *Μὴ ἔστω*, or the annulling of the former Act.

Laws respecting Preparatories to Judgments.

THE *Archons* shall propose Questions to both Parties, to which they shall answer.

The Plaintiff shall promise upon Oath that he will prosecute the Action, if he has his Evidences and all things in order, but if not, he shall demand time for providing and preparing them.

The *Archons* shall summon the contending Parties to make their Appearance, and introduce them into the Court.

Let the *Judges* be elected by Lots.

No *Judge* shall give Sentence twice the same Day.

A Form of the Oath taken by Judges after Election.

I'LL shew Equity in all Causes, and my Judgment shall be agreeable to the Laws, in those things, which are determin'd by them; in the rest my Sentence shall, as near as may be, agree with Justice.

Laws referring to Judgments.

EVERY *Judge* shall put down the Heads of those Suits, he is to determine, in his Table-book.

His Cause shall be overthrown, who runs away for fear.

Criminals have liberty of making their own defence.

No Slave shall plead in any Cause.

The Cryer shall pronounce Verdict against the Partie, into whose Urn the greater number of Pebbles bo'd with holes are cast, and on his side, to whom the whole ones belong.

When on both sides there shall be an equal share of Votes, the Prisoner shall be acquitted.

Let there be a number of Urns, or Vote-boxes, equal to the number of those, who hold the Contest.

The *Judges* shall propose such and such Penalties, the Defendant also shall offer to their consideration such a punishment, as himself shall think reasonable; after which, the whole matter shall be committed to the *Judges* determination.

The Court shall not sit after Sun-set.

If any one hath brib'd the *Heliean Court*, or any other Court of Judicature among the *Athenians*, or hath call'd a *Senate*, or enter'd into conspiracy against the State, if any Lawyer hath been greas'd in the Fist to carry on any publick, or private Cause, he shall be liable

liable to be indicted before the *Thesmothes* by the Action call'd *Γραφή*.

All private bargains, that are struck up between parties before Witnesses, shall stand good in Law.

Don't make any Covenant, or bargain contrary to the Laws.

There shall be no after-wranglings rais'd concerning those things, which have been once decided.

Any Man shall be permitted to non-suit his Adversary, if the Action laid against him be not lawfully enter'd.

They who have receiv'd dammages, may prosecute within five years.

There may be Actions enter'd about contracts made out of *Anica*, or Wares exported out of it to any other Place.

Laws concerning Arbitrators.

PEOPLE, that have any Law-suits about private Matters, may choose any *Arbitrator*, but so, as to stand to his definitive Sentence, whatsoever it is.

Such *Arbitrators* are to swear before Verdict be given.

The *Arbitrators* are to wait for the Plaintiff's appearance till Sun-set, and then, in case he don't appear, shall inflict such a Penalty, as shall be convenient.

It's lawful to make Appeal from *Arbitrators* chosen by Lots to other Courts of Justice.

A Law about Oaths.

OATHS shall be attested by three Gods, *Ιεαο*, or the *Supplican's President*, *Καδάστως*, the *Purifier*, *Εξακασθεο*, the *Dispeller of Dangers*, or *Evils*.

Laws treating of Witnesses.

THEIR Evidence shall not be taken, who are *Απυροι*.
No *Slaves* shall appear as *Evidences*.

No one shall be *Evidence* for himself, either in Judicial Actions, or in rendring up Accounts.

Both Plaintiff and Defendant are oblig'd to answer each other's Questions, but their Answers shall not pass for Evidence.

There shall be no constraint for Friends and Acquaintance, if contrary to their Wills, to bear Witness one against another.

Let the Penalty of the Action call'd *Ψευδομαρτυρία* be in force against those, who bear, or suborn false Witness.

Evidence shall be declar'd in writing.

Witnesses, being once sworn, shall by no means draw back from what they are to attest.

Eye:

Eye-witnesses shall write down what they know, and read it.

His Evidence shall suffice, that can give his *ἀκον*, or what he heard from a Person deceas'd; or *ἐκμαρτυρία*, or an attestation receiv'd from one gone to Travel, supposing the Traveller hath no possibility of returning.

That *Witness*, who declines his Evidence, shall be Fin'd a *Drachm*.

One cited for a *Witness* shall either give in his Evidence, swear he knows nothing of it, or incur a mulct of a thousand *Drachms* to be paid to the publick Exchequer.

Let contesting Parties, if they will, make use of the *ἀγμαρτυρία*.

False *Witnesses* shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη Ψευδομαρτυριῶν*. He that suborn'd them with *Δίκη κακοτεχνιῶν*.

Laws touching Judgments already past.

THERE shall be no renewing of any thing dispatcht by *Judges* either in the publick, or more private Courts, or by the People, according to the Enactions of their Decrees; there shall be likewise no suffraging and impeaching any one contrary to the prescription of the Laws.

All *Judgments*, or Verdicts whatsoever deliver'd by the *Judges* in the popular State, shall stand good, but all Acts and Decrees, that are made under the *Thirty Tyrants*, shall be void.

Laws concerning Punishments.

THE *Judges* are not to proceed so strictly to the rigour of their Sentence, as that Corporal, and Pecuniary *Punishments* shall be inflicted at one and the same time.

They, who run into errors unwittingly, shall not be call'd in Question, but some adhortatory Lessons of their Duty are to be privately inculcated.

The most sufficient and wealthiest of the *Athenians* shall be exil'd by *Ostracism* for ten Years, lest they should rise up and rebell.

No one is to harbour an *Exile*, he, that doth, is to participate of the same Fate with him.

Let both Delinquent, and Abettor receive *punishments* alike.

He, that professeth himself guilty before arraignment, shall be condemn'd.

Debtors, who have been found to owe money, shall be oblig'd to pay from the very day the debt was due, whether they are registred in the Debt-book, or no; and he that doth not make payment within the ninth *Prytanie*, shall be oblig'd to pay double.

No one indebted to the City shall enter on any Office.

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That

That Debtor, who hath been convicted of making an Oration to the People, shall be put into the Court of the *Eleven*.

Debtors, till they have clear'd off all, shall be disfranchis'd; but if they die, not having fully discharg'd the Debts, their Heirs shall be disfranchis'd, till they make satisfaction.

After payment is made, the Debtor's Name shall be eras'd out of the Debt-book.

The Thirds of the Debtor's Goods, which are forfeited to the Exchequer, shall fall to any private Person, that informs against him.

Let those, who are Debtors to the Publick, and have not their Names enroll'd, be sued by the Action call'd *Ενδεξις*.

They, who have been unjustly registred as Debtors, shall be struck out, and their Names, who registred them, be put in their place.

If any Debtor shall be blotted out of the *Albe*, or Register, before he hath discharg'd his Debt, let the Action call'd *Αρχαριον* be brought against him in the Court of the *Thesmothetae*.

Whosoever hath been branded with Infamy before *Solon's Archonship*, shall be reprivileg'd, except those, whom the *Areopagites*, *Ephetae*, or *Prytanes* have banisht, by the appeal of the *Βασίλεις*, for Murther, Burglary, or Treason, when this Law was promulg'd.

No intercession shall be made for any disfranchis'd Person, nor for any one indebted to the publick Exchequer, or the Gods, towards the investing the former with his Privileges, and erasing the latter's Name out of the Debt-book, unless the *Athenian People* by six-thousand private Votes permit it. If any one puts up an address to the Senate, or People for them, whom the Judges, Senate, or People have already cast, or the Debtor supplicate for himself before payment be made; let the Writ call'd *Ενδεξις* be issued out against him after the same manner, as against those, who, tho' indebted, presume to act as Judges; if any other body, before restitution of the Debt be made, intercede for the Debtor, let all his Goods be expos'd to Sale, and if a *Proedrus* give a Debtor, or any Person on his account leave to propose the petition to be voted before Accounts are made up, he shall be *Ατιμος*.

Laws referring to Receivers of publick Revenues, the Exchequer, and Money for Shows.

THE Senate of Five-hundred shall put such, as sat in the publick Revenues, and are negligent to pay their Rent, in the Stocks.

If the above mention'd Officers don't bring in their Rents before the ninth *Prytanie*, they shall pay double.

They, who are entrusted with Money for the carrying on of Religious Affairs, shall render it up in the Senate; which if they neglect, they shall be proceeded against according to the Laws enacted for Publick Revenues.

They, who imploy the publick Stock a whole Year for their own use,

use, shall be oblig'd to restore double, and they, who continue thus squandering another Year, shall be clapt into Gaol until payment be made.

A thousand Talents are yearly to be laid by for the defending of *Attica* against foreign Invasions, which Money if any Person propose to lay out on any other design, he shall suffer Death.

At the eruption of a suddain War, Souldiers shall be paid out of the remainder of the Money design'd for Civil uses.

If any one proposes that the Souldiers pay should be taken out of the Money design'd for the exhibition of Shows, he shall be put to Death.

Laws about Limits, and Land-marks.

IF there be a publick Well within the space of an *Hippicum*, any one may make use of that; but otherwise, every Person shall dig one of his own.

If any one digs a Well near another Man's ground, he must leave the space of an *Οργυα* betwixt it, and his neighbour's enclosure.

He, that digs a Well ten *Οργυαι* deep, and finds no spring, may draw twice a day out of his neighbour's six Vessels of Water, call'd *Χηρ*.

Let him, who digs a Ditch, or makes a Trench nigh another's Land, leave so much distance from his neighbour, as the Ditch, or Trench is deep.

If any one makes an Hedge near his neighbour's ground, let him not pass his neighbour's Land-mark; if he builds a Wall, he is to leave one foot betwixt him and his neighbour; if an House, two.

He, that builds an House in a Field, shall place it a Bow-shoot from his neighbour.

He, who keeps an Hive of Bees, must place them three-hundred Feet from his neighbour's.

Olive, and Fig-trees must be planted nine Feet from another's ground, but other Trees, five.

If any one plucks up the sacred Olive-trees at *Athens*, besides the two yearly allow'd to be us'd at the publick Festivals, or Funerals, he shall pay an hundred *Drachms* for every one unlawfully pull'd up, the tenth part of which Fine shall be due to *Minerva*. The same Offender shall also pay an hundred to any private Person who shall prosecute him; the Action shall be brought before the *Archons*, where the prosecutor shall depolite *Πεπραγμένα*. The Fine laid on the convicted Criminal the *Archons*, before whom the Action is brought, shall give an Account of to the *Πρόκριτοι*, and of that part, which is to be repolited in *Minerva's Treasury*, to her *Questors*, which if they don't, themselves shall be liable to pay it.

Laws respecting Lands, Herds, and Flocks.

MEN shall not be permitted to purchase as much *Land*, as they desire.

All wild Extravagants, and Spend-thrifts, who lavishly run out the Estates left them by their Fathers, or others, shall be *Ατίμητοι*.

Any one, who brings an *He-Wolf*, shall have five *Drachms*, and for a *She-Wolf*, one.

No one shall kill an Ox which labours at the Plough, neither shall any one kill a Lamb of a Year old.

Hurt not living Creatures.

Laws relating to Buying and Selling.

IF any Person sues for the title of Land, he shall prosecute the Possessor, with the Action call'd *Δίκη κατὰ πρῶτον*, if of an House, with a *Δίκη ἐνοικίας*.

There shall be no cheating among the Market-folks.

That *Fish-monger* shall incur imprisonment, who shall over-rate his *Fish*, and take less than he first profess'd them for.

Fish-mongers shall not lay their stinking *Fish* in water, thereby to make it more vendible.

Laws appertaining to Usury, and Money.

A Banker shall demand no more Interest-money, than what he agree'd for at first.

Let *Usurers* Interest-money be moderate.

No body, who hath put in surety for any thing, may sue for it, He, or his Heirs.

Pledges, and *Sureties* shall stand but for one Year.

No one to clear his debt shall make himself a *Slave*.

He, who sets an appointed time for the sealing of Contracts, or making good of Promises, and sneaks away when the time is out, shall have his House rifled.

The Fine ensuing the Action call'd *Εἰσὶν*, shall go to the Publick.

An hundred *Drachms* shall go to a *μυαί*.

All *Counsellors*, *Debasers*, and *Diminishers* of the currant Coyne shall lose their Lives.

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Let no *Athenian*, or *Sojourner* lend money to be exported, unless for Corn, or some such commodity allowable by Law.

He, who sends out Money for other uses, shall be brought before the Masters of the *Custom-House*, and prosecuted by an Action call'd *Φέσις*, after the manner of them who are caught transporting Corn unlawfully; let such an one have no Writ or Warrant permitted him against the Person to whom he lent Money, neither shall the *Archons* let him enter any Tryal in the Judicial Courts.

Laws about Wares to be imported to, or exported from Athens.

ALL *Olives* are exportable, but other things are not; so that the *Archon* shall openly curse the Persons that export them, or else be amerced an Hundred *Drachms*.

Figs are restrain'd by Law from exportation.

If any *Athenian* Factor, or Merchant convey Corn any where else than to Athens, the Action call'd *Φέσις* is to be brought against him, and the Informer shall claim half the Loading design'd for illegal exportation.

He, who impleads a Merchant on sleight grounds, shall have both the Actions of *Ενδεξις*, and *Απαγωγῆς*, brought against him.

He shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, and wholly debarr'd from issuing out the Actions of *Γραφή*, *Φέσις*, *Απαγωγῆς*, and *Εφύρνσις*, who shall desist from the prosecution of any Man accus'd by him, or doth not acquire the fifth part of the Suffrages.

Let no Inhabitant of Athens buy more Corn than fifty *Phormi* will contain.

No one shall export *Wood*, or *Pitch*.

All Controversies and compacts made by Bonds between Mariners, either sayling for Athens, or bound elsewhere, shall be brought under the Cognizance of the *Thesmothetai*; if any Mariners, in any of the Marts, bound to Athens, or for any other Place, are found guilty of injustice, they shall be clapt into Custody till the Fine, which shall be impos'd on them, is paid; any of them may non-suit his Adversary, if he be illegally prosecuted.

No *Water-men*, and *Masters* of Ships shall carry Passengers any where else, than they agree'd at first.

Laws respecting Arts.

ANY one may accuse another of Idleness.

No Man shall have two Trades.

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No Man shall sell Perfumes.

Forreigners shall not be privileg'd to sell *Wares* in the Market, or profess any Calling.

Any one may bring an Action of Slander against him, who disparages, or ridicules any Man, or Woman for being of a Trade.

He, who by his Profession gets best repute, and is reckon'd the most ingenious in his way, shall have his Dyet in the *Prytaneum*, and be honour'd with the highest Seat.

That *Ferry-man* shall be prohibited the exercise of his employ, who overturns his Boat, tho' unwillingly, in waisting over to *Salamis*.

Laws concerning Societies, with their Agreements.

IF *Fellow-Burgesses*, those of the same *φασαία*, those who are occupied in the same Sacerdotal Function, viz. the *Ορχεῶνες*, *Θιασώται*, or they who diet together, have equal claim to the same Burying-place, travel together for the buying of Corn and other Traffick, if any of these Persons make any *Bargains* not inconsistent with the Laws, they shall stand good.

If any one recedes from a promise made to the *Commons*, *Senate*, or *Judges*, he shall be proceeded against with the Action call'd *Εισαγγελία*, and, if found guilty, be punish'd with Death.

He, that doth not stand to an engagement made publicly, shall be disfranchiz'd.

He, His Heirs, and all who belong to him shall be *Απιστοι*, who hath receiv'd bribes himself, tamper'd others with them, or us'd any insinuating Artifice to the prejudice of the State.

He, who being in a publick Office receives bribes, shall either loose his Life, or make retribution of the bribes ten-fold.

Laws belonging to Marriages.

NO Man shall have above one Wife.

No *Athenian* is to marry any other than a Citizen.

If an *Heiress* is contracted lawfully in full *Marriage* by a Father, Brother by Father's side, or Grand-fire, it's lawful to procreate with her Free-born Children; but if she be not betroth'd, these Relations being dead, and she consequently an Orphan, let her have a *Guardian* to joyn her in Wedlock to the next of kin; but supposing she is no *Heiress*, and but low in the world, let her choose what *Guardian* she please, and he shall be oblig'd to the performance of his Trust.

If any one marry a Stranger, as his Kins-woman, to an *Athenian* Citizen, he shall be *Ατιμος*, his Goods publick to Sale, the Thirds of

of which shall fall to the Impeacher, who shall make him appear before the *Thesmothetæ*, after the manner of those, who are prosecuted with the Action of *Ξενία*.

A *Stranger*, that settles with a Citizen-Woman, may be sued by any one impower'd thereto, in the Court of the *Thesmothetæ*, where if the Law goes against him, he shall be sold, and the third part of what he is sold for, and of his Estate be given to the accuser; in the same manner Foreign-women shall be dealt with, who marry Free'd-men, and beside that, the Man shall forfeit a thousand *Drachms*.

No *Athenian* Woman shall marry her self into an exotick Family.

Any one may make a Sister by Father's side his Wife.

No Heiress must marry out of her Kindred, but shall resign up her self, and Fortune to her nearest Relation.

Every Month, except in that call'd *Συμβουροποιών*, the *Judges* shall meet to inspect into those who are design'd for Heiresses Husbands, and shall put them by as incapacitated, who cannot give sufficient credentials of their alliance by Blood.

If any one sues another by a claim to the Heiress, he must deposite *πενταταβολή*, or the tenth part of her Portion, and he, who enjoys her, shall lay his Case open to the *Archon*, but in case he makes no Appeal, his right of inheritance shall be cut off; if the Heiress's Husband, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Thing doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose business it is to take Cognizance of the Action.

If a Father bury all his Sons, he may entail his Estate on his married Daughters.

If an Heiress cannot conceive Children by her Husband, she may seek aid amongst the nearest of her Husband's Relations.

All Men are oblig'd to lie with their Wives, if Heiresses, three nights, at least, in a Month.

He, that ravishes a Virgin shall be oblig'd to marry her.

A Guardian shall not marry the Mother of those Orphans, with whose Estate he is entrusted.

Slaves are allow'd the Familiarity of Women.

When a *New-married* Woman is brought to her Husband's House, she must carry with her a *φύλακτρον* in token of good House-wifery.

Let a *Bride*, at the first bedding with her *Bridegroom*, eat a Quince.

Laws touching Dowries.

A Bride shall not carry with her to her Husband above three Garments, and Vessels of small value.

They, who are the next in Blood to an Orphan-Virgin that hath no Fortune, shall marry her themselves, or settle a Portion on her according as they are in Quality, if of the Πεντακοσιμέδωνοι, five-hundred Drachms; if of the Τριπύες, three-hundred; if of the Ζυγί, one hundred and fifty: but if she hath many Kindred equally alli'd, all of them severally shall put in a contribution, till they make up the respective sum; if there be many Orphan-virgins, their nearest Relation shall either give in Marriage, or take one of them to Wife, but if he doth neither, the Archon shall compell him; but if the Archon does connive at the neglect, he himself shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms, to be consecrated to Juno. Whoever breaks this Law may be indicted by any Person before the Archon.

That Woman, who brings her Husband a Fortune, and lives in the same House with her Children, may keep their Estates in her own hand without paying Interest-money.

An Heire's Son, when come to man's Estate, shall enjoy his Mother's Fortune, and keep Her.

He, that promises to settle an Estate on a Woman, shall not be forc'd to stand to it, if she dies without Heirs.

Laws referring to Divorces.

HE, who divorceth his Wife, must make restitution of her Portion, or pay in lieu of it nine Oboli every Month, her Guardian otherwise may prosecute him in the Odeum with the Action call'd αἰρεσις for her maintenance.

If a Woman forsake her Husband, or He put away his Wife, He, who gave her in Marriage, shall exact the Dowrie given with her, and no more.

That Woman, who hath a mind to leave her Husband, must give in a separation-bill to the Archon with her own hand, and not by a Proxy.

Laws belonging to Adulteries.

HE, that deflowrs a Free-woman by force, shall be Fin'd an hundred Drachms.

He, who in the same manner violates a young Maiden's Chastity, shall be Fin'd a thousand Drachms.

He,

He, that catches an Adulterer in the Fact, may impose any Arbitrary punishment.

If any one is injuriously clapt up on suspicion of Adultery, He shall make his complaint by Appeal to the *Thesmothetæ*, which if they find justifiable, He shall be acquitted, and his Sureties discharg'd from their Bail; but in case he be brought in Guilty, the Judges shall lay on him, death only excepted, what punishments they will, and he be forc'd to get Friends to pass their word for his future Chastity.

If any one commit a Rape, he shall be amerced twice as much as is usual otherwise.

No Husband shall have to do with his Wife any more after she hath defil'd his Bed, and her Gallant convicted; and, if he does not put her away, he shall be esteem'd *Ανύμω*; hereupon she is prohibited coming to publick Temples, where if she does but enter, she is liable to any Penalty, except Death.

No Adulteress shall be permitted to adorn her self, she, that doth, shall have her Garments cut or torn off her back by any that meets her, and likewise be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled.

No Woman of innocent conversation shall appear abroad in an immodest or affected Garb, she, that doth, shall forfeit a thousand Drachms.

Women are forbid to travel with above three Gowns, or more meat and drink than they can purchase for an *Obolus*, neither shall they carry with them above an Hand-basket, or go out any where by night but in a Chariot, with a Lamp or Torch carry'd before it.

Laws relating to the Love of Boys; Procurers, and Strumpets.

NO Slave shall Carefs, or be Enamour'd with a Free-born Youth, he who is, shall receive publickly fifty stripes.

If any one, whether Father, Brother, Uncle, or Guardian, or any other who hath Jurisdiction over a Boy, take hire for him to be effeminately embrac'd; the catamited Boy shall have no Action issued out against him, but the Chap-man, and Pander only, who are both to be punish'd after the same manner; the Child, when grown up to maturity of Age, shall not be oblig'd to keep his Father so offending, only, when dead, He shall bury him with decency suitable to a Parent's Oblequies.

If any one prostitute a Boy, or Woman, He shall be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Γραφή*, and, if convicted, punish'd with Death.

Any Athenian impower'd so to do, may bring an Action against him who hath vitiated a Boy, Woman, or Man Free-born, or in Service, for the determination of which the *Thesmothetæ* are to create Judges to sit in the *Helica*, within thirty days after the complaint hath been brought before them, or, suppose any publick concern hinders, as soon as occasion will permit; if the Offender is cast, He shall immediately under-

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go the punishment, whether Corporal, or Pecuniary, annex to his Offence; if he be sentenc'd to die let him be deliver'd to the *Evseke*, and suffer Death the same Day; if the vitiated Servant, or Woman belong to the Prosecutor, and he lets the Action fall, or doth not get the fifth part of the Suffrages, He shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*; if the Criminal be only fin'd, let him pay within eleven Days, at the farthest, after Sentence is past; if it be a Free-born Person he hath vitiated, let him be kept in bonds till payment thereof.

He, that hath prostituted himself for a *Catamite*, shall not be elected an *Archon*, Priest, or *Syndic*, shall execute no Office, either within, or out of *Attica's* boundaries, conferr'd by Lot, or Suffrage; he shall not be sent on an Embassie, pass Verdict, set footing within the publick Temples, be crown'd on solemnary Days, or enter the *Forum's* purified Precincts; if any one convicted of the above-mention'd lasciviousness be caught offending in any one of these points, he shall suffer Death.

Persons, who keep company with common *Scrumpties*, shall not be accounted *Adulterers*, for such shall be in common for the satiating of Lust.

Whores shall wear, as a Badge of distinction, flower'd Garments.

Laws appointed for the drawing up of Wills, and right Constitution of Heirs and Successors.

THE Right of *Inheritance* shall remain in the same Family.

Boys, or Women are to receive for their *Inheritance* no more than a *Medimn* of Barley.

All *Genuine* Citizens, whose Estates were impair'd by litigious Suits when *Solon* entred the *Prætor-ship*, shall have permission of leaving their Estates to whom they will, admit they have no Male-children alive, or themselves be not craz'd thro' the infirmities of old Age, the misery of a distemper, or the enchantments of Witchcraft, or if they be not hen-peckt, or forc'd to it by some unavoidable necessity.

The *Wills* of such as having Children, yet dispose of their Estates, shall stand good, if the Children die before they arrive to Maturity.

Any one, tho' he hath Daughters alive, may give his Estate to another body, on this *proviso*, that the Person enjoying it shall marry a Daughter.

Adopted Persons shall make no *Will*, but as soon as they have Children lawfully begotten, let them return into the Family, whence they were adopted; or if they continue in it to their Death, then they shall return back the Estates to the Relations of the Person that adopted.

All legitimate Sons shall have an equal claim to their Father's *Inheritance*.

He;

He, that, after he hath adopted a Son, begets legitimate Children, shall share his *Estate* among the legitimate, and adopted.

The *Estate* of him, that dies intestate, and leaves Daughters, shall come to those, who marry them; but if there are no Daughters, these shall enjoy it, *viz.* His Brothers by the Father's side and their Sons; if he hath neither Brothers nor Nephews, then Males descended from them, tho' very far distant in Kindred; but if none of the Grand-children remain down to the second Cousins by the Man's side, the Wife's Relations shall put in for the *Inheritance*; admit there are none living of either side, they, who have the nearest pretence to Kindred, shall enjoy it; as for Bastards, from *Euclides's Archon-ship*, they shall pretend no right to Kindred; if there is a lawfully begotten Daughter, and an illegitimate Son, the Daughter shall have preference in Right to the *Estate*, both in respect of Divine and Civil Affairs.

No Bastard shall have left him above five *μναί*.

All the Year round, except in the Month *Σκιεροφαιών*, *Legacies* shall be examin'd by Law, so that no one shall enjoy any, unless lawfully devolv'd on him.

He, that issues a Writ against one settled in an *Inheritance* shall bring him before the *Archon*, and deposite *Παρακαταβολή*, as is usual in other Actions, for unless he prosecutes the Enjoyer he shall have no Title to the *Estate*; and if the immediate Successor, against whom the Action is brought, be dead, the other, within such a time as the nature of the Action doth require, shall make an Appeal to the *Archon*, whose business 'tis to take Cognizance of this Action, as also it was of the former Action of the Man in possession of the *Estate*.

Five Years being expir'd after the Death of the immediate Successor, the *Estate* is to remain secure to the deceas'd Person's Heirs, without being liable to Law-suits.

Laws appertaining to Guardianship.

NO one can be another's *Guardian*, who is to enjoy the Estate after his Death.

Guardians shall let out their *Pupils* Houses.

The *Archon* shall be oblig'd to take care of Orphans, *Heiresses*, decay'd Families, Women, that remain in the Houses of their deceas'd Husbands, pretending to be with Child; and to protect them from Violence and Abuses; if any one is injurious or contumelious, the *Archon* shall fine him as far as the limits of his Power extend; if the Offender herein transgress beyond his commission of punishing, the *Archon*, having first impos'd him as he thinks fit, shall compell him at five days warning to make appearance at the Court of *Heliaea*, where if he be convicted, that Court shall impose on him arbitrarily either pecuniary, or corporal Penalty.

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No Pupil after five Years space, shall sue a Guardian for the mis-management of his Trust.

Laws about Sepulcres, and Funerals.

LET the dead be interr'd.

No Tomb is to consist of more work, than ten Men can finish in three days, neither is it to be erected arch-wise, or adorn'd with Statues.

No Grave is to have over it, or by it, Pillars above three cubits high, it's Table, and *Labellum* or (or little Vessel to contain *Viſtials* for the Ghost's maintenance) are to be of the same height.

He, that defaceth a Sepulchre, or laies one of a different Family in that of another, breaks it, craseth the Inscription, or beats down the Pillar, shall suffer condign Punishment.

No one shall come near another's Grave, unless at the Celebration of *Obsequies*.

The Corps shall be laid out at the Relations pleasure, the next day following before Day-light shall be the *Fimeral* Procession; the Men shall proceed first, the Women after them; it's unlawful hereby for any Woman, if under three-score and no Relation, to go where the mournful Solemnity is kept, or after the *Burial* is solemniz'd.

Too great a concourse of People is prohibited at *Funerals*.

Let not the Corps be buried with above three Garments.

Let not Women tear their Faces, or make Lamentations, or Dirges at *Funerals*.

At every one's Death there shall be paid to the Priestess of *Minerva*, who is plac'd in the Cittadel, a *Chanix* of Barley, the like of Wheat, and an *Obolus*.

No Ox shall be offer'd to atone for, or appease the Ghost of the deceased.

Children and Heirs shall perform the accustom'd Rites of *Parentation*, Slaves, when Dead, shall not be embalm'd, or honour'd with a *Fimeral* Banquet.

Let there be no *Panegyricks*, unless at *Funerals* publickly Solemniz'd, and then not spoken by Kindred, but one appointed by the Publick for that purpose.

They, who fall in the Field, are to have their *Obsequies* celebrated at the publick Charge.

Let the Father have the privilege of giving that Son a *Fimeral* *Encomium*, who dy'd valiantly in the Fight.

He shall have an annual *Harangue* spoken in his Honour on the day he fell, who receives his Death with undaunted Prowess in the Battel's Front.

Let him, who accidentally lights on an unburied Carcase, cast earth upon it, and let all Bodies be buried West-ward.

Don't speak evil of the Dead, no not, tho' their Children provoke you.

Laws

Laws against Ruffians, and Assassins.

THE *Areopagite* Senate shall sit in Judgment over Cases of wilfull Murder, of Wounds given wilfully, Setting Houses on Fire, or killing by Poyson.

The *Assassin's* Council shall not make any preliminary Apology, use any motives for the gaining of Compassion, or speak any thing foreign to the Cause.

The *Thesmothetæ* shall condemn Murderers, who fly after the Fact.

The *Assassin* shall suffer Death in the Murdered Person's Country; and, being hal'd away to the *Thesmothetæ* according to the appointment of the Law, he shall be liable to no other violence or ill usage, besides what his Capital punishment includes; no body shall take Money for his Pardon; he that doth, shall pay double the Money he receiv'd of the Criminal, his Name likewise by any body shall be carried in to the *Archons*, but the *Heliastick* Court alone shall pass Judgment upon him.

If any one kills, or assists in killing a Murderer that abstains from the Forum, Consecrated places, publick Sports, and the *Amphictyonick* Festivals, he shall undergo the severity of the Law as much as if he had kill'd a Citizen of Athens. The *Ephetæ* are to take Cognizance of this Matter.

One accus'd of Murder shall have nothing to do with City-Privileges.

He, that puts him in trouble, who was forc'd to make flight out of *Attica* for *Chance-medley*, shall undergo the same penalty with him, who doth the like to one within Athens.

He, who commits *Chance-medley*, shall fly his Country for a Year, till satisfaction be made to the dead Person's Kindred; then he shall return, sacrifice, and be purified.

He, shall not have an Action of *Murther* brought against him, who binds him over to his appearance before the *Magistrate*, that return'd from banishment before his limited time is completed.

If any one hath unadvisedly given his *Antagonist* in the *Exercises* his Death, or kill'd by chance a Man lying in Ambuscade, or being in the brunt of an engagement in War, or one debauching his Wife, Mother, Sister, Daughter, Miss, or the Nurse of his legitimate Children, let not such an one be banisht.

It shall be lawful to kill that Person, who shall make an assault on the Innocent.

If any one, being banisht for *Chance-medley*, shall have an Indictment of wilful Murder laid to his charge, before he hath made up the difference with those who banisht him, He shall make his defence before the Court ἐν φεατρίῳ, in a little Vessel, which shall not be permitted to come to shore, but his Judges shall give Sentence on the

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Land; if he is cast, he shall answer Justice for wilful *Murder*; but if absolv'd, shall only undergo the former Sentence of banishment for *Chance-medley*.

If any *Archon*, or Man in a private capacity is instrumental in the depravation, or repeal of these Statutes, let him, and his Children be *Απιστοι*, and his Goods be sold.

It shall be lawful to hale a *Murderer*, if found in any religious Places, or the *Forum*, to Gaol, and if he prove guilty, to put him to Death; but if the committer of him to Gaol do not procure the fifth part of the Votes, he shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

If any one comes to an untimely End, his nearest Relations may bring the Action of *Ανδρομυμία* against those People they suspect, either to be Abettors of the *Murder*, or Protectors of the *Felon*, and till such time as these either make satisfaction, or surrender the *Delinquent*, the *Murdered Man's* Relations are privileg'd to seize three Men of their Body.

The Right of the prosecution of *Murderers* belongs to the Kindred of the *Murdered*, Kins-folks Children, their Sons in Law, Fathers in Law, Sisters Children, and those of the same *Φεατεία*; the *Murderers* have liberty granted of imploring the Father of the *Murder'd* to be mild and favourable; but if he is not alive, then his Brother, or Sons all together shall be intreated, for without the joynt consent of them all, nothing shall prevail; if these fore-mention'd Persons are all dead, and the Death of the Person came by *Chance-medley*, according to the determination of the fifty *Ephetae*, ten of the same *Φεατεία* may, if they think fit, convene, and delegate one and fifty out of the Nobility to the *Ephetae* ** All they, who were *Murderers* before the making of this Law, shall be subject to it's obligation. If any one hath been *Murder'd* in any of the *Burroughs*, and no body removes him, the *Demarchus* shall give orders to his Friends to take him away, bury him, and perform the Duty of *Lustration* towards the *Burrough* that very day on which he was kill'd; when a Slave is *Murder'd*, He shall inform the Master; when a Free-man, the succeeding Heirs; but if the Person *Murder'd*, was not a money'd Man, or had no Possessions, the *Demarchus* shall acquaint the Relations, and supposing they give no heed, and neglect to take him away, the *Demarchus* himself shall see him taken away, and bury'd, and take care the *Burrough* be *lustrated*, but all this with as little charges as may be, which if He neglect, He shall be Fin'd a thousand *Drachms*, to be paid to the publick Exchequer. He shall take of the *Murder'd* Person's Debtors double the money he expended for the Funeral, which if he neglect, he shall pay it himself to those of his *Tribe*.

He, who is *Felo de se*, shall have the Hand cut off, that did the *Murder*, which shall be buried in a place separate from the Body.

No *Murderer* shall be permitted to be within the City.

Inanimate Things, which have been instrumental to People's Deaths, shall be cast out of *Attica*,

He,

He, who strikes the first blow in a Quarrel, shall have the Peace sworn against him.

He, who hath maliciously hurt another's body, head, face, hands, or feet, shall be proscrib'd the City of that Man to whom he offer'd the detriment; if he returns, he shall suffer Death, and his Goods be sold by Auction.

A Law relating to Accusations.

ANY one is permitted to *Inform* against another, that hath done an Injury to a third Person.

Laws concerning Dammmages.

HE, who out of design infers *Dammage*, shall suffer twice as much as an unwilling Offender.

His Eyes shall be both pluckt out, who hath *blinded* any one-ey'd Person.

That Dog shall be ty'd up with a Chain four cubits long, which hath bit any body.

Laws belonging to Theft.

HE, who *Steals*, shall pay double the Value of the thing he stole to the Owner, and as much to the publick Exchequer.

If any body hath had any thing *stoln* from him, and has it restor'd, the *Thief* with the Abettor shall pay double the value; but in case the *Thief* doth not make restitution, ten-fold, and be set in the *Stocks* five days, and as many nights, if the *Heliasts* so order it; this Order shall then be made, when they consider what punishment to inflict upon him.

If any one hath *flicht* away any thing by day worth above fifty *Drachms*, let the Action call'd *Απαγογή* be put in execution against him before the *Eleven*; but if in the night, any one hath liberty to kill him, or, upon his making away, to wound him, and to issue the same Action out against him; by which if he be cast, he shall die without any concession for Sureties to put in Bail for the restitution of the *stoln Goods*. He, further, that shall *pilfer* out of the *Lyceum*, *Academia*, *Cynosarges*, or any of the *Gymnasia* any thing of the least value, as a Garment, *Oyl-vial*, &c. or above ten *Drachms*, out of the *Baths*, or *Portes*, shall suffer Death.

He,

He, that puts a Man in Prison for *Thevery*, and cannot prove it upon him, shall be fin'd a thousand *Drachms*.

All *Cut-purses*, *Burglars*, and *Kid-nappers*, if convicted, shall suffer Death.

He, who makes search for *Theeves* in another's House, must have only a thin Garment hanging loose about him.

He, that takes away that which is not his own, shall be liable to die for it.

It's a Capital Crime to break into a Man's Orchard, and steal his Figs.

It's punishable to rob a Dung-hill.

Laws restraining Reproaches.

NO one shall calumniate, or defame any Person while alive, in the Temples, Judicial Courts, Treasuries, or Places where Games are celebrated, the Delinquent herein, shall pay three *Drachms* to the injur'd Man, and two to the publick Treasury.

He shall be fin'd, who slanders any Man.

He shall incur a mulct of five-hundred *Drachms*, who twists any one with committing some heinous Offence against the Laws.

No one shall call another *Cut-throat*, or *Murderer*.

He, that upbraids another for casting away his Buckler, shall be fin'd.

Laws about the management of Affairs.

THEY, who have been negligent in carrying on any *Business*, shall answer for that neglect.

No Woman shall have any farther to do in *Affairs*, than a *Medimn* of Barley will satisfy for Performance.

Laws referring to Entertainments.

NO Entertainment is to consist of above thirty *Guests*.

All Cooks hir'd to dress up Dishes for *Entertainments*, are to carry in their Names to the *Gynaecomi*.

None but mixt Wines shall be drunk at *Banquets*.

Let pure and unmix'd Wines be reserv'd till afterwards, for a refreshing Taste to the honour of the good *Genius*.

The *Areopagites* shall take Cognizance of all *Drunkards*.

A Law relating to Accusations concerning Mines.

IF any one hath prohibited another from working in the *Mines*, or hath carry'd Fire into them, carry'd away another's Utensils, or Tools, or if he hath dug beyond his Limits, such an one may be prosecuted with the Action call'd *Δίκη μεταλλική*.

A Law appertaining to the Action *Εισαγγελία*.

Timocrates hath enacted, that whatsoever *Athenian* is cast by the Action *Εισαγγελία* before the *Senate*, and shall be secur'd by imprisonment before, or after the Indictment, his Name not being inserted according to Law by the Scribe of that *Prytanie* in the Accusation-note, and carry'd up to the *Thesmothetæ*, the *Thesmothetæ* within thirty days after the receipt of the Bill, unless some great emergency of State intervene, shall appoint the *Eleven* to sit in Judgment over it, before whom any *Athenian* may accuse him; if he be convicted, the *Hellæa* shall inflict upon him Punishment, either corporal, or pecuniary; if the latter, he shall be clapt into Gaol till he pay it.

Military Laws.

THE time for *Military Service* shall be from eighteen Years to forty; till twenty, Men shall remain within *Attica* to be ready in Arms, after that they shall serve in the Army without *Attica*.

He shall be *Απμσ*, who offers to serve in the *Florse*, before he has undergone the accusom'd Probation.

The *Chivalry* shall be detach'd out of the most Puissant and wealthy *Athenians*.

Souldiers shall not observe the punctilios of Spruceness and Foppery, in their Hair, &c.

None shall pawn their *Arms*.

He shall suffer Death, who hath betray'd a *Garrison*, *Ship*, or *Army*.

All *Revolters* to the *Enemy* shall undergo the same Penalty.

There shall be no *Marching* before the seventh of the Month.

The Ceremony for proclaiming of *War* shall be by putting a Lamb into the *Enemies Territories*.

The *Polemarch* shall lead up the right wing of the *Army*.

All publick *Revenue-keepers*, and Dancers at the *Διονυσιας*, shall be exempted from serving in the *Army*.

Of Military Punishments and Rewards.

THEY, who have maintain'd their Post with Courage, shall be *advanc'd*, and others *degraded*.

All Refusers to go into the *Army*, Cowards, and Run-aways shall be expell'd the *Forum*, shall not be crown'd, or go to the publick Temples; He, who offends against this Law, shall be put into bonds by the *Eleven*, and carry'd before the *Heliastæ*, where any one impower'd may accuse him; if he is prov'd guilty, the *Heliastæ* shall pronounce Sentence, and inflict upon him, as the nature of his Crime requires, a mulct, or corporal penance; if the former, he shall lie in Gaol till he pays it.

Let him be *Ἀπυρός*, who casts away his *Arms*.

He, who during a *War* by Sea runs away from his Ship, and he, who being *Prest* for Sea doth not go, shall be *Ἀπυρός*.

All disabled and wounded *Souldiers* shall be maintain'd out of the publick Fund.

Their Parents, and Children shall be taken care for, that are cut off in *War*; if Parents are kill'd, their Children shall be put to School at the publick Charge, and when come to maturity of Age, shall be presented with a whole suit of Armour, settled every one in his respective Calling, and honour'd with first Seats in all publick Places.

Miscellany Laws.

THEY shall be prosecuted for Ingratitude, who do not retaliate kindnesses.

The *Burrough*, and name of every one's Father shall be written down in all Deeds, Compacts, Suits, and other concerns.

A Discoverer, who alledges Truth, shall be secure; but if falsehood, shall suffer Death.

He shall be *Ἀπυρός*, who stands *Neuter* in any publick Sedition.

He shall Die, who leaves the City for residence in the *Piræus*.

He shall be fin'd, who is seen to walk the City-streets with a Sword by his side, or having about him other Armour, unless in case of Exigency.

He shall be denied buryal within *Attica*, and his Goods expos'd to Sale, who hath been convicted of perfidious behaviour towards the State, or of Sacrilege.

He, that hath betray'd his Country, shall not enter into *Attica's* Borders; if he do, he shall expiate his Crime by the same Law, as they, who, tho' condemn'd by the *Areopagites* to banishment, return.

Those

Those Compacts shall stand good, which have been approv'd of by the *Judges*.

Let there be an *Amnesty* of all former dissensions, and no one be liable to be call'd in Question, or reproach'd for any thing done formerly.

This Law was made after the Thirty Tyrant's expulsion to reconcile all former Quarrels, and was sworn to by the Archons, Senate of Five-hundred, and all the Commonalty of Athens.

When any Person is accus'd contrary to this Oath, use may be made of the Plea call'd *Παράγραφη*, the Archons shall have Cognizance of this matter, and he that makes the Plea, shall make his defence first; the Party, that is cast, shall have the Fine call'd *Ἐπὶ ὁσίᾳ*, impos'd upon him.

No Stranger shall be wrong'd or injur'd.

Put the bewildred Traveller in his way, and be hospitable to Strangers.

No seller of Rings shall keep by him the Signature of a Ring, when sold.

Archæologia Græca,
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
G R E E C E.
BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

*Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in
Greece.*

HERODOTUS in the second Book of his History is of Opinion, that the *Greeks* deriv'd their Religion from the *Ægyptians*: but *Plutarch* peremptorily denies it (a), as being neither mention'd by *Homer*, nor any of the Ancients. *Aristophanes* (b), and *Euripides* (c) say, that *Orpheus* was the first that instructed the *Grecians* in all the Rites and Ceremonies of their Worship; He was a *Thracian*, and therefore, says *Nonnus* (d), Devotion was call'd *Θρηνησις* q. *Θρηνη*, because it was invented by a *Thracian*.

These, I think, were neither altogether in the right, nor yet wholly mistaken, for as the exact agreement betwixt some of the *Grecian* Ce-

(a) De Herodot. malevol. (b) *Ranis*. (c) *Rheso*. (d) *Ξανθ. Isop.* in Stell. I. remonies

remories and the religious Worship of *Thrace* makes it probable that one was deriv'd from the other; so on the other side, the conformity of some other parts of the *Grecian* Religion to that of the *Ægyptians* doth plainly argue that they were fetch'd from *Ægypt*: but that the whole System of the *Grecian* Religion should be borrow'd from either *Thrace*, or *Ægypt*, or any one Countrey is improbable, if not impossible; as will evidently appear to every one that considers the great variety of Religions in *Greece*, where almost every City had different Gods, and different modes of Worship. 'Tis much more probable, that *Greece*, being inhabited by Colonies from divers Nations, did borrow from every one of these, some part of their religious Ceremonies; Thus the *Thebans*, being descended from the *Phœnicians*, retain'd a great part of their Worship, and the *Argives* are thought to have been instructed in the *Ægyptian* Religion by *Danaus*, and his Followers. Add to this, that the *Grecians* in general, and the *Athenians* in particular, were so excessively superstitious, that they would not be content to Worship their ancient Deities, but frequently consecrated new ones of their own making; and beside these, assum'd into the number of their own, the Gods of all the Nations with whom they had any Commerce; insomuch, that even in *Homer's* time they were *τρεῖς μυριάς*, thirty thousand; and tho', as *Isocrates* informs us (a), the ancient *Athenians* thought their Religion consisted chiefly in the observation of the Rites and Ceremonies deliver'd to them by their Ancestors, yet there was a Custom that oblig'd them to entertain a great many strange Gods, whence it was that they religiously observ'd the *Θιογένεια*, or Feast of all the strange Gods; which was also celebrated at *Delphi*, as *Athenæus* witnesseth (b). Nay, so fearful were the *Athenians* of omitting any, that, as *Pausanias* (c) tells us, they erected Altars to unknown Gods. It may be objected, that they condemn'd *Socrates* for no other crime than Worshipping strange Gods, for that this was his accusation *Laertius* witnesseth in his Life. But to this it is reply'd, that tho' they were so desirous of new Deities, yet none were worshipp'd till they had been approv'd, and admitted by the *Areopagites*, as *Harpocration* has observ'd; and thence was it, that when *St. Paul* preach'd amongst them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, he was summon'd to appear before this Council, to give an account of his new Doctrine.

CHAPTER II.

Of their Temples, Altars, Images, and Asyla.

THE first Generations of Men had neither Temples, nor Statues for their Gods, but worshipp'd towards Heaven in the open Air.

(a) Orat. *Areopag.* (b) *Deipn.* l. IX. c. III. (c) *Attic.*

And it is generally thought by learned Men, that Temples owe their first Original to the superstitious reverence and devotion paid by the Ancients to the memory of their deceased Friends, Relations, and Benefactors (a); and as most of the Gods were Men consecrated upon the account of some publick benefit conferr'd on Mankind, so most of the Heathen Temples are thought to have been at first only stately Monuments erected in honour of the Dead. Thus the Temple of *Pallas* in the Tower of the City *Larissa* was the Sepulchre of *Acrisius*; *Cecrops* lyes interr'd in the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, and *Erethionius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, to mention no more. A farther confirmation of this, is, that those words which in their proper acceptation signifie no more then a Tomb, or Sepulchre, are by ancient Writers applied to the Temples of the Gods, and thus *Lycophron*, a noted affecter of obsolete words, has us'd (b) *Τῦμβος*,

————— *Τῦμβος δ' αὐτὸν ἐκπῶσσι μέγας*
Ὀπιορσίας, σφαγαῖσιν ἡντισσεντομήνιον.

'Twas now, when quite fatigu'd with toyl of War
With eager haste the Greek did home repair,
That from the treacherous Fate for him design'd
Great *Juno's* Temple sav'd. ————— (Mr. Hutchin.)

Where he speaks of *Diomedes*, who, at his return from *Troy*, was laid in wait for by his Wife *Aegialea*, and forc'd to take sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. I will but give you one instance more, and that out of *Virgil* (c),

————— *tumulum antiquæ Cereris, sedemque sacratam*
Venimus.

The Temple and the hallowed Seat
Of ancient *Ceres* we approach'd. —————

Nor is it any wonder that Monuments should at length be converted into Temples, when at every common Sepulchre it was usual to offer Prayers, Sacrifices, and Libations, of which more hereafter.

Temples were built and adorn'd with all possible Splendor and Magnificence, no Pains, no Charge was spar'd upon them, or any part of divine Worship. This they did, partly out of the great Respect they had for the Gods, to whom they thought nothing more acceptable than costly Ornaments; and partly, that they might create a Reverence of the Deities in those that came to pay their Devotions there. The *Lacedæmonians* only had a Law amongst them, that every one should serve the Gods with as little expence as he could, herein differing from all other *Grecians*; and *Lycurgus* being ask'd for what reason he made this Institution, so disagreeable to the sentiments of

(a) *Eusebius, Laſſantiu, Clemens A'lexandr. Protrept.* (b) *Cassandr. v. 613.*
(c) *Æneid II. v. 742.*

all other Men; answer'd, *Least at any time the service of the Gods should be intermitted*; for he fear'd, that if Religion should be as expensive as in the other parts of *Greece*, it might some time or other happen, that the divine Worship out of the Covetousness of some, and Poverty of others might be neglected: and wisely considered, that magnificent Edifices, and costly Sacrifices were not so pleasing to the Gods, as the true Piety, and unfeign'd Devotion of their Worshippers. This Opinion of his was confirm'd by the Oracle of *Hammon* (a); for the *Athenians*, being worsted by the *Lacedæmonians* in many Encounters both at Land and Sea, sent to *Jupiter Hammon* to enquire what means they had best use to obtain Victory over their Enemies; and withall to ask him, why the *Athenians*, who (said they) serve the Gods with more Pomp and Splendor than all the *Grecians* beside, should undergo so many misfortunes; whilst the *Lacedæmonians*, whose Worship is very mean and slovenly, were always crown'd with Success and Victory? The Oracle made them no other answer, than that the honest, unaffected Service of the *Lacedæmonians* was more acceptable to the Gods, than all the splendid and costly Devotions of other People. The Reader will pardon this digression, since it doth so fully and clearly set forth the temper of two of the most flourishing States of *Greece*.

To return therefore, the Temples were built after that manner, which they thought most agreeable to the Gods, to whom they design'd they should be dedicated; for as Trees, Birds, and other Animals were thought sacred to particular Deities, so also almost every God had a form of Building peculiar to himself, and which they thought more acceptable to him than any other. For instance, the *Dorick* Pillars were sacred to *Jupiter*, *Mars*, and *Hercules*; the *Ionick*, to *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and *Diana*; the *Corinthian*, to *Vesta* the Virgin. I deny not but that sometimes all these were made use off in the same Temple, but this was either in those Temples which were sacred to more Gods than one, of which there might be produc'd several Instances, or to some of those Gods, who were thought to preside over several Things; for the Ancients, believing that the world was govern'd by divine Providence, ascrib'd the management of every particular Affair to this, or that Deity; thus *Mars* was thought to preside over War, *Venus* over Love; and to some of their Gods they assign'd the care over divers Things, so *Mercury* was the God of Merchants, Orators, and Theeves; *Minerva* was the Goddess of Warriours, Scholars, and Artificers, &c. and therefore 'tis no wonder, that in some of the Temples dedicated to her, there were three Rows of Pillars, the first of the *Dorick*, the second of the *Corinthian*, the third of the *Ionick* Order.

As to the places of Temples, those in the Countrey were generally surrounded with Groves sacred to the Tutelar Deity of the place, where, before the invention of Temples, 'tis reported the Gods

(a) *Plato Alcib. II.*

were worshipp'd; but where those could not be had, as in Cities, and large Towns, they were built amongst, and even adjoining to the Common Houses, only the *Tanagreans* thought this inconsistent with the Reverence due to those holy Mansions of the Gods, and therefore took care to have their Temples founded in places free from the noise and hurry of Business; for which (a) *Pausanias* commends them. Wherever they stood, if the Situation of the place would permit, it was contriv'd, that the Windows being open'd, they might receive the Rays of the rising Sun (b). The Frontis-piece was plac'd towards the West, and the Altars and Statues towards the other end, that so they, who came to worship, might have their Faces towards them, because it was an ancient custom among the Heathens to worship with their Faces towards the East, of which hereafter. If the Temples were built by the side of a River, they were to look towards the Banks of it (c); if near the High-way, they were to be so order'd, that Travellers might have a fair prospect of them, and pay their devotions to the God as they pass'd by.

Temples were divided into two parts, the Sacred, and Profane; the latter they call'd τὸ ἔξω πειρῶντιον, the other τὸ ἔσω. Now this πειρῶντιον, was a Vessel (usually of Stone, or Brass) fill'd with Holy-water (d), with which all those that were admitted to the Sacrifices were besprinkled, and beyond which it was not lawful for any one that was βέβηλον, or Profane, to pass. Some say, it was plac'd in the entrance of the Ἀδυτον, which was the inmost recess of the Temple, into which none might enter but the Priests, call'd also Ἀνάκτορον, saith *Pollux*, whence βέβηλον τὸ πύλον, is by *Phavorinus* said to be so call'd in opposition to this Ἀδυτον. But *Cassaubon* (e) tells us, that the πειρῶντιον was plac'd at the door of the Temple, and this opinion seems the more probable, because all persons that were ἀβέβηλοι, or unpolluted, were permitted to pass beyond it, which they could not have done, had it been plac'd at the entrance of the Ἀδυτον.

The word Σηκός, is variously us'd, *Ammonius* (f), and *Pollux* (g) say, that it properly signifies a Temple dedicated to an Heroe, or Demi-god; by *Hesychius*, and *Suidas* it is expounded, ὁ ἐνδοτερος τόπος τῷ ἱερῷ, so that it should seem to have been the same with Ἀδυτον. As for the explication of *Ammonius*, and *Pollux*, 'tis evidently false, as might be prov'd by innumerable instances if there was occasion. The word in it's most proper acceptation is us'd for a sheep-fold, and because the Images of the Gods were according to most ancient custom plac'd in the middle of the Temple, and close rail'd in on every side, this place, from the likeness it has to a sheep-fold, was call'd Σηκός, which in time came to signify the whole Temple, the part being put

for the whole. In the same manner was Ἑστία, i. e. the Fire-place, or Hearth, us'd for the whole House.

Furthermore, belonging to Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek Ἀρχεῖον, by some translated *summu templem*, as if it were at the upper-end. This seems to have been a Treasury both for the Church, and any one who had a mind to secure his wealth there, as was done by *Xenophon*, who committed his Treasure to the Custody of the Priest of *Diana* at *Ephesus*. Hence are those Epithets given it by *Pollux* (a), when he calls it μεγαλόπυστον, πολύχρυσον, ἀρχαίοπυστον, &c.

The old *Scholia* upon *Sophocles* (b), and out of them *Phavorinus* thus describe the Temples; Ναός, and Ἱερόν, or, the whole Edifice, in which are contain'd, Βωμὸς, the Altar, on which they offer'd their oblations; Περίστεον, the Porch, in which usually stood an Altar, or Image; and Τέμενον, the place upon which the Image of the Chief God was erected.

This Idol was at first only a rude Stock, or Table, whence it is call'd Σαῖς by *St. Clemens* of *Alexandria* (c); such an one was that of *Juno Samia*, which was afterwards in the Magistracy of *Procles* turn'd into a Statue. This *Pausanias* (d) seems to confirm, when he tells us that in *Achaia* there were kept very religiously thirty square Stones, on which were engraven the names of so many Gods, but without any Picture, or Effigies. In another place he speaks of a very ancient Statue of *Venus* at *Delos*, which instead of Feet had only a square Stone. And *Themistius* (e) hath told us, that all the Images till *Daedalus's* time were form'd after the same manner; He it was, that first made two separate Feet, whereas before they were but one piece, whence it was reported (saith *Palephatus*) that *Daedalus* form'd moving and walking Statues; at the first therefore, they were only call'd (f) Ἐβανα, ἅλα τὸ λανθάνειν, because they were shaven; and this word properly denotes an Idol, that is ἐξέσμιον, or shav'd out of wood, or stone, says *Hesychius* (g). In after-ages, when the Art of graving and carving was invented, they chang'd these rude Lumps into Figures resembling living Creatures, generally Men, and then an Image was call'd Δείκλον, or Βρέτης, ἅλα τὸ βροτῶ ἐμύκεναι, because it was like a Man.

The matter of which these Statues were made, was, amongst the ancient Greeks, generally wood, as *Plutarch*, and *Pausanias* inform us; the latter of which reports, that he has observ'd these Trees for the most part to be made use of for this purpose, viz. the Eben, Cypress, Cedar, Oak, Yew, and Box-trees. To these *Theophrastus* (h) adds the root of the Olive-tree, of which he says the lesser Images were usually compos'd; it is also observ'd that those Trees, which were sacred to any God, were generally thought most accept-

(a) *Bæoticis*. (b) *Vitruv.* lib. IV. cap. V. (c) *Ibidem*. (d) *Suidas*, *Phavorin.*
(e) In *Theoph.* Charact. (f) *De verborum Diff. & Simil.* (g) *Onom.* lib. I.
for

(a) *Ibidem*. (b) *Oedip. Tyr.* v. 15. (c) *Protrept* (d) *Archaic.* (e) *Orat.*
XV. (f) *Clemens Protrept.* (g) *Voce ἑμύκεναι.* (h) *lib. de Plant.*
Z. ablg

able to him, and therefore *Jupiter's* Statue they made of Oak, *Venus's* of Myrtle, *Hercules's* of Poplar, *Minerva's* of the Olive-tree &c. These observations are (I think) for the most part true, but not so universally, as that they should never fail. Sometimes they were made of Stone, and not only of common, but also of Pretious Stones; sometimes of black Stone, whereby was signified the Invisibleness of the Gods. Marble and Ivory were frequently made use of, and sometimes also Clay and Chalk; and last of all, Gold, Silver, Brass, and all other Metals were put to this use. As to the Forms of these Statues, and all their antique Postures, because they generally depend upon Fables, and Poetical fictions, I remit you to the Mythologists, and the Treatises of *Chartarius*, and *Verderius* on this subject, where they are largely describ'd.

The place of the Images was in the middle of the Temple, where they stood on Pedestals rais'd above the height of the Altar, and were enclos'd with Rails, whence this place was call'd *Σηκός*. And that the Images were plac'd thus, *Virgil* bears me witness, when He saith,

Tom soribus Divæ, media testudine templi.

Then at the Chancell door, where *Iuno* stands.

Where by the *fores Divæ*, you must understand the entrance of the *Σηκός*. And another of the Poets, where he talks of erecting a Temple, saith,

In medio mihi Cæsar erit ———

I'll *Cæsar's* Statue in the midst erect.

More instances might be produc'd, were not this custom too well known, to stand in need of any farther confirmation.

Βωμός among the *Greeks* is a word of larger extent, than *Altare* among the *Latins*, for this in it's proper signification only denotes the place, on which they sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods, being rais'd up high from the ground, and therefore call'd *Altare ab altitudine*, from it's height; but *βωμός* is us'd to signify not only this high Altar, but those lower ones call'd in *Latin Aræ*. These Altars differ'd according to the diversity of the Gods to whom they were consecrated, for the *Θεοὶ ὑψάνιοι*, or Gods above, had their Altars rais'd up a great height from the ground, insomuch that *Pausanias* (a) tells us, the Altar of *Olympian Jupiter* was almost twenty-two Feet high; *Porphyrus* makes no distinction betwixt these, and the Altars of the *Θεοὶ ὑθύνιοι*, or Terrestrial Gods; but though they are both signified by the same word, yet they seem not to have been of equal height, for *Vitruvius* (b) reports,

(a) *Eliac. α'*. (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.*

that

that the Altars of *Jupiter*, and all the Celestial Gods were very high, but those of *Vesta*, the *Earth*, and the *Sea* were low. To the Heroes they sacrific'd upon Altars close to the ground, which the *Greeks* call *Εξάραι*, being only one step high (a). The Subterranean, or Infernal Gods, call'd *Υποχθύνιοι*, had instead of Altars little Ditches, or Trenches digg'd, or plow'd up for that purpose; these the *Greeks* call'd *Λάκκοι*, and *Βύθροι*. *Porphyrus* adds a fifth, telling us that the *World*, the *Nymphs*, and such like Deities, instead of Altars, had *Ανὰς*, or Caves, where religious worship was paid to them.

The Altars were all plac'd towards the East, saith *Vitruvius* (b), and those in Temples were always lower than the Statues of the Gods. They were made commonly of Earth heap'd together, sometimes of Ashes, as was that of *Olympian Jupiter* before mention'd, which *Pausanias* (c) saith, was made of the Ashes of burn'd Sacrifices. Before Temples were in use, Altars were sometimes erected in Graves, sometimes in other Places; and *Eustathius* (d) upon the second *Iliad* tells us, that they were often erected in the High-ways, for the convenience of Travellers. The Terrestrial Gods had their Altars in low places, but the Celestial were worshipp'd on the tops of Mountains, whence every Mountain was esteem'd sacred to *Jupiter*, as we are told by *Atelantides* (e). Now as for want of Temples, they built their Altars in the open Air, so for want of Altars they anciently us'd to sacrifice upon the (f) bare ground, and sometimes upon a Turf of green Earth.

The manner of consecrating Altars and Images was the same, and is thus describ'd by the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (g); A Woman dress'd in a Garment of divers Colours brought upon her head a Pot of sodden Pulse, as Beans, Pease, or the like, which they gratefully offer'd to the Gods, in remembrance of their ancient Diet. But this custom seems to have been more especially practis'd at the Consecration of the *Ερμῶν*, or Statues of *Mercury*, and then only by the poorer sort, as the *Comedian* intimates, when He speaks of the consecration of another Image in his Play entitled *Peace*,

Xo. Ἀγέ δὴ π νῶϊν ἐντευθενὶ ποικίλων;
Tg. Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἢ ταύτην χύτρουσις ἰδρυτέον;
Xo. Χύτρουσιν, ὥσπερ μεμνημένον Ἑρμῶδιν;
Tg. Τί δαὶ δοκεῖ; βέλτετε λαλεῖν ὦ βῶϊ;

CH. What other expedient still requires dispatch?
TR. Nought; but that you consecrate with these Pots.
The Goddesses Peace:

(a) *Eurip. Schol. in Phœniss.* (b) *Lib. IV. cap. VIII.* (c) *Eliac. α'*. (d) *Pag. 171. Edit. Basil.* (e) *Libro de Sacrificiis, & Syllab. Schol. Trach.* (f) *Lil. Gyrard. de Diis Syntagma XVII.* (g) *Pluto Act. V. Scen. III.*

CH. How, with these Pots? what like
Those *Pygmy* Statues of God *Mercury*?
TR. What if this Goddess we shou'd consecrate
With a fat Ox? (Mr. Hutchin.)

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that sometimes their Consecrations were more expensive, being perform'd with more sumptuous Offerings, and Ceremonies. But these, like the other parts of Divine worship, were varied according to the condition of the Worshippers, and the Nature, or Humour of the Deities; to give you one instance, *Athenæus* in the IXth Book of his *Deipnosophists* tells us, that *Jupiter Cresias's* Statue was consecrated in this manner; they took a new Vessel with two ears, upon each of which they bound a Chaplet of white wool, and another of yellow upon the fore-part of it, and cover'd the Vessel; then they pour'd out before it a Libation call'd *Ambrosia*, which was a mixture of Water, Honey, and all sorts of Fruit. But the most usual manner of consecration was perform'd by putting a Crown upon them, anointing them with Oil, and then offering Prayers and Oblations to them, sometimes they would add an Execration against all that should presume to prophane them, and inscribe upon them the Name of the Deitie, and the cause of their dedication. In this manner the *Spartan* Virgins, in *Theocritus's* eighteenth *Idyllium*, promise to consecrate a Tree to *Helena*, for it was customary to dedicate Trees, or Plants after the same manner with Altars, and Statues,

Πρᾶται τοι σέρανον λωτῷ χαμαὶ αὐξομένηο
Πλέξασαι, σκίζαν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνισον.
Πρᾶται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὀλπιδ' ὕρξον ἀλειψαρ
Λατοδύρηναι, σαζῶμεν ὑπὸ σκίζαν πλατάνισον.
Γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γράψω (ὡς παριών τις
Ἀΐνοισι) Δωρεῖσθ, Σέβου μ'. Ελένας φυτὸν εἰμί.

We'll search the Meads where humble *Lotus* grows,
Then Chaplets weave, and twine them on the Bows;
On chequer'd Grass beneath the shady Bow'r
From costliest Vials sweetest Oyls we'll pour;
And then in spreading Letters this indite,
I'm *Helen's Plant*, and worship is my right.

Mr. Hutchin.

Ovid likewise in the eighth Book of his *Metamorphoses*, speaks of adorning them with Ribbands,

Stabat in his ingens amoso robore quercus,
Una nemus; vitæ mediam, memoresque tabellæ,
Serraque cingebant, vosi argumenta potentis.

In

In these a well-grown Oak Majestick stood
Whose spreading Arms alone compos'd a wood,
With Ribbands grac'd, and Crowns th'undoubted proof
Of vows obtain'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Temples, Statues, and Altars were accounted so sacred, that to many of them the privilege of protecting Offenders was granted, so that, if any Malefactor fled to them, it was counted a piece of Sacrilege to force him thence, and they thought his blood would be upon them that should do it; insomuch, that those who kill'd the followers of *Cylon*, who had plunder'd the Temple of *Minerva*, because they executed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after call'd *Αλιτῆες*, prophane, and impious villains. Some of these were publick *Asyla*, and free for all Men, others were appropriated to certain Persons, or Crimes; thus the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was a refuge for Debtors; the Tomb, or Temple of *Theseus* was a Sanctuary for Slaves, and all those of mean condition, that fled from the Severities and hard Usage of their Masters, and Men in Power; in memory that *Theseus* was an Assister and Protector of the distressed, and never rejected the petitions of the afflicted, that fled to him for succour and defence, as *Phaarch* (a) reports; Nor was this honour only granted to the Gods, but also to the Statues, or Monuments of Princes, and other great Persons (b). So the Sepulchre of *Achilles* on the *Sigeon* shore was in after-ages made an *Asylum*, and *Ajax* had the like honour paid his Tomb on the *Rhætean*.

The first *Asylum*, some say, was built at *Athens* by the *Heracidae*, and was a refuge for those that fled from the oppression of their Fathers; others with more probability affirm that the first was erected at the building of *Thebes* by *Cadmus*, where the privilege of Sanctuary was granted to all sorts of Criminals, and in imitation of these they say the *Asylum* at *Rome* was open'd by *Romulus* (c). The sacredness of these places was held entire till the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*, who, upon consideration of the many inconveniencies, that must necessarily be the effect of tolerating so many Villains, as were always harbour'd in them, dissolv'd them all, preserving only to *Juno Samia*, and one of *Æsculapius's* Temples their ancient privileges.

(a) *Theo.* (b) *Strabo* lib. III. (c) *Alex. ab Alex.* lib. III. cap. XX.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Grecian Priests, and their Offices.

IT has been the Custom of all Nations to pay a peculiar honour and deference to their Priests; which was either done out of respect to the Gods, whose servants they were; or (as *Plutarch* in his *Morals* tells us) because they did not pray for a blessing on Themselves, their own Families, and Friends only, but on whole Communities, on the whole state of Mankind. Nor were they only oblig'd to offer Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods for others, but it was their duty to instruct them how to pray for themselves, what it was most expedient to ask, what Sacrifices, what Vows, what Gifts would be most acceptable to the Gods, and, in short, to teach them all the Ceremonies us'd in the Divine worship, as *Plato* informs us (a). Another part of their Office, was to fore-tell things to come, and to interpret the Oracles of the Gods; and as they convey'd the will of the Gods to men, so did they also convey the Piety and Devotion of Men to the Gods, by offering Sacrifices for them, tho' the ancient *Greeks* did sometimes offer their own Sacrifices, and perform all those Rites which in later ages were only executed by the Priests. Thus *Eumæus* in *Homer* is said to have offer'd Sacrifices, and the same doth every where appear to have been done by all the Princes, and Heroes; the most honourable person in the company always taking upon him to perform the religious Ceremonies: for in those days this holy Office was had in so great credit and reputation, that the Priests generally wore the same Habit with their Kings, and were honour'd with the next places to them; so great a veneration did these Heathens think due to all those that bore any relation to the Gods. Nay, it was then no unusual thing for the Kings themselves to take upon them the Priest-hood; I shall only give you two instances, the one of *Anius*, who was King of *Delos*, and Priest of *Apollo*, as *Virgil* tells us (b),

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum, Phœbique Sacerdos.

Anius supreme of men oft veils his Crown
Without a blush, to put the Vervain on.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

The other instance I shall take from *Lacedæmon* (c), where the Kings, immediately upon their promotion to the Kingdom, took upon them

(a) *Dialog. de Regno.* (b) *Æn. III. v. 80.* (c) *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. III. cap. VII.*

the

the Priest-hood of the *Celestial*, and *Lacedæmonian Jupiter*, and this was so far from being thought below their dignity, that it was accounted an especial privilege, and an addition to the rest of their Honours (a). I need not tell you that among the *Athenians*, and in most other Cities of *Greece* the care and administration of the religious Ceremonies was committed to the chief Magistrates.

It was required that whoever was admitted to this Office, should be sound and perfect in all his members, it being thought a dishonour to the Gods to be serv'd by any one, that was lame, maim'd, or any other way imperfect; and therefore before their consecration they were examin'd, whether they were ἀπελῆς, which word, as *Hesychius* expounds it, signifies one that's perfect and entire, that neither hath any defect, nor any thing superfluous.

Nor ought they to be perfect in body only, but upright in mind, nothing ought to approach the Gods, but what was pure and uncorrupt; therefore the Priests liv'd temperately and chastly, abstaining even from those pleasures which were lawful and allowable to other Men; insomuch, that *Euripides* tells us, that in *Crete* the Prophets of *Jupiter* did not only deny themselves the use of Flesh-meat, but forbore to eat any thing that was boyl'd. And they were such rigid Observers of the rules of chastity, that the Priests of the *Mother* of the Gods at *Samos* are said to have dismember'd themselves, and the *Hierophantæ* at *Athens*, after their admission, enfeebled themselves by a draught of the juice of *Hemlock*; in short, 'twas very customary for those, that attended on the more sacred and mysterious Rites, by using certain Herbs and Medicaments to unman themselves, that they might worship the Gods with greater chastity, and purity. They also generally retir'd from the world, to the end, that being free from business and cares, they might have the more leisure to attend on the service of the Gods, and wholly devote themselves to Piety, and the exercise of Religion. One of the Herbs commonly made use of by them was the *Agnus-castus*, in *Greek* λυγόν, or ἄγρον, so call'd from being ἄγονον, an enemy to generation; this they were wont to strew under their Bed-cloaths, believing that it had a certain natural virtue, whereby it was able to preserve their Chastity, as *Eustathius* (b), besides many others, hath observ'd. But tho' most of them were oblig'd to strict Chastity and Temperance, and some to practice these severities upon themselves, yet were others allow'd to marry, and *Eustathius* (c) tells us, that it was but an institution of later Ages, that the Priestesses should be Virgins: to confirm which *Homer* gives us an instance in *Theano*, who was Priestess of *Minerva*, and Wife of *Amenor* the *Trojan*,

Θεανὴ καλλιπάρηον

(a) *Ibidem.* (b) *Il. γ'. pag. 768. Edit. Basil.* (c) *Ibidem pag. 503.*

Κισσῆς,

Κισθίς, ἀλοχός Αντιώοις ἰσπιδάμοιο.

Τῷ δὲ Τρώϊς ἔδνηεν Ἀθιωαῖνς ἱέρειαν (a).

—beauteous *Theano*,

Daughter to *Cisseus*, but *Antenor's* Bride,
Antenor skill'd the wanton Steed to guide,
 For *Trojans* her had made with joynt Consent
Minerva's Priests. ———

(Mr. *Hutchin.*)

Of the different Orders of Priests nothing exact can be deliver'd, for not only every God had a different Order of Priests consecrated to him, but even the Priests of the same Gods were very different, according to the diversity of Place, and other Circumstances. I shall therefore not trouble the Reader with an account of the particular Priests belonging to every Deity in the many Cities of Greece, which would be both unpleasant, and not very useful, but shall briefly point out to you the general Orders, and Offices of them. First, in every place they seem to have had an Ἀρχιερεῖως, or High-priest, whose Office it was to superintend over the rest, and execute the more sacred Rites and Mysteries of Religion. Amongst the *Opuntians* (b) there were two Chief-priests, one of which belong'd to the Chief and Celestial Gods, the other to the *Δαίμονες*, or Demi-gods. At *Athens* they had a great many, every God almost having a Chief-priest, that presided over the rest; for instance, the *Dadouchus* over the Priests of *Hercules*, and the *Stephanophorus* over those of *Pallas*. The *Delphians* had five Chief-priests, who help'd to perform the Holy Rites with the Prophets, and had the chief management of all parts of divine Worship; these were call'd *Οσσι*, i. e. Holy, and the Chief of them that presided at Sacrifices, *Οσιωτής*, i. e. Purifier, one that makes Holy: and another, that had the care of the Oracle, call'd *Αγήτωρ*, which is a Sirname of *Apollo*, given him by *Homer*, and signifies one that gives Oracles.

Another holy Order was that of the *Parasiti* (c), which word (saith *Clearchus* the *Solensian*, one of *Aristotle's* Scholars) in it's first acceptation signified ἑπιμῶν, a Man quick and expeditious, but was afterwards taken for a Table-companion; tho' *Polemon* is of opinion that this was it's ancient signification, and they were so call'd, because they were allow'd part of the Sacrifices, together with the Priests, as is evident from an inscription on a Pillar in the *Anaceum*,

ΤΟΙΝ ΔΕ ΒΟΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΙΝ ΤΟΙΝ
 ΕΞΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΝ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΙΣ
 ΤΟΝ ΑΓΩΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΕ ΔΥΟ ΜΕΡΗ ΤΟ ΜΕΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ
 ΤΩ ΙΕΡΕΙ ΤΟ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΙΤΟΙΣ.

That of the Oxen one part should be reserv'd for the Games, and of the other two, one should be given to the Priests, another to the Pa-

(a) Il. γ' v. 293. (b) *Alex. ab Alex.* Gen. Dierum lib. II. cap. VII. (c) *Athenaeus* Deipnosoph lib. VI.

Parasiti.

Parasiti. It was at the first an Office of great honour, for by the ancient Law the *Parasiti* were reckon'd among the chief Magistrates. Their Office was to gather of the Husband-men the Corn allotted for publick Sacrifices, which they call'd Περσόδια μέγαρα, the great Income, and is by (a) *Aristophanes* put for the great Sacrifices, which, as the *Scholiast* tells us, were usually call'd so, because the Charges of them were defray'd by these publick Revenues. The publick Store-house, where they kept these First-fruits, was call'd Παρασίπρον, (b) *Diodorus* the *Sinopenian* in *Athenaeus* tells us, that in every Village of the *Athenians*, they maintain'd at the publick Charge certain *Parasiti* in honour of *Hercules*, but afterwards, to ease the Common-wealth of this burden, the Magistrates oblig'd some of the wealthier sort to take them to their own tables, and entertain them at their own cost; whence this word seems in later ages to have signified a Trencher-friend, a Flatterer, or one, that for the sake of a dinner conforms himself to every Bodie's Humour.

The *Κήρυκες* also, or publick Cryers, assisted at Sacrifices, and seem to have had the same Office, with the *Pope*, and *Victimarii* among the *Latins*; for in *Athenaeus* (c) one *Clidemmus* tells us, they were instead of μάγειροι, and βουτυῖ, Cooks, and Butchers, and adds, that a long time the *Cryer's* Office was to kill the Offering, prepare things necessary for the Sacrifices, and to serve instead of a Cup-bearer at the Feast; He also tells us that the ministring at Sacrifices did of old belong to the *Cryers*; the same is confirm'd by *Eusebius* on this verse of *Homer* (d),

Κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ δεῶν ἱερῷ ἐκπτόμενοι
 Ἦγον. ———

Along the Streets the sacred *Hecatomb*
 The *Cryers* dragg'd. ———

Phavorinus, and *Caelius Rhodiginus* give this reason for their being call'd Διὸς ἄγγελοι by *Homer*, viz. because they assisted at the Sacrifices of the Gods, and (as the former adds) τὰς ἐορταῖς ᾗς δεῶν ἡγγελον, they gave publick notice of the Times wherein the Festivals were to be celebrated. To this purpose I might bring hundreds of Instances out of the Ancient Poets, and especially *Homer*. These *Κήρυκες*, indeed, were a kind of publick Servants employ'd on all occasions; they were instead of Ambassadors, Cooks, and *Cryers*; and, in short, there was scarce any Office, except such as was servile and base, that they were not put to; but their name was given them ἀπὸ τῆς κρείττονος, saith *Athenaeus*, from the best, and most proper part of their Office, which was

(a) *Avibus*. (b) in *Επιγράμ.* (c) Lib. X. & XIV. (d) *Odyss.* γ.

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τὸ κηρύττειν, to proclaim, which they did as well in time of Divine Service, as in civil Affairs; for at the beginning of the holy Rites they commanded Silence and Attention in these, or such like words, *Εὐφημέτε, σιγὴ πᾶς ἔστω λεώς* when the religious Mysteries were ended, they dismiss'd the Congregation with these words, *Λαὸν ἀριστ.*, of which more afterwards. At Athens there was a Family nam'd *Κήρυκες* from *Κῆρυξ*, the Son of *Mercury* and *Pandrosia*, which was accounted sacred, whence *Suidas* (a) calls them *γένος ἱερὸν, καὶ θεόφιλον*, a holy Family, belov'd by the Gods; such also were the *Eumolpidae*, who enjoy'd a Priest-hood at Athens by inheritance, being either descended from King *Eumolpus*, or instituted in memory of him. The *Ceryces*, as *Anthemio* the Comedian in *Athenæus* (b) tells us, were the first that taught Men to boyl their victuals, as the flesh of Sheep, and Oxen, whereas before they devour'd it raw. They were had in great honour at Athens, insomuch that *Athenæus* endeavours to prove that the trade of a Cook was a creditable Calling, from the respect paid to these *Ceryces*, who were Cooks at Sacrifices, and likewise seem to have perform'd those other holy Offices that belong'd to the *Κήρυκες* in other places. *Diodorus Siculus* (c) resembles them to the *Ægyptian Papstophori*, and thinks they had their Original from them; indeed some parts of their Office were much alike, for both of them kill'd the Victim, and attended on the Sacrificers. But these Offices did not belong to all the *Ceryces*, this Family being divided into several Branches, every one of which had a different Function, as appears by the Edict of *Solon* cited out of *Aristophanes* by *Athenæus*, wherein 'tis order'd, That two of that Family of the *Ceryces*, which was devoted to Divine service, should undergo the Office of the *Parasiti* in the Temple of *Apollo*, call'd *Delium*, for a Year.

Νεωκόροι, call'd by *Nicander* *Νεωκοί* (d), so nam'd from *νοεῖν*, which signifies to keep neat and clean, or to adorn; for it was their duty to adorn the Temples, and look after the Furniture of them, but they submitted not to such mean Offices, as the sweeping of them, as *Suidas* (e) would have it, for herein he contradicts *Euripides* (f), who brings in *Ion*, the *Νεωκόρος*, or *Ædinus* of *Apollo*, telling *Mary*, that he swept the Temple with a beasom of Lawrel. These were also *Νεωκόρακες*, whose Charge it was to take care of the holy Utensils, and see that nothing was wanting, and to repair what went to decay, saith *Aristotle* (g). Sometimes also the *Parasiti* are said to have been entrusted with the reparation of the Temples; and there was a Law enacted at Athens, that whatever they expended this way should be repay'd them.

There were also other Priests, one of which *Aristophanes* (h) calls

(a) *Εὐμολπίδαι*. (b) Lib. XIV. (c) Lib. I. (d) *Alexipharm.* (e) In voce *Νεωκόρος*. (f) In *Ion.* v. 121. (g) In *Politic.* (h) *Pluto* Act. III. Scen. II.

Πρόπολῳ, which is a general name for any Servant, and therefore to restrain it he adds *θεῷ*, calling him *πρόπολῳ θεῷ*. These were Priests waiting always on the Gods, whose Prayers the People desired at Sacrifices, at which these seem to have perform'd all other Rites, and Ceremonies, beside those that belong'd to the *Ceryces*; their share in the Sacrifices was the Skin and Feet; the Tongues were the Fees of the *Ceryces*. Indeed, all that serv'd the Gods were maintain'd by the Sacrifices, and other holy Offerings. These are the most general Orders of Priests, the rest were, most of them, appropriated to certain Gods, and sometimes certain Feasts, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, as likewise of those that attended the Oracles, and those who were any way concern'd in the Art of Divination.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Grecian Sacrifices.

DIDYMUS in his Annotations upon *Pindar* (a), writes that one *Melisseus*, a King of *Cyrene*, was the first that offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods, and invented religious Rites and Ceremonies, and that *Amalthea* and *Melissa*, who nurs'd *Jupiter*, and fed him with Goats-milk and Honey, were his Daughters. But I shall pass by this, and such like fabulous Narrations, and endeavour to describe the customes in use amongst the ancient *Greeks* at their solemn Sacrifices: In doing which I shall first treat of the Occasion and End of them. 2. Of the Matter of them. 3. Of the Preparations requir'd before them, with all the Ornaments both of the Sacrificers, Victims, and Altars. 4. Of the sacred Rites us'd at, and after their Celebration.

As to the Causes and Occasions of them, they seem to have been chiefly Four; for the Sacrifices were,

1. *Εὐχταῖα*, or *Χαεῖσθαια*, Vows, or Free-will Offerings; such were those the Sacrificers promis'd to the Gods before, and paid after a Victory; such also were the First-fruits offer'd by the Husband-men after Harvest, being grateful acknowledgments to the Gods, by whose Blessing they had receiv'd a plentiful Reward for their Labour and Toil in tilling the ground; these *Suidas* (b) calls *Θυσίαι δωροδοκίαι*, because they were Free-gifts; and *ἀποπληστικαί*, because thereby they fulfill'd some Vow made to the Gods; but because they were both the effects of Gratitude, I have therefore reduc'd them under one head.

2. *Ιλαστικαί*, propitiatory Offerings, to avert the anger of some

(a) *Cæc. Rhod. lib. XII. cap. I.* (b) In voce *Θυσία*.

offended Deity; such were all the Sacrifices us'd in Expiations.

3. Αἰτητικὰ, petitionary Sacrifices, for success in any Enterprize; for so religious were the Heathens, that they would not undertake any thing of moment, without having first ask'd the Advice, and implor'd Assistance of the Gods.

4. Τὰ ἐπὶ μαντείας, such as were impos'd and commanded by an Oracle, or Prophet. I am not ignorant that some others have been added, but those I have purposely omitted, as being reducible to some of these Four.

I come now in the second place to treat of the Matter of their Oblations. In the most ancient Sacrifices, there were neither Living-creatures, nor any thing costly, or magnificent; no Myrrh, Frankincense, or Cassia was made use of; but instead of them all, (a) Herbs and Plants, which they pluckt up by the Roots, were burnt whole with their Leaves and Fruit before the Gods, and this they thought a very acceptable and meritorious Oblation; which appears, as from other Monuments of Antiquity, so more especially from one of *Triptolemus's* Laws, whereby he strictly commands the *Athenians* to abstain from Living-creatures (b). And even to *Draco's* Time the *Attick* Oblations consisted of nothing else but the Earth's beneficence; but this frugality and simplicity had in other places been laid aside before his time, and here not long after; for no sooner did they leave their ancient Diet of Herbs and Roots, and begin to use Living-creatures for food, (which the ancients thought altogether unlawful) but they also chang'd their Sacrifices; it being always usual for their own Feasts, and the Feasts of the Gods, (for such they thought the Sacrifices) to consist of the same materials.

The Sacrifices of later ages consisted of these three things, Σπονδή, Θυσίαμα, and ἱερεῖον, as *Hesiod* (c) seems to have intimated in these verses,

Καθ'δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
 Ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, ὅπῃ δ' ἀγλαὰ μνηία κείνῃ,
 Ἄλλοτε δ' ἢ σπονδῆσι, θυέεσσι τε ἰλάσκειν,
 Ἡμῶν ὅτ' ἐν ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ ὅταν φάσθ' ἱερόν ἐστιν.

Offer to *Jove* with an untainted mind,
 Offer the best, if you'd have him prove kind:
 Let lulling Sleep n'ere seal your drowzy Eyes,
 Nor purple Morn gild o're the Eastern Skies,
 Till you accost the Gods with Sacrifice.

Mr. *Hutchins*.

Cal. Rhod. lib. XII. cap. I. (b) Porphy. de Abstin. ab Animal. (c) Epyr. & Hymn. v. 334. Βιβλ. α.

Where

Where you may observe that, tho' the more solemn Sacrifices consisted of all these three parts, yet at other times it was lawful to use any of them by themselves; whence *Eustathius* (a) tells us, it was not only usual to offer Drink-offerings of Wine at Sacrifices, but also at the beginning of a Journey by Land, or Sea, before they went to sleep, when they entertain'd a Stranger, and at any other Time. In short, in all the smaller Affairs of Life they seem to have desired Protection and Favour of the Gods by Oblations of Incense, or Drink-offerings; whereas the more solemn Sacrifices were only us'd upon more weighty Occasions, both because of the Expensiveness, and Trouble of them.

Σπένδειν, and λείβειν, amongst the *Greeks* have the same signification, as *Hesychius*, and *Phavorinus* have observ'd, and imply no more than to pour forth, which is also the proper sense of the *Latin* word *libare*, saith *Isidorus* (b); but because of their constant use at the Drink-offerings of the Gods, they came at length to be appropriated to them. The same you may observe of their derivatives σπονδή, λίσθη, and *libatio*, which words differ not at all from one another. The matter in these σπονδαὶ was generally Wine; now of Wine there were two sorts, the one ἐνσπονδόν, the other ἀσπονδόν, the former was so call'd, because it was lawful, the latter, because it was unlawful to make use of it in these Libations; such they accounted all Wine mix'd with Water; whence ἀκρατον, i. e. pure and unmix'd Wine, is so often made mention of by ancient Writers; and tho' sometimes you may find mix'd Wine to have been us'd at Sacrifices, yet, if we may believe *Eustathius*, this mixture was not made of Wine and Water, but of different sorts of Wine. *Pliny* (c) also tells us, that it was unlawful to make an oblation of Wine, that had proceeded from grapes cut, par'd round, or polluted with a fall on the ground; or such as came out of a Wine-press trodden with bloody and wounded Feet, or from a Vine unprun'd, blasted, or that had a Man hang'd upon it. He speaks also of a certain grape call'd *Aspendia* (d), whose Wine it was unlawful to offer upon the Altars. But tho' these Libations generally consisted of Wine, yet they were sometimes made of other ingredients, and call'd *Νηφάλιον* θυσία, ὅπῃ τὸ νῆφειν, from being sober. Such as these were offer'd to the *Eumenides*, for which *Suidas* (e) gives this reason, viz. That Divine justice ought always to be vigilant. He likewise adds, that at *Athens* such like Oblations were made to the *Nymphs*, to *Venus Urania*, *Mnemosyne*, the *Morning*, the *Moon*, and the *Sun*, and there seems to have been a particular reason, why every one of these were honour'd with such like Oblations. For instance, *Eustathius* (f) tells us, that Honey was offer'd to the *Sun*, but Wine was never us'd upon any Altar dedicated to him; because He, by whom all things are encom-

(a) Il. α'. pag. 102. Edit. *Basil.* (b) *Origin. lib. VI. cap. XIX. (c) Nat. Hist. lib. XIV. cap. XIX. (d) Nat. Histor. lib. XIV. cap. XVIII. (e) Voce Νηφάλιον θυσία. (f) Odyss. κ.*

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pass'd,

pass'd, and held together, ought to be temperate; and *Plutarch* (a) says, that these *ὑπάλιοι θυῖαι* were often perform'd to *Bacchus*, for no other reason, than that Men might not be always accusom'd to strong, and unmix'd Wines. *Pausanias* affirms, that the *Eleans* never offer'd Wine to the *Δέσποινα*, i. e. *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, nor at the Altar dedicated to *All the Gods*. To *Pluto* instead of Wine, Oyl was offer'd, as *Virgil* (b) witnesseth, and *Homer* (c) brings in *Ulysses* telling *Aleinous*, That he had made an Oblation to the Infernal Gods, in which he first pour'd forth Wine mix'd with Honey, then pure Wine, and after all, Water; his Words are these;

— ἐγὼ δ' ἄρ' ὅξυ ἐρυσσάμεντο παρὰ μαρῆ,
 Βόθρον ὀρυζα ὅσποντε πυγύσιον ἔνθα κ' ἔνθα.
 Ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δ' ῥαὺς χέουμι πᾶσι νυμβέσιν,
 Πρῶτα μελικρήτω, μετέπειτα δ' ἰδεῖ ὄινω,
 Τὸ τρίτον αὖθ' ὕδατι· ὅτι δ' ἄλριτα λούχ' ἀλάωων.

Straight from my side I drew my sharp'n'd Blade,
 A Trench a Cubit ev'ry way I made,
 Then these Libations pour'd around the Brim,
 To th' Ghosts that shoot along the Stygian stream,
 First Wine with Honey mix'd, then Wine alone,
 Next Water, presently when this was done
 With finest Flower besprinkl'd all around.

Mr. Hutchin.

There were also other Gods, to whom in certain places they sacrific'd without Wine; such was *Jupiter Ὑπατοῦ*, i. e. the Supreme, upon whose Altar the *Athenians* never offer'd Wine, or Living-creatures. But of these enough.

The second Thing to be consider'd in the Sacrifices is the *Suffinus*, in Greek call'd *θύον*, which word doth not originally signifie the Victim, but *τὰ ψαῖα*, i. e. broken Fruits, Leaves, or Acorns, the only Sacrifices of the Ancients; whence in *Suidas* *τὰ θύον*, are expounded *θυμιάματα*, or Incense. In like manner the Verb *θύειν* is never us'd by *Homer* to signifie the killing of the Victim, (for in this sence he has made use of *ἐξέειν*, and *θρῆν*) but denotes the offering of these *ψαῖα*, says *Athenæus* (d); which signification was afterwards chang'd. The Matter was generally Frankincense, or some odoriferous Perfume; but it was a long time before Frankincense came to be in use; for in the times of the Trojan War there was no such thing, but instead thereof they offer'd Cedar and Citron-wood, saith *Pliny* (e); and the *Grecian* Fables tell us, That Frankincense was first us'd, after the

(a) De Sanitate. (b) Æn. VI. v. 254. (c) Odyss. XI. v. 25. (d) Deipn. lib. XIV. (e) Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. I.

change

change of a devout Youth call'd *Libanus* into that Tree, which has taken it's name from him. Hither also you may referr the *ἐλοχίη*, *ἐλαί*, or *mole false*, which were Cakes of Salt and Barley; at first the Barley was offer'd whole and unbroken, till the invention of Mills and Grinding, whence they were call'd *ἐλαί q. ὅλαι*, saith *Eustathius* (a). Of this kind also were the *πόπανα*, being round, broad, and thin Cakes; and another sort, call'd *πέλανοι*, of which there were several kinds, as those three reckon'd by *Phavorinus*, which he calls *Θίσις*, *ἀνάσταται*, and *ἀμυρῶντες*. There were Cakes also call'd *Σελῶαι*, from their Figure, for they were broad, and horn'd in imitation of the new Moon. There was another sort of Cakes with horns, call'd also from their Figure *Βέες*, which were usually offer'd to *Apollo*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, and the *Moon*. In Sacrifices to the *Moon* they us'd after six of the *Σελῶαι* to offer one of these, which for that reason they call'd *Βέες ἑξάμοι*; it was also sometimes offer'd after a Sacrifice of six Animals, saith *Suidas*; and hence *Βέες ἑξάμοι*, because it was a lump without life, is proverbially us'd for a stupid Fellow. Other offerings there were of this sort, which were peculiar to certain Gods, as the *Obeliophori* to *Bacchus*, the *Μελιπῆται* to *Trophonius*, with others, which for brevity's sake I purposely omit. You may here take notice that no Oblation was thought acceptable to the Gods without a mixture of Salt; which was so much esteem'd, because it was reckon'd a token of Friendship, (of which hereafter) and because it gives a relish and favour to all other Victuals. Barley was offer'd in memory of the great Benefit receiv'd from the Gods, when by their advice Men chang'd their Diet of Acorns, for Corn; whence *κριθή* is by some deriv'd from *κρίνω*, signifying to discern, because by this sort of food Men were distinguish'd from brute Animals; thus *Eustathius* (c). Here may be also added the sacred Herbs burn'd on the Altars in the time of Sacrifice, which were all call'd by one general name *verbenæ*.

The third, and chief part of the Sacrifice was the *ἱερεῖον*, or Victim, concerning which you are to know in the first place, that it ought to be whole, perfect, and sound in all it's members, without spot or blemish; otherwise, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods, who must be serv'd with the very best of all the Flocks and Herds; to which end *Solon* in his Laws commanded the *Athenians* to offer *ἐκκεῖτα ἱερεῖα*, chosen and select Sacrifices; and it was an ancient Custom to cull out of the Flocks the goodliest of all the Cattel, and put certain marks upon them, whereby they might be distinguish'd from the rest. *Virgil* (c) tells us, their Herds were wont to be divided into three parts, one of

(a) In II. α'. p. 99 Edit. Basil. (b) *Phavorin. & Aristoph. Schol.* (c) *Ibidem.* (d) *Georg. III. v. 157.*

which

which they design'd for Propagation, another for Sacrifice, and the third for Labour; his words are these,

*Post partum, cura in vitulos traducitur omnis,
Continuoque notas, & nomina gentis incurrunt:
Et quos aut pecori malint submittere habendo,
Aut aris servare sacros, aut scindere terram.*

As soon as e're brought forth great care's injoin'd
To brand each one for what he is design'd:
Whether for breeding this be set apart,
For th'Altar that, a third for Plough, or Cart.

Mr. Hutchin.

And *Apollonius Rhodius* hints as much in the second Book of his *Argonauticks* (a).

Notwithstanding all this care in the choice of Victims, yet it was thought unlawful to offer them, till the Priests had by divers experiments made tryal of them, of which I shall speak hereafter. The Sacrifice, if it was approv'd by the Priest, was call'd *Τελεία θυσία*, whence comes the frequent mention of *ταύροι, αἶγες, βόες τελειοί*, &c. If not, it was immediately rejected, and another brought to the Tryal, till one every way perfect was found.

As to the kinds of Animals offer'd in Sacrifice, they differ'd according to the variety of the Gods to whom, and the Persons by whom they were offer'd; a Shepherd would sacrifice a Sheep, a Neat-herd an Ox, a Goat-herd a Goat, and a Fisher after a plentiful draught would offer a Tunny, saith *Athenæus*, to *Neptune*; and so the rest according to every Man's Employment. They differ'd also according to the diversity of the Gods, for to the Infernal and Evil Gods they offer'd black Victims; to the Good, white; to the Barren, barren ones; to the Fruitful, pregnant ones; lastly, to the Masculine Gods, Males; to the Feminine, Females were for the most part thought acceptable; for the most part, (I say) there being several particular instances, in which these general Rules seem to fail. Almost every God had some of the Animals consecrated to him, and out of these were the Sacrifices often chosen; for instance, to *Hecate* they sacrific'd a Dog, to *Venus* a Dove, or Pigeon. Choice was also made of Animals, according to the dispositions of the Gods, to whom the Sacrifice was to be offer'd; for *Mars* was thought to be pleas'd with no Creatures, but such as were furious and warlike, as the Bull; the He-goat was offer'd to *Bacchus*, as being a Creature that spoils the Vine-yards, &c.

Animals generally made use off, were the Bull, Ox, Cow, Sheep, or Lamb, the Goat and the Boar; and amongst the Birds, the Cock, Hen, and such like. *Athenæus* (b) tells us out of *Agathar-*

(a) V. 355. (b) *Deipn.* lib. VII.

sides,

ides, that the *Bacotians* were wont to sacrifice certain Eels of an unusual bigness, taken in *Copais*, a Lake of that Country, and about these they perform'd all the Ceremonies usual at other Sacrifices. It will be difficult to guess the reason of this Custom, for my (a) Author tells us, that when a Stranger once happen'd to be present at these Sacrifices, and enquir'd what might be the cause of them, the *Bacotians* made him no other answer, than that they were oblig'd to observe the customs of their Ancestors, but thought themselves not bound to give Forreigners any reason for them. The only Animal almost, unlawful to be sacrific'd, was the Ploughing and Labouring Ox, and from him the *Athenians* abstain'd, because he assisted them in tilling the ground, and was, as it were, Man's Fellow-labourer, saith *Ælian* (b). Nor did the *Athenians* only, but almost all other Nations think that Person highly Criminal, who kill'd this Creature with a design either to eat, or sacrifice it; insomuch, that the Offender was thought to deserve death, saith *Varro* (c); *Ælian* (d) in particular, witnesseth as much, of the *Phrygians*; and *Pliny* (e) in his Natural History mentions a Person banish'd *Rome*, for being guilty of this Crime; but in later Times they were not so cautious, for *Plutarch* (f) tells us, they us'd them at Feasts, and then 'twas no wonder if they ventur'd also to sacrifice them, and that they did so *Lucian* (g) assures us.

Human Victims were seldom us'd among the *Greeks*, or any other civiliz'd Nation, it being thought a barbarous piece of Cruelty, to butcher Men and Women, and burn them on the Altars; yet some few instances there are of this Inhumanity, as that of *Themistocles*, who, to obtain success against the *Persians*, sacrific'd some Captives of that Nation; the Story you may read at large in *Plutarch* (h). 'Tis also said, that *Bacchus* had an Altar in *Arcadia*, upon which a great many young Damsels were beaten to death with bundels of Rods; something like to which was practis'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, who scourg'd their Children (sometimes to death) in Honour of *Diana Orthia*. To the *Manes*, and Infernal Gods such Sacrifices were more usually offer'd; for so we read of *Polyxena's* being sacrific'd to *Achilles*, and *Homer* relates how that Heroe butcher'd twelve *Trojan* Captives at the Funeral of *Patroclus*.

You may here observe, that all Sacrifices were to be answerable to every man's Condition; for as it was thought a contempt of the Gods for a rich Man to bring a poor, sordid Offering; so on the other hand, from a poor Man the smallest Oblations were acceptable; if his Estate was not able to reach the price of a living Ox, instead thereof, it was lawful for him to sacrifice one made of Bread-corn, saith *Suidas* (i). And on other accounts when they were not able to provide the accusom'd Sacrifices, they had libertie to offer what the Place, or Time would afford; according to this Rule, when the Cy-

(a) *Athenæus* loco citato. (b) *Var. Hist.* lib. V. cap. XIV. (c) *De Re Rustic.* lib. II. (d) *De Animal.* lib. XII. cap. XIV. (e) *Lib.* VIII. cap. XLV. (f) *De Efu Animal.* lib. II. (g) *Dialog. de Sacrific.* (h) *Vita Themistoclis.* (i) *In voce Bûti.*

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Ætneans were closely besieg'd, and could not find a black Ox, (for such an one they were oblig'd to offer upon a certain anniversary Festival) they made one of Corn, and so perform'd the usual Ceremonies: and *Ulysses's* Companions in *Homer*, for want of Barley, made use of Oak-leaves; and instead of Wine, made a Libation to the Gods of Water. But from those that were able more costly Offerings were requir'd; and the wealthier sort, especially when they had receiv'd, or desired any great Favour of the Gods, offer'd great numbers of Animals at once: whence there is so frequent mention of *Hecatombs*, which consisted of an hundred Living-creatures, and of *Chiliombs* too, in which were sacrific'd a thousand. An *Hecatomb*, saith *Eustathius* (a), properly signifies a Sacrifice of an hundred Oxen, and such an one was offer'd by *Clisthenes* in *Herodotus*; but it is generally taken for such Sacrifices, as consist of an hundred Animals of any sort; however because the Ox was the principal and most valuable of all the Living creatures us'd at Sacrifices, it has it's name from containing *ἑκατὸν βούς*, an hundred Oxen; others derive it, (saith my Author) from *ἑκατὸν βάσεις*, ἦτοι πόδες, i. e. an hundred Feet, and then it must have consisted only of twenty-five Animals; others say that a finite number is here put for an indefinite, by a figure very usual among the Poets; and then an *Hecatomb* amounts to no more than a Sacrifice consisting of many Animals; others there are, who will have this Name deriv'd not from the number of the Creatures offer'd, but of the Persons present at the Sacrifice; lastly, *Julius Capitolinus* (b) tells us, that an *Hecatomb* was offer'd after this manner; they erected an hundred Altars of Turf, and then kill'd an hundred Sows, or Sheep, &c. *Suidas* (c) mentions another Sacrifice, which consisted of seven Offerings, viz. a Sheep, Sow, Goat, Ox, Hen, Goose, and after all an Ox of Meal, whence some derive the Proverb, *βὺς ἑξομύου*, of which before. Another Sacrifice there was in which were offer'd only three Animals, whence it was call'd *Τετρίβς*, or *Τετρίβα*, this consisted, saith (d) *Eustathius*, of two Sheep, and an Ox, according to *Epicharmus*; or, of an Ox, Goat, and Sheep; or, of a Boar, Ram, and Bull; or, of a Sow, He-goat, and Ram, for such an one you may find in *Aristophanes*. Sometimes the Sacrifice consisted of twelve Animals, and then saith my (e) Author, it was call'd *ἡ δωδεκάθια θυσιά*, and the rest in like manner. Thus much concerning the matter of Sacrifices.

The next things to be consider'd are the preparatory Rites required before, and the Ornaments us'd in the Time of Sacrifice. No man was admitted to the solemn Sacrifices, except he had purified himself certain Days before, in which he was to abstain from all carnal Pleasures; to this purpose *Tibullus*,

(a) *Iliad*. α'. pag. 36 Edit. Bas. (b) In *Maximo*, & *Balbino*. (c) In voce *βύς*. (d) *Odyss.* α'. pag. 423. Edit. Bas. (e) *Ibidem*.

*Discedite ab aris,
Quæis nilit hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus.*

You, who to *Venus* paid devoir last night,
Pleading with lustful heats your appetite,
From the chaste Altars of the Gods absent.

Mr. Abel.

So severe were they in observing this Custom, that at some of their Solemnities, the Priests and Priestesses were forc'd to take an Oath, that they were duly purified: such an one was impos'd upon the Priestesses of *Bacchus* at *Athens* in this Form (a); *Ἀγνίστω, καὶ εἰμι καθάρη, καὶ ἀγνή ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ ἡ καθαρώντων, καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν συκοφάνης καὶ τὰ θεόγνια καὶ τοσαυτέα γεραίρω τὰς Διόνυσον κατὰ τὴν πάτρια, καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσιν χρόνοις*. I am pure, undefil'd, and free from all sorts of Pollution, and particularly that, which is contracted by lying with a Man; and do celebrate the Festival of *Bacchus* at the usual Time, and according to the receiv'd Custom of my Country. This seems to be meant not only of Adultery and Fornication, but also of the lawful pleasures of the Marriage-bed; for at the celebration of the Divine solemnities, they thought more than ordinary Purity and Sanctity was required of them, and therefore abstain'd from delights, which at other times they might lawfully enjoy: yet by some of them this sort of purification was thought unnecessary, for *Theano*, an *Athenian* Priestess, being ask'd, when it might be lawfull for a Woman to go from the company of a Man to Sacrifice; answer'd, *From her own at any time, from a stranger never*.

Another thing required of every Person that came to the solemn Sacrifices, was, that he should be purified by Water; to which end, at the entrance of the Holy-place, there was a Vessel full of Holy-water, in which sometimes was put a branch of Laurel, saith *Pliny* (b), with which the Priest besprinkled all that enter'd; whence the Vessel was call'd *Πιεργαστήριον*, ἐπὶ τοῦ πειεργάζειν, from besprinkling. *Spondanus* tells us, that before the Sacrifices of the Celestial Gods, the Worshipers had their whole Bodies wash'd, or, if that could not be, at least, their Hands; but for those that perform'd the sacred Rites to the Infernal Gods, a small sprinkling was sufficient. Sometimes they wash'd their Feet, as well as Hands; whence come the Proverbs, *ἀνιπλοῖς χερσίν*, and *ἀνιπλοῖς ποσίν*, in *Latin*, *illis manibus*, & *illis pedibus*, which are usually applied to Men that undertake any thing without due Care and Preparation. *Porphyry* (c) tells us, there was a *Programma* fix'd up, that no Man should go beyond the *Πιεργαστήριον*, till he had wash'd his Hands: and so great a crime

(a) *Demosth. Orat.* in *Near*. (b) *Nat. Hist. lib. XV. c. XXX.* (c) *De Victim.*
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was it accounted to omit this Ceremony, that *Timarchides* (a) hath related a Story of one *Asterius*, that was struck dead with Thunder, because he had approach'd the Altar of *Jupiter* with unwash'd Hands. Nor was this custom only us'd at solemn Sacrifices, but also at the smallest parts of their Worship; *Hesiod* tells us, he was afraid to make so much as a Libation to *Jupiter* before he had wash'd,

Χερσὶ δ' ἀνίηλοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἶθοπα οἶνον
Ἀζομαι. ——— (b)

I dread with unwash'd hands to bring
My incens'd Wine to *Jove* an Offering. (Mr. *Abell*.)

And *Telemachus* is said in *Homer's Odyssey* to have wash'd his hands, before he durst venture to pray to the Gods. This they did, out of a conceit that thereby they were purified from their Sins; and withall signifying, that nothing impure, or any way polluted must approach the Deities. On the same account they were sometimes so superstitious as to wash their Cloaths, as *Homer* relates of *Penelope* before she offer'd Prayers to the Gods.

Whoever had committed any notorious Crime, as Murder, Incest, or Adultery, was forbidden to be present at these holy Rites, till he had been purified; and *Pausanias* (c) speaks of a Temple dedicated by *Orestes* to the *Eumenides*, into which if any such person enter'd, tho' with a design only to see it, he was immediately seiz'd by the *Furies*, and lost the use of his Reason. Nay, even one, that had return'd from a Victory over his lawful Enemies, might not sacrifice, or pray to the Gods before purification, and therefore *Hesiod* in the place before-cited, adds

——— ἔδ' ἐπὶ πῇ ἐστὶ καλαινέφει Κρονίωνι
Αἷματι καὶ λυδρῷ πεπαλαγμένον ἐν χερσὶν αἰσθῶ.

'Tis impious while I'm thus besmear'd with gore
To pay my Vows, and mighty *Jove* adore.

(Mr. *Abell*.)

All that were allow'd to be present, they call'd Ἀέεθλοι, ὅπιοι, &c. the rest were βέεθλοι, ἀλιπτοί, &c. such were Servants at some places; Captives, unmarried Women, and all Bastards within the City of *Athens* (d), except in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cynosarges*; because *Hercules* himself, was under some illegitimacy, being not one of the great Immortal Gods, but having a Mortal Woman for his Mother.

(a) Libro de Coronis. (b) Il. γ'. v. 266. (c) *Achæica*. (d) *Isam*.

It was also unlawful for the Δευτερόπολοι, or Τετρίπολοι to enter into the Temple of the *Eumenides*, saith *Hesychius* (a), and after him *Phavorinus*. Now those are so call'd, that had been thought dead, and, after the celebration of their Funeral Rites, unexpectedly recover'd; or, those that after a long absence in foreign Countries, where it was believ'd they were dead, return'd safe home. Such Persons at *Athens* were purified by being let thro' the lap of a Woman's Gown, that so they might seem to be new born, and were then admitted to the holy Rites; it would be very tedious to mention all those that were accounted prophane at particular Sacrifices, or Places; I shall only therefore in general add, that before the Ceremonies were begun, the *Kῆρυξ*, or sometimes the Priest with a loud voice commanded them all to be gone, as in *Callimachus* (b),

——— ἐκός, ἐκός ὅστις ἀλιτρός.

Which saying *Virgil* (c) hath imitated,

——— procul, ὦ procul este, profani,
Conclamat Vates, totoque abstine lucu.

Distance, away, cries out the Priest aloud,
Ye profane miscreants, and unhallow'd Crowd,
Set not one Foot within this sacred Grove.

(Mr. *Abell*.)

Orpheus commands the doors to be shut against them,

Φθέγγομαι ὅς τις θέμις ἐστὶ, θύρας δ' ὀπίσθε βιβήλοισ
Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς. ———

I'll sacred Oracles to them proclaim,
Whom Vertue doth with quickning heat inflame,
But the *Prophane*, let them be all shut out.

(Mr. *Abell*.)

Sometimes the sacred part of the Temple was divided from the unhallow'd by a Cord, beyond which the βέεθλοι were not permitted to pass; this Cord is call'd in *Greek* Σχοινίον, and therefore they, that were not admitted to the holy Rites, are call'd by *Demosthenes* (d) Ἀπὸχοινιστῆρες, separated by a Cord.

It remains that I speak something of the manner of Purifying themselves; the most usual was by washing with Water, of which before.

(a) Voce Δευτερόπολις, item *Plutarch*; *Quæst. Rom.* (b) Hymn. in *Apollin.* (c) *Æn.* VI. v. 253. (d) *Orat.* in *Aristogit*

They had sometimes the Water carried round them, and sprinkled on them with a branch of Laurel, or Olive; after this manner were *Chorineus's* Companions purified in *Virgil* (a),

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicitis Olive.*

Then carry'ng Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive sprig, their Fates
Good *Chorineus* wisely expiates. }

This manner of surrounding was us'd in almost all sorts of Purification, whence it is, that most of the words that signifie any kind of it, are compounded with the Proposition *περι*, as *περιμύσσειν*, *περιγίγναι*, *περιβαίνειν*, &c. And amongst the *Romans* this Custom was so universal, that the word *lustrum*, which properly signifies to purify, or expiate, in *Virgil* (b) signifies to surround, or, go about,

———— *dum montibus umbrae
Lustrabunt convexa.* ————

———— while shades of Trees
Shall circuit Mountains round. ————

Mr. Abell.

They sometimes us'd Brimstone, mixing it with Salt-water; this done, the Priest took a branch of Laurel, or a lighted Torch, and sprinkled the Person on all sides; whence the *Greek* word *περιβαίνειν*, to purify, from *περι*, Brimstone; of this Custom *Juvenal* (c) makes mention,

———— *cuperent lustrari, siqua darentur
Sulphura cum tedis, & si foret humida laurus.*

Oh! how they'd wish their mis'ry to redress,
And expiate their direful wickedness
With Torches, Sulphur, and wet Laurel.

Mr. Abell.

Ovid (d) tells us this was done three times,

Terque senem flamma, ter aqua, ter sulphure lustrat.

Thrice sev'rally with Water, Sulphur, Torch,
Medea purifi'd old *Æson*.

(a) *Æneid* VI. v. 229. (b) *Æneid* I. v. 611. (c) *Sat.* II. v. 157. (d) *Met.* lib. VII. Fab. II.

There

There was another way of purifying also, by *Fanning* the Persons in the Air, as *Grangæus* (a) hath observ'd.

I shall but mention two sorts more, spoken of by *Theophrastus* (b), the first was by drawing round the body of the Person to be purified a Squill, or Sea-onion, of which Custom *Lucian* (c) has taken notice. The other was by drawing round the Person a Whelp; and this was us'd by almost all the *Greeks*, saith *Plutarch* (d); who also tells us, that it was call'd *Περικυλακισμός*, from *κύλαξ*, i. e. a Whelp.

The Ornaments us'd in the time of Sacrifice were as follow; The Priests, as at other times, were richly attir'd, their Garments being usually the same, at least not much differing from Royal Robes. At *Athens* they sometimes us'd the costly and magnificent Garment invented by *Æschylus* for the Tragedians, as we learn from *Athenæus* (e). At *Sparta* their Garments were suitable to the other parts of their Worship, being neither costly, nor splendid, and they always pray'd and sacrific'd with their Feet bare.

In all holy Worship, their Cloaths were to be without spots, or stains, loose, and unbound; but if they had been polluted by the touch of a dead body, or struck by Thunder, or Lightning, it was unlawful for the Priest to Officiate in them.

Various Habits also were us'd according to the diversity of the Gods, in whose honour the Solemnities were celebrated. They that sacrific'd to the Celestial Gods were cloath'd with Purple; to the Infernal Gods they sacrific'd in Black, to *Ceres* in White Garments. They had also Crowns upon their Heads, which were generally made of the leaves of the Tree, that was accounted Sacred to the God, to whom they then paid their Devotions; thus in the Sacrifices of *Apollo* (f), they were crown'd with Laurel; in those of *Hercules*, with Poplar; and after the same manner in the rest.

Beside this Crown, the Priest sometimes wore upon his Head a sacred *Insula*, or *Mitre*, from which on each side hung a Ribband, as we learn from *Virgil* (g); the *Insulae* were generally made of wool, and were not only worn by the Priest, but were put upon the Horns of the Victim, and upon the Temple, and Altar; in like manner also were the Crowns us'd by them all. The Victims had the *Insula*, and the Ribbands tyed to their Horns, the Crowns and Garlands upon their necks. Upon any extraordinary occasion, as the Reception, and Petition of any signal Benefit, they overlay'd the Victims Horns with Gold; thus *Diomedes* in *Homer* promises *Minerva*,

Τῷ τοι ἐγὼ ξέξω χρυσὸν κέραςιν περιχούας (h).

This Cow, whose Horns o're-tipt with Gold look bright,
You shall have offer'd, *Pallas*, as your Right.

Mr. Abell.

(a) In locum *Juvenalis* citatum. (b) *Eth. Charact.* (c) In *Επιστολῇ*. (d) *Quæst. Rom.* (e) *Deipn.* lib. I. cap. XVIII. (f) *Apoll. Rhod.* Arg. B. 159. (g) *Æn.* X. v. 538. (h) *Il.* x.

Alluding

Alluding to this Custom, *Porphyrus* calls the Oxen design'd for Sacrifice *Χρυσόκερως*. *Pliny* (a) hath observ'd, that the larger Sacrifices only, such as Oxen, were thus adorn'd; but the contrary appears out of a Decree of the *Roman Senate*, cited by *Macrobius* (b), in which the *Decem-viri* are commanded to sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the *Grecian* manner, an Ox, and two She-goats with gilded Horns; unless, as some think, Goats were also numbred amongst the *hostiæ majores*, or greater Victims; as the Sheep were counted *maximæ*, or the greatest, not for their bigness, but value, and acceptableness to the Gods.

The Altars were deck'd with sacred Herbs, call'd by the *Romans* *Verbenæ*; which is a general name for all those Herbs that were us'd at Sacrifices; and here also, as at other times, every God had his peculiar Herb, in which he was thought to delight.

All things being prepar'd, the *Mola salsa*, with the Knife, or other Instrument to kill the Victims, and the Crowns were brought in a Basket call'd *Κανών*, whence the *Athenian* Virgins, whose Office it was to carry this Basket at the *Panathenæa*, and some other Solemnities, were call'd *Κανηφόροι*.

The Victim, if it was a Sheep, or any of the smaller Animals, was driven loose to the Altar; but the larger Sacrifices were brought by the Horns, as appears from the words of *Homer*, where he describes the Sacrifices of *Nestor*,

Βῶν δ' ἀγέτω κεράων Στράπῳ, καὶ δῖῳ Ἐχέφρῳ.

Stratius and *Echephron* dragg'd by the Horns
An Ox.

Sometimes, as *Juvenal* (c) witnesseth, it was led by a Rope; but then it was a long one, and not close, or strait, least the Victim should seem to be brought by force to the Altar. Sometimes there were certain Persons appointed to fetch the Sacrifice with musical Instruments, and other solemnities; but this was seldom practis'd, save at the larger Sacrifices, such as *Hecatombs*.

After this, they stood about the Altar, and (d) the Priest turning towards the right hand, went round it, and sprinkled it with Meal and holy Water; He besprinkled also those that were present, taking a Torch or Fire-brand from the Altar, or a branch of Laurel. This water, they call'd *Χερνίκος*, being the same they wash'd their hands with at Purification; whence the Poets sometime use *Χερνικίδας*, instead of *ἱερὰ ῥέζεν*, to offer Sacrifice. The Vessels also they purified with Onyons, Water, Brimstone, and Eggs.

This done, the *Crier* proclaim'd with a loud voice, *Τίς τῆδε*; Who

(a) Lib. XXXIII. cap. III. (b) *Saturnal.* lib. I. (c) *Sat.* XII. v. 5. (d) *Aristoph.* ejusque *Schol.* in *Pace*.

is here? To which the People reply'd, *Πολλοὶ ἀγῶνται*, Many and good; after this they pray'd, and the Priest (in later Ages) exhorted them to joyn with him, saying, *Εὐχόμεθα*, Let us pray. Their requests were generally, that the Gods would vouchsafe to accept their Oblations, and send them Health and Happiness, they added at their *αἰτησίαι*, or petitionary Sacrifices, a Petition for some particular Favour. They seem to have had a general Form of prayer, us'd on all such occasions, which tho' it might vary in words, was usually to the same purpose. One of these you may see in *Aristophanes* (a), another in *Athenæus* (b), out of *Menander's Flatterer*. At this time also the *Crier* commanded silence in these, or such like words, *Εὐφημείτε ὅλα, ὅλα πᾶς ἔσω λέως*. The same Custom was observ'd by the *Romans* in their Sacrifices, where they proclaim'd, *Favete Linguis*, which words answer to the *Greek* *εὐφημείτε*, by which the People seem not to have been commanded to remain in a deep and uninterrupted Silence, but rather to abstain from all prophane Speeches, and ominous Words, and so *Horace* has interpreted it,

male ominatis

Parcite verbis.

Let no ill-boding words your Lips prophane.

Prayer being ended, the Priest examin'd all the members of the Victim, to see if it had any Blemish, or other Defect; nor were they satisfied with this, but they also examin'd, whether it was sound with in; which they did by setting meat before it, as Barley-meal before Bulls, Vetches before Goats; which, if they refus'd to eat, they were judg'd unsound. They also besprinkled the Goats with cold water, which if they endur'd without shrinking, they were thought to be some way indispos'd; thus (c) *Plutarch*. This being done, they made tryal whether the Victim was willing to be sacrific'd to the Gods, by drawing a Knife from it's Fore-head to the Tail, as *Servius* hath observ'd (d), at which if the Victim struggled, it was rejected, as not acceptable to the Gods; but if it stood quiet at the Altar, then they thought the Gods were pleas'd with it; yet a bare non-resistance was not thought sufficient, except it would also give it's consent, as it were, by a gracious Nod, (which was the ancient manner of granting, or approving, whence the word *ἀννύειν* among the *Greeks*, and *annuere* among the *Romans*, signifie to give assent to any thing) and to this end, they pour'd Water into it's Ear, and sometimes Barley, which they call'd *Προχύτας*, saith the *Scholias*t upon *Apollonius Rhodius* (e).

After this, they pray'd again; which being done, the Priest took a

(a) *Loco citato*. (b) *Deipn.* lib. XIV. (c) *Libro de Defect. Orac.* (d) In *Æneid.* XII. v. 173. (e) *Argon.* lib. v. 425.

Cup of Wine, and having tasted it himself, caus'd the company to do the like; and then pour'd forth the remainder between the Horns of the Victim, as we learn from *Ovid* (a),

— dum vota sacerdos
Concipit, & fundit purum inter cornua vinum.

While th' muttering Priest prays at the hallow'd Shrine,
And pours between the Horns the unmix'd Wine.

Mr. Hutchin.

The same Custom is every where mention'd in Authors; I will give you only one example more out of *Furius Evenus*, an ancient Greek Poet, who was the Master of *Philistus* the Historian, and flourish'd about the ninety second Olympiad, from whom we have this Epigram, in which the *Vine* speaks to the *Goat*,

Κῆν με φάγης ὅττι εἶζαν, ὅμως ἐπὶ καρποφόρῳ
Ὅσον ὁπασαίτω σοι, τράγε, θυομένῳ.

Tho', leach'rous Goat, you on my Cyons browze,
And tear the swelling clusters off my Boughs,
Luxuriant Sprouts will shoot out fresh supplies,
To pour betwixt your Horns at your own Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they cast Frankincense and other Perfumes upon the Altar, and, as some say, upon the Fore-head of the Victim, taking them out of the Censer, call'd in Greek *Θυμαματήριον*, with three Fingers, as *Ovid* (b) hath inform'd us,

Et digitis tria thura tribus sub limine ponit.

Thrice Frankincense beneath the Threshold laid,
Which thither with three Fingers she convey'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence it is, that the *Pythia* in *Porphyry* saith, that the whole *Hecatombs* of the *Thessalians*, were not more acceptable to the Gods, than the *Χαῖσα*, which a certain *Hermionian* offer'd with his three Fingers. Then they pour'd forth part of the *Ὀῦλαι* on the back of the Victim, which was upon that account bedew'd with a small sprinkling of water. This being done they pray'd again, and then offer'd the remainder of the *Ὀῦλαι* upon the Altar; all these they call'd *Προθύματα*, because they were offer'd before the Victim.

Then the Priest, or the *Κῆρυξ*, or sometimes the most honourable

(a) *Metam.* Lib. VII. v. 593. (b) *Fast.* lib. II.

Person

Person present kill'd the Beast, by striking him down, or cutting his throat. If the Sacrifice was in honour of the Celestial Gods, the Throat was bended up towards Heaven, and this it is, that *Homer* calls αὐτὸ ἐρύειν, or in one word ἀνερύειν: but if the Sacrifice was made to the Heroes, or Infernal Gods, it was kill'd with it's Throat towards the Ground, saith *Eustathius* (a). If by any chance the Beast had escap'd the stroke, leap'd up after it, bellow'd, did not fall prone upon the ground, after the fall kick'd and stamp'd, was restless as tho' it expired with pain and difficulty, did not bleed freely, and was a long time a dying, it was thought unacceptable to the Gods; for all these were unlucky Omens, as their contraries were tokens of Divine Favour, and good Will. The *Κῆρυξ* did then help to slay the Beast, light the Wood, and do other inferior Offices, while the Priest, or Soothsayer with a long Knife turn'd over the Bowels to observe, and make Predictions from them, for it was not lawful to touch them with his Hands. As to the Blood, they reserv'd it in a Vessel call'd *Σφαγεῖον*, *Αρνίον*, or, according to *Lycophron*, *Ποιμανδρία*, and offer'd it on the Altar to the Celestial Gods: if the Sacrifice belong'd to the Gods of the Sea, they pour'd it into Salt-water; but if they were by the Sea-side, they slew not the Victim over the *Σφαγεῖον*, but over the Water, into which they sometimes threw the Victim; an Instance whereof you may have in *Apollonius Rhodius* (b),

Ἡ γ', ἅμα δ' ἀρχωλῆσιν ἐς ὕδατα λαιμοτομήσας,
Ἦκε κτ' ὀρύμνης. —

Then praying to the blew-cy'd Deity,
O're the curl'd Surface stabb'd the Sacrifice,
And cast it over Deck. —

Mr. Hutchin.

In the Sacrifices of the Infernal Gods, the Beast was either slain over a Ditch, or the Blood pour'd out of the *Σφαγεῖον* into it. This done, they pour'd Wine, together with Frankincense, into the Fire, to increase the Flame; then they laid the Sacrifice upon the Altar, which in former Ages was burn'd whole to the Gods, and thence was call'd *Ὀλόκαυστον*: *Prometheus*, as the Poets feign, was the first that laid aside this Custom, for considering that the poorer sort had not wherewith to defray the Expences of a whole Burnt-offering, he obtain'd leave from *Jupiter*, that one part only might be offer'd to the Gods, and the remainder reserv'd for themselves. The Parts belonging to the Gods were the *Μεσῆ*, these they cover'd with Fat, call'd in Greek *Κνίσση*, to the end, they might consume altogether in a Flame; for

(a) *Il.* α'. (b) *Argon.* IV. v. 1601.

except they were all burn'd, they thought they did not καλλιερεῖν, or *litare*, i. e. that their sacrifice was not accepted by the Gods. Upon these Μνεγί, they cast small pieces of flesh, cut from every part of the Beast, as the Απαρχαί, or First-fruits of the whole; the doing this they call'd ὠμοθετεῖν, either because they first cut the Shoulder (which is in Greek call'd ὠμος) or because they did ὠμὰ πρὸςθεοῖς, put these raw Pieces of flesh upon the other Parts. The Μνεγί, or Thighs, were appropriated to the Gods, because of the honour due to these Parts, as the principal Members inserving to Generation, and Walking. Thus *Eustathius* (a); but *Casaubon* (b) tells us, they sometimes offer'd the Entrails, herein contradicting *Eustathius*, who informs us that these were divided among those, that were present at the Sacrifice, and *Homer* in the Descriptions of his Sacrifices usually tells us, that they feasted upon them, σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο. By this word σπλάγχνα, tho' it properly signifies the Bowels, you are to understand, saith my Author (c), the Spleen, Liver, and Heart; and that it is sometimes taken for the Heart, will appear by the signification of it's Compounds, for by ἀσπλάγχχνος ἀνὴρ, is meant a pusillanimous Fellow, as on the contrary εὐσπλάγχχνος denotes a Man of Courage, saith the Scholiast (d) upon *Sophocles*.

Whilst the Sacrifice was burning, the Priest, and the Person that gave the Victim, did jointly make their Prayers to the God, with their hands upon the Altar, which was the usual posture in Praying, as shall be shown hereafter. Sometimes they play'd upon Musical Instruments in the time of Sacrifice, thinking hereby to charm the God into a propitious Humour, as appears by a Story related in *Plutarch* (e), of *Ismenias*, who play'd upon a Pipe at a Sacrifice, and when no lucky Omens appear'd, the Man by whom he was hired, snatch'd the Pipe, and play'd very ridiculously himself, and when all the company found fault with him, he said, *To play satisfactorily is the gift of Heaven; Ismenias* with a smile replied, *Whilst I play'd, the Gods were so ravish'd with the Musick, that they were careless of the Sacrifice, but to be rid of thy Noise they presently accepted it.* This Custom was most in use at the Sacrifices of the Aerial Deities, for they were thought to delight in Musical Instruments, and Harmonious Songs.

They also danc'd round the Altars, whilst they Sung the sacred Hymns, which consisted of three *Stanzas*, or Parts; the first of which, call'd *Strophe*, was Sung in turning from East to West; the other, nam'd *Antistrophe*, in returning from West to East; then they stood before the Altar, and sung the *Epode*, which was the last part of the Song. These Hymns were generally compos'd in honour of the Gods, and contain'd an account of their famous Actions, their Clemency, and Liberality, and the Benefits conferr'd by them upon Mankind, and con-

(a) Il. α'. (b) In *Theophrast.* (c) In Il. α'. (d) In *Ajace.* (e) *Symposium.* lib. II. Q. 1.

cluded

cluded with a petition for the continuation of their Favours. They were all call'd by a general name Παιᾶνες, but there was also a particular name belonging to the Hymns of almost every God, saith *Pollux*; for instance, the Hymn of *Venus*, was call'd Τριγων, that of *Apollo* was peculiarly nam'd Παιᾶν, and both of them were stil'd Πιερόσδια, the Hymns of *Bacchus* were call'd Διδυράμβου, &c. Of all Musical Instruments, the Flute seems to have been most us'd at Sacrifices, whence comes the Proverb Αὐλητὲς βίον ζῆν, applied to those that live upon other Men's Charges, because the Αὐληταί, or Flute-players, us'd to attend on Sacrifices, and partake of them, and so liv'd on Free-cost, as *Suidas* (a) informs us.

The Sacrifice being ended, the Priest had his share, of which I have already spoken, a tenth part also was due to the Magistrates call'd Πρυτάνεις, at *Athens*. At *Sparta* the Kings had the first share in all publick Sacrifices, and the skins of the Victim allotted to them. It was usual also to carry home some part of the Offering, for good Luck's sake; and this they call'd Τρίεια, thinking it conduc'd to their Welfare, and the preservation of their Health. The *Athenians* were commanded by a Law to observe this Custom; and those that were niggardly, did sometime so strain the courtesy of the Gods, that they would sell what remain'd, and make a gain of their Devotion. Sometimes they sent the remaining parts of the Sacrifice to their absent Friends; which Custom (b) *Theocritus* hath taken notice of,

ὣς τὸ δὲ θύσας
Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρέας ἀντίχα πέμψον.

Go Swain, go offer to the tunefull Nine,
And send a part to *Morsen*.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

But for the most part, especially if they had receiv'd any lucky Omen, or Token of Divine Favour, the Sacrifice being ended, they made a Feast; for which purpose there were Tables provided in all the Temples. *Athenaeus* (c) tells us, that amongst the Ancients, they never indulg'd themselves with any Dainties, nor drunk any quantity of Wine, but at such Times; and thence a Banquet is call'd Θόιν, because they thought they were oblig'd ἀπὸ θεῶν οἶνεσθαι, to be drunk in honour of the Gods; and to be drunk they call'd μεθύειν, because they did it μετὰ τὸ θύειν, after Sacrifice. All the time the Banquet lasted, they continued singing the praises of the God, as *Homer* witnesseth in his account of the Sacrifice, celebrated by *Chryses* and the *Grecians* to *Apollo*,

(a) Voce Αὐλητῶ. (b) *Idyll.* V. v. 139. (c) *Deipn.* lib. III. cap. III.

Οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,
καλὸν αἰείδοντες παῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιῶν,
μέλποντες ἐκφύγον. — (a)

All day in moving sounds the *Grecians* sing,
And Ecchoing woods with *Io* *Paeans* ring,
To win the God t'accept their Offering.

Mr. Hutchin.

When they offer'd Sacrifice to *Vesta*, it was usual to eat up whatsoever was left, and to send any part of it abroad was thought a Crime; whence the Proverb *Εἰς τὸν οἶκον*, and among the *Romans*, *Lari Sacrificare*, is applied to Gluttons, that eat up all that is set before them; to this Goddess also they offer'd the first part of all their Libations, at least of all those that were paid to the Household Gods, whence comes the Proverb, *ἀπ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι*, to begin at home. This Custom the old Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b) tells us, was founded upon a Grant of *Jupiter* to *Vesta*, for after he had suppress'd the Sons of *Titan*, he promis'd *Vesta* to grant whatever she would request; whereupon she first desired that she might enjoy a perpetual Virginity; and in the next place, that she might have the first part in all Sacrifices. But, as some say, not only the first, but the last part of the Sacrifices was offer'd to her; the reason they give for which Custom, is, that *Vesta* is the same with the *Earth*, to which the first and last parts belong, because all things are produc'd out of that Element, and again resolv'd into it. To return, The Banquet in some places was to be ended before Sun-set, as *Athenæus* (c) informs us, and was not to exceed an appointed time in any Place. After the Banquet, they sometimes play'd at Dice, as *Saubertius* hath observ'd out of *Plato*. The Entertainment, and Recreations being ended, they return'd to the Altar, and offer'd a Libation to *Jupiter* τέλει, οἱ, the Perfect. The Primitive *Greeks* were wont to offer the Tongues together with a Libation of Wine to *Mercury*, as *Athenæus* (d) reports, *Apollonius* (e) also witnesseth the same,

Οὐδ' ὅστις μετέπειτα κερασάμενος δὴ λοβὰς
Ἡ; δέμης ὅτι, τῶς ἐπὶ τε γλώσσησι χέοντο
ἀπορροαίς· ὕπνε δὲ ἀφ' κνέφας ἐμνάοντο.

Then, as the Custom of their Countrey was,
On th' burning Tongues the mixt Libation flows;
This done, they haste unto their soft repose.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) Il. α'. γ. 473. (b) In Σοφ. p. 491. Edit. Aurel. Allobrogum. (c) Deipn. I. IV. (d) Deipn. lib. I. cap. XIV. (e) Argon. lib. I. v. 517.

These

These Tongues they offer'd at the end of the Feast, either with a design to make an Expiation for any undecent Language that had been spoken; or in token that they committed to the Gods as witnesses, what Discourse had pass'd at the Table; or to signify that what had been spoken there, should by no means be taken notice of afterwards, or divulg'd. They were offer'd to *Mercury*, because he was the God of Eloquence, and therefore took a particular delight in that Member.

After all, they return'd thanks to the God for the honour and advantage of sharing with him in the Victim, and then were dismiss'd by the *Κήρυξ* in this Form, *Λαῶν ἀριστος*.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Grecian Prayers and Supplications.

THE Piety of the ancient *Grecians*, and the honourable Opinion they had conceiv'd of their Deities, doth in nothing more manifestly appear, than in the continual Prayers and Supplications they made to them; for no man amongst them, that was endued with the smallest Prudence, saith *Plato* (a), would undertake any thing of greater or lesser Moment, without having first ask'd the Advice and Assistance of the Gods; for this they thought the surest means to have all their Enterprizes crown'd with Success.

The *Lacedæmonians* had a peculiar Form of Prayer, for they never us'd, either in their publick, or private Devotions, to make any other request, than that the Gods would grant what was honourable and good for them, as *Plato* (b) witnesseth; but *Plutarch* (c) tells us, they added one Petition more, viz. That they might be able to suffer Injuries. The *Athenians* (d) us'd in their publick Prayers, to desire Prosperity for themselves, and the *Chians*; and at the *Panatheneæ*, a Solemnity, which was celebrated once in five Years, the publick Cryer us'd to implore the blessing of the Gods upon the *Athenians* and *Platæans*.

It is my principal design in this place to describe the manner of Supplicating the Gods, but because they made their Supplications to Men, for the most part, after the same manner, I shall treat of them both together. Petitioners both to the Gods and Men, us'd to supplicate with green Boughs in their Hands, and Crowns upon their Heads, or Garlands upon their Necks, which they did with a design to beget Respect in those to whom they made their Supplications, as *Triclinius* (e) in his Commentary upon *Sophocles* teacheth us. These

(a) *Timæo*. (b) *Alcib. II.* (c) *Institut. Laconic.* (d) *Alexand. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. V. cap. XXVII.* (e) *Oed. Tyr. v. 3.*

Boughs

Boughs are call'd by several Names, as *δαλλοί*, or *κλάδοι ἱκθέραι*, *φυλλάδες ἱκθέραι*, and *ἱκθηρίαι*, they were either of Laurel, or Olive, whence *Statius* (a),

Mixte nemus circa,
Vittæ Laurus, & supplicis arbor Olive.

About this Grove the peaceful Olive grows
And sprightly Laurel, on whose verdant Boughs
Wreath'd Garlands hang. —————

Mr. Hutchin.

These Trees were made use of at such times, first, because they were *αἰθαλεῖς*, always green, and flourishing, and therefore *Ἐπιπίδες* (b) gives the latter the Epithete of *ἀκμάρατος*, never fading. Secondly, because the Laurel was a sign of Victory, Success, and Joy; the Olive of Peace, and good Will. In these Boughs they put Wool, which was not tyed to them, but wrapp'd about them; for which reason the Tragedian (c) seems to have call'd it *Διοσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλλάδος*, the Tye without a Knot. This Wool, because it was wrapp'd round, was call'd by the Romans *Vitta*, or *Infula*, whence *Virgil* (d),

————— *ne temne, quod ultro*
Præferimus manibus vittas, ac verba precantium.

Let not the King despise us, 'cause we bear
This Wreath, the badge of Suppliants. —————

Mr. Hutchin.

With these Boughs, and sometimes with their Hands, if they were doubtful, whether they should prevail or not, it was usual to touch the Knees of the Statue, or Man, to whom they address'd themselves; if they had Hopes, they touch'd his right Hand, but never the Left, for that they thought ominous; if they were confident of Success, they rose as high as his Chin, or Cheeks; they touch'd the Head, because it is the principal and most honourable Member in a Man's Body, as *Eustathius* (e) thinks, or because they would have the Person give his consent to their Petitions *annuendo*, by a Nod, for this was the manner of granting requests; whence *Jupiter* in *Homer* (f) having granted *Thetis's* Petition, adds,

Εἰδ', ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανύσσομαι, ὅρρα πεποιθης·
Τὺ το γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέθεν γένετ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον

(a) *Theb.* lib. XII. (b) In *Ione* v. 1436. (c) In *Ixion* v. 31. (d) *Æneid.* VII. v. 236. (e) In *Il.* α'. pag. 97. Edit. *Basil.* (f) *Il.* α'. v. 524.

Τέκμων, ἔ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάρετον, ἐδ' ἀπατηλὸν,
Οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητόν γ', ὅ, π' κεν κεφαλῇ κατανύσω.

But least you doubt, if you can doubt a God,
I'll clear all scruples by a solemn Nod,
For that's with me a never failing Sign,
And do's performance to my Vows enjoyn.

Mr. Hutchin.

The Hand they touch'd (a), as being the instrument of Action; the Knees, because they desired the Soul of the Person should bend, as it were, and incline to their requests, for that the joynts in that place are more flexible than in any other Part; or because they are the Instruments of Motion, as if they requested the Person to bestir himself, and walk about to effect their desires. Sometimes they touch'd the Knees with one hand, and the Head, or Hands with the other, for so did *Thetis* by *Jupiter*,

Ἥρην δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν ἕρανόν, Οὐλυμπόν τε,
Εὐρεν δ' εὐρύσπα Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἡμερον ἄλλων
Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυφειράδ' Οὐλύμποιο.
Καὶ ἔα πάριθ' αὐτοῖο χεῖρ' ἔζετο, καὶ λάβε γένων
Σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνδρεῶν' ἔλυσσεν.

Just had the blushing Goddess heav'd her head
From off the Pillow of her Saffron Bed,
When azure *Thetis* Heav'n-ward wing'd her flight,
And on the steep *Olympus* did alight;
Where the All-seeing *Jove* found seated high,
Remote from each Inferiour Deity;
Straight at his Feet her self she prostrate cast,
And with her Right-hand seiz'd with eager haste
His bristly Beard; her Left his Knee embrac'd.

Mr. Hutchin.

Sometimes they kiss'd the Hands, and Knees; but if the Petitioners were very fearful, and the Persons, to whom they address'd themselves, of very great Quality, they bow'd so low, as to kiss their Feet: this kiss the Romans call'd *Labratium*, and the old Gloss renders it *φίλημα βασιλικόν*, ἢ ἀσπαστικόν βασιλέως, a kiss of a King. Sometimes they kiss'd their own Hands, and with them touch'd the Person. Another sort of Salutation there was, whereby they did Homage to the Gods, viz. by putting the Fore-finger over the Thumb (perhaps upon the

(a) *Eustath.* *ibidem.*

middle joynt, which they us'd in counting the number ten) and then giving a turn on their right Hand, as it is in *Plautus* (a),

Ph. *quod si non affert, quo me vortam nescio.*
Pa. *Si Deos salutas, dextro vorsum censeo.*

Ph. But if he fail me, I know'n't which way to turn.
Pa. Turn! -- why you must turn to th' Right-hand I conceive,
If you wou'd reverence the Gods. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

So generally was this Custom of kissing practis'd by Supplicants, that *Eustathius* (b) thinks the word *προσκύβειν*, to adore, was deriv'd from *κύβειν*, which signifies to kiss.

Another manner they had of Supplicating, by pulling the Hairs off their Head, and offering them to the Person, to whom they pray'd; after this manner did *Agamemnon* present himself before *Jupiter*, when *Hector* had given the *Grecians* an Overthrow (c),

Πολλὰς δ' ἐν κεφαλῇ προσκυβέμενος ἔλκετο χεῖρας
τ' ἄβ' ἔδωκε Διὶ. ———

But he Celestial *Jove* presents with Hairs,
Which from his mangled Head with eager force he tears.

Mr. Hutchin.

They often cloathed themselves with filthy Rags, or put on the Habit of Mourners, that they might move Pity and Compassion.

The Postures they us'd, were different, for sometimes they pray'd standing, sometimes sitting, but generally kneeling, because that seems to bear the greatest show of Humility; whence the words *γυμνάζεσθαι*, *γονυπετεῖν* and such like, signifie to pray, or make Supplication. The *Greek Scholiast* upon *Pindar* tells us, they were wont to turn their Faces towards the East, when they pray'd to the Gods; and to the West, when to the Heroes, or Demigods. Others (d) say, they always kept their Faces towards the Sun, for in the morning they turn'd themselves to the East, at noon to the South, and in the evening to the West.

The safest Place for a Petitioner either to Gods, or Men (next to the Temples and Altars) was the Hearth, or Fire-place, whither they presently ran, when they came to any strange Place in Travel, or Banishment, as being the Altar of *Vesta*, and the Household Gods. When they had once seated themselves there, in the Ashes, in a mournful Posture, and with a dejected Countenance, they needed not to

(a) *Circul. A&T. I. Scen. I.* (b) *Ad Odyss. i.* (c) *Iliad. x.* (d) *Calist. Rhod. lib. XII. cap. II.*

open

open their Mouths, neither was it the Custom so to do; for those Actions spoke loud enough, and told the want and calamity of the Supplicant more movingly than a thousand Orations; and this we learn from *Apollonius Rhodius* (a),

Τὼ δ' ἄνεω, καὶ ἀναυδοὶ ἐφ' ἐστὶν αἰζῶντες
Ἰζανον, ἢ τε δίκη λυγροῖς ἐκέτην τέτυκ'.

As soon as o're the Threshold they can get,
At *Vesta's* shrine in humblest sort they sit;
For there they're safe, and of want nothing know,
Such Privilege our Laws the Poor allow.

Mr. Hutchin.

The *Molossians* had a peculiar manner of supplicating, different from that of all other Countries; which was practis'd by *Themistocles*, when he was pursued by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and forc'd to cast himself on the Protection of *Admetus*, King of that Countrey; He held the young Prince (who was then a Child) in his Arms, and in that posture, prostrated himself before the King's Household Gods; this being the most sacred manner of Supplication among the *Molossians*, and which was not to be rejected, as *Plutarch* reports (b).

They that fled to the Gods for Refuge, or Help, us'd first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then make known their Desires to the Deity,

Πάντας δὲ βωμούς, οἱ καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ δόμους,
Προσθήθεις, καὶ ἔστεψες, καὶ προσήυξατο.

And when with Myrtle Garlands he had crown'd
Each Altar in *Admetus* House, he pray'd,

Mr. Hutchin.

Saith *Enripides* (c). It was usual also to take hold of the Altars, as *Virgil* (d) witnesseth,

Talibus orabat dictis, arasque tenebat.

Laying his hands on th' Altar, thus he pray'd.

Whence *Varro* is of opinion that Altars were call'd *aræ*, *q. ansæ*, which word is us'd to signifie any thing that may be taken hold of. It was also an usual Gesture in Praying to lift up their Arms towards Heaven, as *Helena* saith in her Prayer to *Juno* (e),

(a) *Argonaut. lib. IV.* (b) In *Themistocles*. (c) In *Alceste*. (d) *Æneid. VI.* (e) *Enripid. Hel. v. 1100.*

D d 2

--- ὁρθὰς

ὁ θεὸς ὠλένας πρὸς ἄραν
 Πιπῶνθ', ἢ οἰκείσ' ἀστέρων ποικίλματα.

We our extended Arms, great Goddess, heav'd
 Tow'rd thy Pavilion deckt with Asterisks.

Mr. Hutchin.

Whence you may imagine the reason of lifting up their Hands, was, that they might hold them towards the Gods, whose Habitation is in Heaven. *Homer* every where mentions this posture, always adding χεῖρας ἀναχών, when he speaks of any one that pray'd to the Gods. Nay, this Custom was so universally receiv'd, that the holding up of Hands, is sometimes us'd to signify Praying, as in *Horace*,

Cælo supinas se tuleris manus.

If to the Gods you've pray'd with Hands lift up.

On the contrary, because the Infernal Gods were suppos'd to have their Habitation beneath the Earth, it was usual to pray to them with Hands pointed downwards. Prayer being ended, they lifted up their Hand to their Mouths, and kiss'd it; which Custom was also practis'd by the *Romans*, whenever they pass'd by a Temple, and was accounted a sort of Veneration, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* informs us (a); and *Lilius Gyraldus* (b) tells us, he hath observ'd the same in *Homer*, and others.

Sometimes, if they obtain'd their Request, and it was a matter of Consequence, they presented to the God some rich Gift, or offer'd a Sacrifice in thankfulness for the Benefit they had receiv'd; sometimes they related it to the Priest of the Temple, that it might be registred, as a Testimony of the goodness of the Gods, and their readiness to hear the Petitions of Mortals, and send them relief; and for an encouragement to Men to make known their Wants, and Desires to the Deities, and expect assistance from them; on this account, as *Eusebius* has observ'd, there are no Prayers made in *Homer*, the Petitions of which were just and reasonable, that were not rewarded with a full and satisfactory Answer.

(a) Gen. Diet. lib. IV. cap. XVI. (b) Syntagm. de Diis Gentium.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Grecian Oaths.

HAVING describ'd the manner of offering Sacrifices and Prayers to the Gods, I shall proceed in the next place to speak of the Honour pay'd to them, by using their Names in solemn Contracts, Promises, and Asseverations; and calling them to witness their Truth, and Honesty, or punish their Falshood, and Treachery, if they were Deceivers.

Ορκος, the God of Oaths, is by *Hesiod* (a) said to be the Son of *Eris*, or Contention; and Fables tell us, that in the Golden Age, when Men were nice Observers of the Laws of Truth and Justice, there was no occasion for Oaths, nor any use made of them: But when they began to degenerate from their Primitive Simplicity, when Truth and Justice were banish'd out of the Earth, when every one began to make advantage of his Neighbour by Cozenage and Deceit, and there was no Trust to be plac'd in any Man's Word, it was high time to think of some expedient, whereby they might secure themselves from the Fraud and Falshood of one another. Hence had Oaths their first Original; and tho' it be probable, that at first they were only us'd upon weighty and momentous Occasions, yet in process of time they came to be applied to every trivial Matter, and in common Discourse; which has given occasion to the distinction of Oaths into that, which was call'd Ο μέγας, and us'd only on solemn and weighty Accounts; and that which they term'd Ο μικρός, which was taken in things of the smallest Moment, and was sometimes us'd merely as an expletive, to fill up a Sentence, and make a round or emphatical Period. Some there are that tell us, the μέγας ὅρκος was that, wherein the Gods, μικρός that wherein Creatures were call'd to witness; but the falsity of this distinction doth evidently appear by a great many Instances, whereof I shall only mention one, viz. that of the *Arcadians*, amongst whom the most sacred and inviolable Oath was taken by the water of a Fountain call'd *Syx*, near *Nonacris* a City, as *Herodorus* (b), or, according to others, a Mountain in *Arcadia*; upon which account it was, that *Cleomenes* the *Lacedæmonian* to secure the fidelity of the *Arcadians*, had a design to carry the principal Men amongst them to *Nonacris*, and there make them swear by this Fountain, tho' they had taken another Oath before, as my Author (c)

(a) Theogon. v. 231. (b) Erato. (c) Loc. citato.

hath related. It will not be impertinent in this place to mention the great Oath of the Gods by the *Stygian Lake*, for *Jupiter*, as *Hesiod* (a) reports,

Αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἑμμεναι ὄρκον.

Ordain'd this *Lake* a solemn Oath shou'd be
To all the Gods. —————

Mr. Hinchin.

Which is the reason, why some derive the word ὄρκον, an Oath, from *Orcus*, Hell. This Oath, was invented by *Jupiter*, and prescrib'd by him to the rest of the Gods, in honour of *Syx*; because she with her Sons came the first of all the Gods to his assistance in the War against the *Gians*; or, for that her daughter *Victory* was favourable to him, saith *Hesiod*; or, because he had quench'd his thirst with her Waters in the Fight. If any God swore falsely by these Waters, he was debarr'd the use of *Nectar*, and depriv'd of his Divinity for an hundred years; these Others reduce to nine, but *Servius*, out of *Orpheus*, enlargeth them to nine thousand.

The God, that was thought more especially to preside over Oaths, was *Jupiter*; more especially I say, because all the Gods seem to have been concern'd in them, for it was usual to swear by them all, or any of them; and of any perjurd Person they spoke in general, that he had offended the Gods, of which there are innumerable Instances; but they were thought chiefly, and more peculiarly to belong to *Jupiter's* care, and tho' perhaps this may not appear (as some think it doth) from the word *Jus-jurandum*, which they will have to be so call'd q. *Jovis jurandum*, yet it will sufficiently be prov'd by the plain Testimony of the Poet, that saith (b),

————— Ζεῦα θ', ὅς ὄρκων
Θνατοῖς ταμίας νεόμυσται.

And *Jove*, that over human Oaths presides.

The Gods, by whom *Solon* commanded the *Athenians* chiefly to swear in publick Causes, were three, viz. *Ιχέσιον*, *Καθάριον*, and *Εξακσίον*, or rather one *Jupiter* *Ορκιον*, by three Names; but in common Discourse they usually swore by any other of their Gods; sometimes by all the Gods in General, sometimes by the twelve great Gods, as, μὰ τὸς δώδεκα θεῶς: the *Spartans* usually, μὰ τὸ Σιδῶ, by *Castor*, and *Pollux*. The Women's Oaths were commonly by *Juno*, *Diana*, or *Venus*, or γὰρ τὸ θεῶν, i. e. by *Ceres* and *Proserpina*,

(a) Theogonia. (b) Euripid. Medea. v. 170.

which

which were appropriated to the Female Sex, according to *Phavorinus* (a), and never us'd by Men, except in Imitation of the Women. I do not mean that these were the only Oaths us'd by Women, for the contrary doth abundantly appear, but that they were the most usual ones, tho' they often swore by other Goddesses, and sometimes by the Gods, as you may find in *Aristophanes*.

Men generally swore by the God, to whom the Business they had in hand, or the Place they were in, did belong; in the Market they usually swore by *Ερμῆς Ἀγοραῖον*, or *Mercury*; Plough-men by *Ceres*; those that delighted in Horses, by *Nepune*. The *Athenians* (b) alone of all the *Greeks* us'd to swear by *Isis*, and the *Thebans* commonly by *Osiris*.

Sometimes, either out of Haste, or Assurance of their being in the right, or some such reason, they swore indefinitely by any of the Gods, leaving it to the Party, to whom they swore, to chose whomsoever he pleas'd of the Gods to be tryed by, in this manner, Ομνυμι μὲν πᾶσι τοῖς θεῶν: which Form you may find us'd by *Plato*, in his Dialogue intitl'd *Phaedrus*, and in *Aristænetus's* Epistle of *Euxithus* to *Pythæas*. Others, thinking it unlawful to use the name of God upon every slight Occasion, would say no more than μὰ τὸν, or, By &c. by a religious ellipsis omitting the Name; thus *Phavorinus* (c). *Isocrates* in *Stobæus* (d) tells us, that it was not allowable to swear by any of the Gods in any Suit of Law about Money. *Pythagoras*, as *Hierocles* (e) informs us, was very cautious in this Matter, for he rarely swore by the Gods himself, or allow'd his Schollars to do so: instead of them they us'd to swear by τὴν τετρακτίαν, or the number Four, saith *Plutarch* (f), as thinking the perfection of the Soul consisted in this Number, there being in every Soul, a Mind, Science, Opinion, and Sense. *Socrates* told his Schollars, that *Rhadamanthus*, the justest Man that ever liv'd, had expressly forbidden Men to swear by the Gods, but instead of them allow'd them the use of a Dog, Goose, Ramm, or such like Creatures; and in conformity to this Rule, that Philosopher was wont to swear γὰρ τὸν κυῖα, χλῖα, or πλάτανον, by a Dog, Goose, or Plane-tree. *Zeno*, the Father of the *Stoicks*, usually swore γὰρ τὴν κῆρυπαιον, i. e. by a Shrub that bears Capers. In *Ananias*, one swears by *Crambe*, i. e. Cole-wort, saith *Cælius* (g); the same Oath you may meet with in *Teleclides*, *Epicharmus*, and *Eupolis*, and it seems to have been us'd more especially amongst the *Ionians*.

Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as *Hippolytus* in *Euripides* (h),

————— καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖς ὁμνυμι.

(c) In voce Nη. (b) Alex. ab Alex. lib. V. cap. X Gen. Dier. (c) Voce Mα. (d) Ser. XXV. (e) In Pythag. Aur. Carm. v. 2. (f) Libro de Placit. Philosoph. (g) Antiq. Le&. lib. XXVII. cap. XXVIII. (h) Vers. 1025.

And

And by the solid Ground I swear.

Sometimes by Rivers, Fountains, Floods, the Elements, Sun, Moon, and Stars, all which they accounted very sacred Oaths (a). Sometimes they swore by any thing they made use of, as a Fisher by his Nets, a Souldier by his Spear, and this last was a very great Oath, if you will believe what (b) *Justin* hath reported, viz. That the Ancients paid divine Worship to this Weapon; in memory of which in later Ages it was usual for the Statues of the Gods to hold a Spear: and *Eusebius* (c) writes, that *Cæneus* erected a Spear, and commanded that it should be worshipp'd as a God. Kings and Princes usually swore by their Scepters, as we find every where in *Homer*; and this also was thought a solemn Oath, because the Scepter is a Badge and Ensign of Regal and Judicial Power.

They swore also by Men; sometimes by the Dead, of which that of *Demosthenes* is a famous Instance, when in an Oration to the People of *Athens*, he swore by τὰς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiantly lost their lives in the Battle at *Marathon*; sometimes they swore by the Living, saith *Stuckius* (d), and this was wont to be done either by their Σωτηρία, Health and Safety; or Αλγία, their Misfortunes; or their Names; or some of their Members, as their Eyes, Right-hand, especially their Head, for this was accounted a very solemn Oath,

πατρὸς κεφαλῇ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμῆμαι.

By my good Fathers Head, to me most dear,
This binding Oath I solemnly do swear,

Mr. Edw. Dechair of Linc. Coll.

Saith one in *Homer*; and *Helena*, swearing to *Menelaus*, calls it ἄγν' ὅρκον, a sacred Oath,

Ἀλλ' ἄγν' ὅρκον σὺν ἡμέρᾳ κατομῶσα.

Let your vow'd Head this sacred Oath confirm.

The reason of this was, because the Head was accounted the principal and most noble part of Man; or, as *Hansenius* (e) thinks, because it was the Hieroglyphick of Health.

Sometimes they swore by those who were dearest to them, as Parents, Children; or those they had an high esteem for, so the *Pythagoreans* us'd to swear by their master *Pythagoras*; nor did they this, as thinking him a God, or Heroe, but because he was a Person, whose

(a) Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier lib. V. cap. X. (b) Lib. XIII. (c) In Il. α'. (d) Libro de Sacris p. 93. (e) Libro de Jurament. Veterum.

memory they thought deserv'd a great Veneration, and whose Merits had exalted him to a near affinity with the Divine Nature.

The manner of taking Oaths, was sometimes by lifting up their hands to Heaven; whence *Apollo*, in the Poet, bids *Lachesis* χεῖρας ἀνατεῖναι: tho' *Hansenius* is of Opinion that this Custom was of later date. Sometimes in the μέγας ὅρκῳ, or Great and solemn Oath, they laid their hands upon the Altar, as appears from that saying of *Pericles*, who, being desired by a Friend to take a false Oath upon his account, reply'd, That he was his Friend to the Altars, and no farther; as likewise from the Story reported by *Diogenes Laertius* of *Xenocrates*, who, being a Man eminent for a strict and vertuous Life, and summon'd as a witness in a certain Cause, where having spoken what he knew of the Matter, went to the Altar to confirm his Evidence by Oath; but the Judges well knowing the Integrity of the Man, with unanimous Consent bid him forbear, and gave credit to him upon his bare Word. Instead of the Altar, saith *Pfeifer* (a), sometimes they made use of a Stone; for this he is beholding to *Swidas*, who hath taken it out of *Aristotle*, and *Philochorus*, and for a farther confirmation of it, hath cited these words out of the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Conon*, Τῶν τε παρόντων καθ' ἕνα ἡμῶν ἑπὶ ὧς ἢ λίθον ἄγοντες, καὶ ἐξορκῶντες. i. e. And bringing all us that were present, one by one, to the Stone, and there administering the Oath to us. True it is, indeed, that the *Athenians* did sometimes swear ὧς τὸν λίθον, but what this λίθῳ was, *Pfeifer* seems not to have understood; however the *Scholias*t upon *Aristophanes* (b) hath inform'd us what is meant by it, in his Comment upon this verse,

Τονδορίζοντες ὃ γῆρα τῷ λίθῳ προσέταμην.

we, tho' depress'd with Age,
With mutterings near Tribunals still approach.

Mr. Dechair.

Where he tells us, that by λίθῳ is meant the βῆμα, or Tribunal, in *Pnyx*, or publick Place where the *Athenian* Assemblies us'd to meet; the reason why it is so call'd he gives us in another place, where the *Comedian* calls it Πέτρα, a Stone, because it stood upon a Rock; by this you may understand what is meant by λιθομῶς, i. e. those that took, or impos'd an Oath in *Pnyx*. Instead of the Altar, in private Contracts, the Person swearing, according to the *Roman* fashion, laid his Hand upon the Hand of the Party to whom he swore: this Ceremony *Menelaus* in *Enripides* demands of *Helen*,

(a) Antiq. Græc. lib. II. cap. XXVII. (b) In *Acharnensibus*.

Ἐπὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς νύξιν δὲξίᾳς ἑμῆς δίη. (a)

T' unite our Hearts, our Hands let's friendly joyn.

In all compacts, and agreements it was usual to take each other by the Right-hand, that being the manner of plighting Faith; and this was done, either out of the respect they had to the number Ten, as some say, there being ten Fingers in the two Hands: or because such a Conjunction was a token of Amity and Concord; whence at all friendly Meetings they joyn'd Hands, as a sign of the Union of their Souls. The Right-hand seems to have been us'd rather than the Left, because it was more honourable, as being the Instrument by which Superiours give commands to those below them; whence *Crinagoras* in an Epigram, saith, 'Twas impossible that all the Enemies in the World should ever prevail against *Rome*,

ἄξει κε μένιν
Δεξιὰ σημαίνειν Κάϊσαι Παρσάην.

While God-like *Cesar* shall a Right-hand have
Fit for Command.

Mr. Dechair.

Beside this, in all solemn Leagues, and Covenants they made a Sacrifice, in honour of the Gods by whom they swore, in which they offer'd, for the most part, either a Boar, Ram, or Goat; sometimes all three; sometimes they us'd Bulls, or Lambs instead of any of them. Sometimes, when they kill'd the Boar, &c. they cut out the Stones, and took the Oath standing upon them. A Ram, or Boar thus us'd is properly call'd *Τομιάς*. The manner of the Ceremonies was thus; They first cut some of the Hair off the Head of the Victim, and gave part of it to all that were present, that all might share in the Oath (b),

Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τέχας, αὐτὰς ἔπειτα
Κήρυκε Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νείμαν αἰεσίσις.

Next from the Victim's Head he cut some Hair,
Which to the ruling Chiefs the Cryers bear.

Mr. Dechair.

The reason of this Custom *Eustathius* gives us out of *Sophocles*, as it is explain'd in these verses,

(a) *Helen*. v. 834. (b) *Il.* γ'.

Κακῶς κακῶς ἀδελφεὶ ἐκπέσει χθονὸς,
Γένος ἅπαντ' εἰζάν ἐξημημύτ'
Αὐτὸς ὅπως ὦρ' τινδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον.

Curse attend you, if e're false you prove,
Your days in bitter sorrows may you live,
And when Fate calls, (but may that lingring come)
May your dead Corps no fit Interment find:
Yet now I favours wish; may your whole Race
Plagues heap'd on Plagues vex, and at last cut off,
As I these Locks cut from the sacred Head.

Mr. Dechair.

After this, they pray'd to the Gods to bear witness of their Agreement, and punish the Person, that should first violate his Oath. This done, they kill'd the Victims by cutting their throats;

Ἄπο σωμαχὺς ἀρνῶν τάμνε νηλεῖ χαλκῷ.

Then with his piercing Sword their Throats he stabb'd.

For *σώμαχος* did originally signifie a Throat, as *Eustathius* observes upon that Place. Hence comes the Phrase *ὄρκια τέμνειν*, in *Latin*, *ferre fœdus*, i. e. to make a Covenant. This done, they repeated the Form of words, which both Parties were to confirm by mutual Oath, as appears from *Homer's* Description of the Truce made between the *Grecians* and *Trojans*.

After this, they made a Libation of Wine, which was at this time mix'd, to signifie the Conjunction and Concord that was between the Parties: then praying again to the Gods, they pour'd it forth, requesting that whoever should first break his Oath, might have his Blood, or Brains pour'd out in the same manner, as *Homer* (a) reports,

Οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀρυστάμβροι δειπάουσιν,
Ἐχθρον, ἢ δ' εὖχοντο θεοῖς αἰετηγέτησιν.
Ὡδὲ δὲ πρὶς εἰπέσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε
Ζεῦ κούδισε, μέγιστε, καὶ Ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,
Οὐ πότρεσι πρὸς τερσι ὅρκια πημήνευσαν,
Ὡδὲ σφ' ἐγκέφαλ' ἡμάδις ἔεισι, ὥς ὅδ' οἶν' ὄν',
Αὐτῶν, καὶ τεκέων, ἀλοχοὶ δ' ἄλλοισι μυγέειν.

(a) *Iliad*, citat.

Others to Heav'n send up their fervent Prayers,
 And to th' Immortal Beings, who th' Affairs
 Of Mankind rule, an awfull Worship pay,
 While streams of pour'd out Wine dye all the Way.
 Thus they address the Gods.
 Great, mighty *Jove*, and all ye Pow'rs divine,
 Whose Justice suffers nō unpunish'd Sin,
 Bear witness to the solemn Vows we make,
 And grant, the Party, which them first shall break,
 Whether it be, as now the ground Wine-stains,
 May so o're spread it with their dash'd out Brains.
 This light on them, and their Posterity,
 And may their Wives to all Men common be.

Mr. Despair.

It was very usual in all Oaths, to add a solemn Imprecation, wishing that some Evil might befall them, if they swore falsely: which was done, for the most part, upon one of these Accounts, viz. either for the satisfaction of the other Person, that he might give more credit to them; such an one was that of *Demosthenes*; Εἰ μὲν εὖ οἰκῶ, πολλά μοι ἀγαθὰ γένοιντο, εἰ δὲ ποικῶ, ἐξ ὧν δαίμονί μιν, If what I swear be true, (says he) may I enjoy much happiness; if not, may I perish utterly. Sometimes they did it, to lay a stricter and more inviolable Obligation upon themselves, lest they should at any time repent of their purpose, and take contrary Measures to what they then resolv'd upon. Upon which account it was, that the *Phocensians* (a), who afterwards built the City *Masilia* in *Gallia Narbonensis*, oblig'd themselves by an Oath, back'd with terrible Imprecations, never to think of returning home; whence came the Proverb Φωκέων ἀρά, applied to Men under the Obligation of a strict Oath.

To return, the Flesh on which they feasted at other Sacrifices, was in this thought unlawful to be eaten; and therefore, saith *Enstathius* (b), if the Person concern'd was at home, it was buried; for so *Priam* seems to have done with his Victims in the Sacrifice before mention'd: but if the Party was a Stranger, they threw it into the Sea, as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrific'd at one of *Agamemnon's* Oaths, or dispos'd of it some such way. Here you may observe, that if any unlucky or ominous Accident happen'd at the time of Sacrifice, they usually differr'd, or wholly refus'd to take the Oath, of which we have an instance in *Plutarch* (c), who reports, that when *Pyrrhus*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cessander* had concluded a Peace, and met to confirm it by solemn Oath, and Sacrifice; a Goat, Bull, and Ramm being brought out, the Ramm on a sudden fell dead; which some only laugh'd at, but *Theodorus* the Priest forbade *Pyrrhus* to swear, declaring, that Heaven by

(a) *Herodotus*, lib. I. & *Strabo*, lib. IV. (b) Il. γ'. (c) *Vita Pyrrhi*.

that

that omen, portended the Death of one of the three Kings, whereupon he refus'd to ratifie the Peace.

Alexander ab Alexandro (a), hath given us another manner of Swearing, which was thus; They took hold of their Garments, and pointing a Sword towards their Throats, invok'd the Heavens, Earth, Sun, and *Furies* to bear witness to what they were about to do; then they sacrific'd a Boar-pig, which they cast into the Sea, and, this being done, took the Oath.

The solemn way of taking an Oath amongst the *Molossians*, was by cutting an Ox into small pieces, and then swearing: whence any thing divided into small Parcels, was proverbially call'd *Bos ὁ Μολοσσίων*, as *Suidas* (b), and *Zenodotus* (c) witness; you may here by the way take notice of the mistake of *Erasmus* (d), who instead of *Bos Molossorum*, writes *Bos Homolossorum*, reading, I suppose, in the foremention'd Authors *βὺς Ομολοσσίων*, instead of *βὺς ὁ Μολοσσίων*.

Another manner of Swearing was that describ'd by *Plutarch* (e), who reports, that when the *Grecians* had overthrown, and utterly routed all the Forces of *Xerxes*, being flush'd with Victory, they enter'd upon a design of making a common Invasion upon *Persia*; whereupon, to keep them firm to their resolutions, *Aristides* made them all swear to keep the League, and himself took the Oath in the Name of the *Athenians*, and after *Carles* pronounc'd against him that should break the Vow, threw Wedges of red-hot Iron into the Sea; by which was signified, that the Oath should remain inviolable, as long as the Irons should abide in the Sea without swimming; which Custom is also mention'd by *Callimachus*, who, as he is cited by the *Scholias*t upon *Sophocles* (f), speaks thus of the *Phocensians*,

Φωκέων μέγρις καὶ μένη μέγας εἰν' ἀλλ' ἰμύδρῳ.

While these plung'd Irons the Sea's sure bottom keep.

There was also another manner of Swearing mention'd by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Dion*, which *Dion's* Wife and Sister impos'd upon *Carpus* the *Athenian*, being mov'd thereto by a suspicion that he was privy to a conspiracy against *Dion's* Life. It was thus; The Juror went into the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, or, as some say, of *Ceres Theophora*, or, the Law-giver; where after the performance of certain Ceremonies, he was cloath'd in the purple Vestment of the Goddess, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, as being in the presence of the Deity, took the Oath by all the Gods in the World; this the *Syracusians* accounted the most solemn and sacred Oath that could be.

Another Test the *Sicilians* generally made use of at *Palce*, a City of *Sicily*, where was a Fountain nam'd *Acadinus*, to which the Jurors came, and having written the Oath in a Tablet, threw it into the

(a) Lib. V. cap. X. (b) Voce B7c. (c) In Proverb. in B7c. (d) In Adagis. (e) *Vita Aristidis*. (f) *Antigon*. v. 270.

E c 3

water,

water, which if it could endure, and swim, the Person accus'd was believ'd Honest; but if it sunk, He was to be cast into the Flames immediately, as a perjur'd Villain; thus *Aristotle* (a), and *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (b).

Other ways also they had of clearing themselves from the imputation of Crimes; for instance, the Person accus'd sometimes took an Oath that he was innocent, creeping upon his Hands thro' the Fire; or holding in his Hands a red-hot Iron, call'd in Greek *Μύστρον*, as the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* reports; hereby those that were not guilty of the Crime laid to their charge, were sensible of no pain. Thus the Fellow in *Sophocles* (c) tells *Creon*, that all the Guards were ready to take upon Oath, that they neither buried *Polynices* themselves, nor knew who they were, that had done it;

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἔτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἶρεν χερσίν,
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεὸς ὀρκωμοτεῖν,
τὸ μὴτε δράσαι, μὴτε τῷ συνειδέναι
τὸ παράγμω βελάσαντι, μὴτ' εἰργασμένῳ.

There, Sir, we stood ready for all Commands,
Either hot Barrs to take up with our Hands,
Or pass thro' Fires, or by the Gods to swear,
That neither we the Body did interr,
Nor privy to the wicked Action to were.

Mr. Dechar.

A Custom not much differing from these, was practis'd in this Island by our Saxon Ancestors upon the same account, and was therefore call'd the *Fire-Ordeal*, for *Ordeal* in Saxon signifies Purgation. The manner of undergoing this Test was thus; The Person accus'd pass'd blind-fold, with bare Feet, over certain Plough-shares made red-hot, and plac'd at an unequal distance from one another; this *Ordealium*, *Edward* the Confessor forc'd his Mother *Emma* to undergo, to vindicate her Honour from the Scandal of incontinency with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*; and by this Tryal she gave a sufficient Demonstration of her innocence, for having pass'd over the Irons before she was aware of it, she cryed out, *When shall I come to the place of my Purgation*. And *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the Second, upon the like imputation, held a red-hot Iron in her Hand, and receiv'd no harm thereby. Thus much by way of Digression.

I shall beg the Reader's leave to mention but one sort more of these Purgation-oaths, which is describ'd by *Achilles Tattius* in his eighth Book, Of the Loves of *Clisophon* and *Lewcippe*. It is this; When a Woman was accus'd of Incontinency, she was to clear her self from this Charge by Oath, which was written in a Tablet, and hung about her

(a) Lib. de Mirabilibus. (b) In Περικλ. (c) *Antigone*. v. 270.

Neck,

Neck, then she went into the Water up to the mid-leg; where, if she was innocent, all things remain'd in the same manner as they were before; but if guilty, the very Water, saith he, swell'd as it were with rage, mounted up as high as her neck, and cover'd the Tablet; least so horrid and detestable a sight, as a false Oath, should be expos'd to the view of the Sun, and the World. Some other sorts of Oaths there were, of which I might give you a large account; had I not already transgress'd too far upon the Reader's patience, I shall therefore only add something concerning their religious observance of Oaths, and so conclude this Chapter.

What a religious Regard they had for Oaths, doth appear from this, that *ὑπόρκος*, or one that keep his Oaths, is commonly us'd for *ὁπίκτος*, a pious Person, as in *Hesiod*,

Οὐδέ τις εὐόρκος χάρις ἔσεται, ὅτε δικαίος.

Nor just, nor pious Souls shall Favour have.

Aristophanes (a) also has taken it in the same sense,

— εἰ π χαίρεις εὐόρκος τέρποις.

If you're with Justice pleas'd.

On the contrary, when they would express a wicked, forlorn wretch, they call'd him *ὀπίορκος*, perjurious; which was the worst, and most infamous Title they could fix upon him; and therefore *Aristophanes* (b) speaking of *Jupiter's* Lightning and Thunder-bolts, which, as some thought, were chiefly levell'd against the wicked, saith, *Εἴπερ βέλλει τὸς ὀπίορκους*, If perjur'd Villains are indeed so liable to the stroke, how comes it to pass that *Cleonymus*, and *Theodorus* escape so well? or that the poor *Dakis* is so often shatter'd to pieces, & γὰρ οὐδὲς ὀπίορκεῖ, Since it can never be perjur'd? Such as were common and customary swearers the Athenians branded with the name of *Αρδῆτι*, from *Ἀρδντὶς*, (saith *Hesychius*, and out of him *Phavorinus*) the name of the Place wherein Oaths were required of them, before their admission to publick Offices.

Those, that had sworn falsely, were, in some places, punish'd with Death; in others, suffer'd the same punishment that was due to the Crime, with which they charg'd an innocent Person; in others only a pecuniary Mult was impos'd on them. But tho' they might sometimes escape humane punishments, yet it was thought the Divine Vengeance would not fail to overtake them, and the Demons were always so cunning, as to pretend an utter Abhorrence, and Detestation of such enormous Crimes, of which I shall give you one remarkable instance out of *Herodotus* (c):

(a) *Plute*. (b) *Nubibus*. (c) *E-ero*.

There

There was at *Sparta* a Man nam'd *Glaucus*, fam'd over all *Greece* for his Justice, and Integrity; into his hands a certain *Milesian*, fearing some Danger at Home, and being encourag'd by the Character of the Man, deposited a large sum of Money; after some time, the Sons of this *Milesian* came to *Sparta*, and showing *Glaucus* the Bill, demanded the Money; *Glaucus* pretended he was wholly ignorant of the Matter, yet promis'd to recollect with himself, and if he found any thing due to them, to pay it; to do this he took four Months time, and having gain'd this delay, immediately took a Journey to *Delphi*, on purpose to ask *Apollo's* opinion, Whether it was lawful to perjure himself, thereby to secure the money? The God mov'd with indignation at the impudence of the Man, return'd him this answer,

Γλαῦκ' Επικυδεΐδῃ, τὸ γὰρ αὐτίκα κέρδιον ἔτα
Ορκῶ νικῆσαι, καὶ χεῖματα λήσασαί τε.
Οἶμαι· ἐπεὶ θάνατος γὰρ καὶ εὐορκον μῦθε ἀνδρά·
Ἀλλ' Ορκὸς πᾶσι δὲν ἀνώδυμος, ἔδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες,
Οὐδὲ πόδες· κραπνὸς δ' μετέρχετ', εἰσὶ καὶ πᾶσαν
Συμμάρτες ὀλέσῃ γενέω, καὶ οἶκον ἅπαντα.

No, *Glaucus*, no, I think you need not fear
To bilk your easie Creditor, and swear
He lent you no such sum; you'll gain thereby,
And this consider'd, you may Death defie,
Death of the Just alike an Enemy.
But know, that *Orcus* has a Monster Son
Ghastly of shape, who ever hastens on
To o'retake Perjuries; He'll n'ere forget
Your hainous Crime, but with revengeful Hate
Send Losses, racking Pangs, destructive Woe,
Till He your self with your whole Race undoe.

Mr. Dechair.

This prediction was fully accomplish'd in *Glaucus*, notwithstanding he afterwards restor'd the money; for his whole Family was in a few Generations utterly extinct, and so became a memorable example of Divine Vengeance. But tho' all the other Gods took upon them sometimes to punish this Crime, yet it was thought in a more peculiar manner to be the care of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Ορκιός*: and *Pausanias* reports, that in the *Βουλευτήριον*, or Council-Hall, at *Olympia*, there was a Statue of *Jupiter* with a Thunder-bolt in each Hand, and a plate of Brass at his Feet, on which were engraven certain Elegiacal verses, compos'd on purpose to terrifie Men from invoking that God to witness any Untruth. Beside this, the perjur'd Persons were thought to be haunted and distracted by the Furies, who every fifth day in the Month made Visitation, and walk'd their Rounds for that purpose, according to *Hesiod*,

I

Εν πέμπτῃ γὰρ φασὶν Ερινύας ἀμφιπολεῖν
Ορκὸν πινυμένας, τὸν Εἰς τέκε πῆμα ἑπὶ τοῖς (α).

All other Days the Furies quiet rest,
Only on Fifts the Perjur'd they molest,
Revenging *Orcus*, *Orcus* the sure Bane
Of all that dare his Deity profane.

Mr. Dechair.

Therefore *Agamemnon* swearing that he had never known *Briseis*, call'd the Furies to bear witness,

Ερινύες, αἱ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους πινυνται, ὅ, πῃ καὶ ἑπὶ τοῖς ὁμόσῃ.

Th' Infernal Furies I to witness call,
By whose Distractions perjur'd Villains fall.

Mr. Dechair.

Tho' the punishment here meant by *Homer*, seems to have been inflicted after Death, because he saith ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἀνθρώπους &c. or, the Men under the Earth; and that this is the meaning of that place doth appear from another Oath in *Homer*, where the Infernal Gods are invoc'd after this manner,

καὶ οἱ ὑπ' ἐνερθε καμόντας
Ἀνθρώπους πινυδτε, ὅ, πῃ καὶ ἑπὶ τοῖς ὁμόσῃ.

witness, ye Infernal Powers,
Who Souls below torment for breach of Oaths.

Mr. Dechair.

Yet some in that place read καμόντες, and then the meaning of it will be, That the Souls of decess'd Persons are employ'd in torturing perjur'd Villains.

In some places, even insensible Creatures were reported to take Revenge for this Crime, for it was generally believ'd in *Arcadia*, that no Man could forswear himself by the Waters of *Stryx*, without undergoing some severe and remarkable Punishment; and it is reported of the subterranean Cavern sacred to *Palemon* at *Corinth*, that no perjur'd person could so much as enter into it, without being made a memorable and terrible example of Divine Justice. In *Sicily*, at the Temple of the *Palici* in the City *Palice*, there were certain Crateres,

Fonts, or Lakes, (for so sometimes they are call'd) nam'd *Delli*, out of which there continually issued Flames, and Balls of Fire, with boyling, and stinking water; and thither People us'd to resort from all Quarters for the deciding of Controversies: if any one swore falsely near these Fonts, he was presently struck either Blind, Lame, or Dead in the place; or was swallow'd up, and drowned in the Lakes.

Notwithstanding these, and other Instances of the Divine displeasure at this Crime, and the Scandal and Infamy of it, yet was it so much practis'd by the *Grecians*, that they could never avoid the imputation of Treachery, and Perfidiousness; insomuch that *Græca fides*, came to be proverbially applied to Men, that were wavering, inconsistent, and unfit to be trusted, or relied upon; *Plautus*, in his Play call'd *Asinaria*, by *Græca fide mercari*, means to buy with ready money, as tho' without that a *Grecian* was not to be meddled with; his Words are these,

*Diem, aquam, Solem, Lunam, noctem, hæc argento non emo,
Cetera, quæ volumus uti, Græca mercamur fide.*

I buy not Day, nor Water, nor the Night,
Nor will my Gold the Sun, or Moon procure;
All other things, yet first I pay it down,
Right *Grecian* like, for Money I can have.

Mr. Dechair.

Tully likewise, in his Oration for *Flaccus*, speaks after the same manner; "That Nation, (says he) never made any conscience of observing their Oaths. And their own Country-man *Euripides* assents to him herein,

Πισὸν Ἑλλὰς οἶδεν εἶναι.

No sparks of Honesty *Greece* ever had.

And *Polybius* yet more fully in the sixth Book of his History, "Amongst the *Greeks*, (says he) if you lend only one Talent, and for security have ten Bonds, with as many Seals, and double the number of Witnesses, yet all these obligations can scarce force them to be honest". Yet *Ausonius* had a better Opinion of them, unless his words were Ironie and ridicule; when he said to *Paulus*,

*Nobiscum invenies κατενόπλια, si libet uti
Non Poena, sed Græca fide.*—————

At my House too, promise you'll honest be,
A wanton *Muse's* Trifles you may see.

Mr. Dechair.

The *Thessalians*, in particular, were infamous for this Vice; whence, as *Zenodorus* hath inform'd us, by *Θεσσαλῶν νόμοισι*, is meant Fraud and Deceit;

Deceit; and the other Proverb, *viz.* *Θεσσαλῶν σέρισμα*, seems to have had it's rise from the treacherous and double Dealing of the *Thessalians* with their Confederates; a memorable instance of which we have in the *Peloponnesian War*, where in the the midst of a Battel they turn'd Sides, and deserting the *Athenians*, went over to the *Lacedæmonians*: which reason seems more probable than that mention'd by *Zenodorus*, *viz.* Their solemn Vow of an *Hecatomb* of Men, made every Year to *Apollo*, without any design of ever paying it; which they did in imitation of their Fore-father *Thessalus*, who made such a Vow to *Apollo*, but considering how impious and unpleasing to the God it was like to be, neglected the performance of it. The *Locrians* were not much less infamous on the same account, whence those Proverbial Sayings, *Λοκρὸι τὰς συνθήκας*, and, *Λοκρῶν συνθήματα*, do usually denote fraudulent Persons, and Practices, as we learn from *Zenodorus*. I shall forbear to enumerate any more particulars, only I cannot pass by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they were the most renown'd of all the *Grecians* for their Valour, Temperance, and other Virtues, so were the most scandalous for their Treachery, and Contempt of Oaths; whence they are by *Lycophron* (a) call'd *Αἰμῶλαι*, which the *Scholias*t upon that place expounds, *ψεύσαι, καὶ δόλαι*, i. e. lyars, and deceitful; *Euripides* (b) bearing him witness herein, when he saith,

Σπάρτης ἔνοικαι, δόλια βελούματα.

Spartans, fam'd ever for base Treacheries.

Aristophanes speaks yet more plainly and fully, when he tells us, They neither accounted Altars, Promises, nor Oaths sacred; his words are these,

Οἶσιν ἔτε βωμοὶ, ἔτε πίστις, ἔθ' ὅρκος μάλιστα.

Who neither Altars, Oaths, nor Trust revere.

And that this was not altogether a Calumny, the *Aphorism* of *Lysander*, one of their most eminent Generals, doth sufficiently evidence, *viz.* *Ἐκπατήν χεὶρ πάντας μὲν ἀπραχάλοισι, πολέμιος δ' ὅρκους*. Boys, saith he, are to be deceiv'd with Dice, or Nine-pins, but Enemies with Oaths. Others there are, that will have this to be the Saying of *Dionysius* the Tyrant (c). However that be, 'tis certain the *Lacedæmonians*, tho' perhaps more just and punctual in private Affairs, had very small regard for an Oath in publick Business; for even their Great *Agessilaus* seems to have thought it but a weak Obligation,

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 1124. (b) *Andromach.* v. 445. (c) *Alex.* ab *Alex.* lib. V. cap. X.

whenever it stood in competition with the Publick good, that great Mark, and ultimate End, to which they thought all their Actions were to be directed; insomuch that it was accounted lawful to promote it by the most unjust Means in the World; for, as *Plutarch* (a) affirms, to serve their Countrey was the Principle and Spring of all their Actions, nor did they account any thing just or unjust, by any measures but that.

The *Athenians* seem to have had some few grains more of honesty, as the story of *Themistocles* in *Plutarch* doth evidence; for He telling the People He had form'd a Design, which, if accomplish'd, would be very advantageous to the Common-wealth, but might not, at that time, be communicated to the whole Assembly; they order'd him to impart it to *Aristides* in private, who having heard the Matter, came and reported to the People, that it was indeed a very beneficial Contrivance, but withal the most unjust in the World; whereupon they immediately commanded *Themistocles* to desist from his Intention. *Dionegenian*, in his Book of Collections, tells us that *Ἀθῆνός μάρτυς*, was taken for a sincere, and uncorrupt Witness; as also *Ἀθὴν πίστις*, for a true, honest, and untainted Faith: and tho' some would have this Proverb taken from the Goddess *Fides*, who had a Temple at *Athens* mention'd by *Plautus* (b); and others not from the Manners of the People, but the nature of their Soil, which was so unfruitful, that it brought forth just as much as was sown, and no more, whence *Atrica fides*, is applied to any Man that restores all that he was entrusted with; yet *Velleius Paterculus* (c) assures us, it was taken from their Faithfulness, and unshaken Loyalty to the *Romans*; whence *Atrica fides*, is by *Flaccus* (d) call'd *certa*; by *Horace* (e) *impolluta*; and by *Silius* (f) *Pura*; and many other specious Epithets you may find given to it by the Poets. Notwithstanding all this, their Honesty was not so firm and unmoveable, but that it might sometimes be shaken by the alluring and specious Temptation of the Publick good; I will conclude this Chapter with an instance of it, taken out of *Plutarch* (g), which is the more remarkable, and more clearly evidences the Disposition and Temper of that State, because it was approv'd by the Consent of the People, and put in Execution by *Aristides*, a Man of greater renown for justice and upright Dealing, than any that City ever brought forth. He, when the *Grecians* (after they had utterly routed all the remainders of *Xerxes's* numerous Army) design'd a common Invasion upon *Persia*, took a solemn Oath in the Name of the *Athenians* to observe the League; but afterwards, when things were brought to such a pass, as constrain'd them to govern with a stronger Hand, than was consistent with it, advis'd them to throw the Perjury upon him, and manage Affairs, as their convenience required. Upon the whole matter, *Theophrastus* tells us, (saith *Plutarch*) that this Person was

(a) *Vita Agesilae*. (b) In *Aulul*. (c) *Histor. lib. I.* (d) *Argon. lib. IV.* (e) *Lib. III. Od. XVI.* (f) *Bell. Punic. lib. XIII.* (g) *Vit. Aristidis.*

in his own private Affairs, and those of his Fellow-Citizens nicely just, but in publick Matters did many things according to the State, and Condition of his Countrey, for whose sake He frequently committed Acts of Injustice. Then he adds, that it was reported of him, that to one who was in debate, Whether he should convey a certain treasure from *Delos* to *Athens*, contrary to the League, at the perswasion of the *Samians*, He should say, *That the thing was not just, but expedient.*

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Grecian Divination, and Oracles, in general.

MANTIKH, is a general Name for all sorts of Divination, and signifies the knowledge of Things obscure, or future, which cannot be attain'd by any Ordinary, or Natural Means. It is divided by *Plato* (a), (who is follow'd herein by *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*) into two Species, one of which is call'd *ἀρεχον, ἀδίσταλον*, and *naturalis*, i. e. unartificial, or natural Divination, as not being attain'd by any Rules, Precepts, or Observations, but inspired into the Diviner, without his taking any farther Care or Trouble about it, than to purifie and prepare himself to receive the Divine Afflatus. With this sort were all those endued, that deliver'd Oracles, and fore-told future Events by Inspiration, without observing any external Signs, or Accidents; such were the *Sybits*, and other Enthusiasts. Some there are, that reduce Divination by Dreams under this Species, because in them Revelations were made without any Pains, or Art of the Dreamers; but herein lyes the mistake of this Argument, that not the Dreamers, but the Interpreters of Dreams were the Diviners; and that their skill was the effect of Art and Observation, is evident from the many Books written upon that Subject, and the various Signs deliver'd in them to make Conjectures by; in like manner, it was not so much the business of an *Augur* to see the Birds of Divination, which might casually happen to any rude and unskilful Fellow, but after he had seen them, to interpret what was portended by them.

These therefore, with others of the like Nature, are to be referr'd to the second Species of Divination, call'd *Τεχνη*, or Artificial, because it was not obtain'd by immediate Inspiration, but was the effect of long Experience, and Observation; as Sooth-saying: or depended

(a) *Phaedro.*

chiefly upon humane Art, Invention, or Imposition, which nevertheless was not suppos'd to be altogether destitute of divine Direction and Concurrence; such was Divination by Lots.

I shall begin with the first sort of Divination, as having a more immediate dependance on the Gods; and first with the noblest part of it, I mean Oracles, which are call'd in Greek *χρημαί, χρημαδία, χρημαδίσματα, μαντήματα, δεωρέματα, διαπίσματα, δέσματα, &c.* The Interpreters, or Revealers of Oracles, *χρημολόγοι, &c.* The Consulters, *δεωρέται, &c.* The Places, in which they were deliver'd, *χρησεία, μαντεία, &c.* Tho' I am not ignorant that some of these Names were sometimes applied to other sorts of Divination.

Of all the sorts of Divination, Oracles had always the greatest Repute, as being thought to proceed in a more immediate manner from the Gods; whereas others were deliver'd by Men, and had a greater dependance on them, who might either out of Ignorance mistake, or out of Fear, Hopes, or other unlawful and base Ends conceal, or betray the Truth; whereas they thought the Gods, who were neither obnoxious to the Anger, nor stood in need of the Rewards, nor car'd for the Promises of Mortals, could not sure be prevail'd upon to do either of them. Upon this account, Oracles obtain'd so great Credit, and Esteem, that in all Doubts and Disputes their Determinations were held sacred and inviolable; whence as *Strabo* (a) reports, vast numbers flock'd to them to be resolv'd in all manner of Doubts, and ask Counsel about the management of their Affairs: insomuch, that no Business of great Consequence and Moment was undertaken, scarce any Peace concluded, any War wag'd, any new Form of Government instituted, or new Laws enacted, without the advice and approbation of an Oracle; *Crasus* (b), before he durst venture to declare War against the *Persians*, consulted not only all the most famous Oracles in Greece, but sent Embassadors as far as *Libya*, to ask advice of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Minos* (c), the *Cretan* Law-giver, convers'd with *Jupiter*, and receiv'd instructions from him, how he might new model his Government. *Lycurgus* also made frequent Visits to the *Delphian Apollo*, and receiv'd from him that Plat-form, which afterwards he communicated to the *Lacedaemonians*. Nor does it matter whether these things were really true or not, since 'tis certain they were believ'd to be so; for hence appears what great Esteem Oracles were in, at least amongst the Vulgar sort, when Law-givers, and Men of the greatest Authority were forc'd to make use of these Methods to win them into Compliance. My Author goes yet higher, and tells us, that inspired Persons were thought worthy of the greatest Honours and Trusts; insomuch, that sometimes we find them advanc'd to the Throne, and invested with Regal Power; for that being admitted to the Counsels of the Gods, they were best able to provide for the Safety and Welfare of Mankind.

This reputation stood the Priests, that had their dependance on the

(a) Lib. XVI. (b) *Herodot.* Lib. I. (c) *Strabo* loc. cit.

Oracles, in no small stead; for finding their Credit thus thoroughly establish'd, they allow'd no Man to consult the Gods; before he had offer'd costly Sacrifices, and made rich Presents to them: whereby it came to pass, that none but great and wealthy Men were admitted to ask their Advice, they alone being able to defray the charges required on that account; which contributed very much to raise the esteem of Oracles among the common People; Men generally being apt to admire the things they are kept at some distance from; and, on the other hand, to condemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore to keep up their Esteem with the Better sort, even they were only admitted upon a few stated Days; at other times neither the greatest Prince could purchase, nor Persons of the greatest Quality any ways obtain an Answer; *Alexander* himself was peremptorily denied by the *Pythia*, till she was by down-right force compell'd to ascend the *Tripus*, when finding her self unable to resist any longer, she cry'd out *Ανίκητος εί, Thou art invincible*; which words were thought a very lucky Omen, and accepted instead of any further Oracle.

As to the causes of Oracles, it has been disputed whether they were the revelations of *Demons*, or only the delusions of crafty Priests. *Van Dale*, a Dutch Wit, has taken pains to write a large Treatise in defence of the later Opinion; but his Arguments, I think, are not of such force, but that they might without difficulty be refuted, if either my Design required, or Time permitted me to answer them. However that be, it was the common Opinion, that *Jupiter* was the first Cause of this and all other sorts of Divination, 'twas He that had the Books of Fate, and out of them reveal'd either more or less, as he pleas'd, to inferior *Demons*; for which reason he was nam'd *Πανομομαίς*, as *Eustathius* tells us in his Comment upon this verse of *Homer* (a),

Ενθα πανομομαίω Ζηνὶ ἔχζεσκον Ἀχαιοί.

then at he holy Fane

To mighty *Jove* was the glad Victim slain,
To *Jove* from whom all Divination comes,
And inspir'd Oracles unriddle future Dooms.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Of the other Gods *Apollo* was reputed to have the greatest skill in making Predictions, and therefore it was one of his Offices to preside over, and inspire all sorts of Prophets, and Diviners; but this was only in subordination to *Jupiter*, and by converse with, and participation from him, as *Aeschylus* (b) gives us to understand, when he saith,

(a) *Iliad.* 8. v. 250. (b) *Sacerdotibus.*

Στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα, ταῦτα γὰρ πατρὸς
Ζεὺς ἐγκραθεῖ Λοξία. ———

Send, quickly send, for so by *Jove* inspir'd
Phœbus commands. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

On the same account, in another place (a), when he brings in *Apollo*, commanding Men to reverence his own Oracles, He adds, They must also pay due respect to those of *Jupiter*, without mentioning any of the other Prophetick Deities; His words are these,

Καὶ γὰρ τε χερσὶν ἄνδρ' ἐμὸν τε, καὶ Διὸς
Ταρβέειν κελεύω. ———

To mine, and *Jove's* most sacred Oracles
Pay due Obeysance. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

The manner of delivering Oracles was not in all Places, nor at all Times the same; in some Places the Gods reveal'd them by Interpreters, as did *Apollo* at *Delphi*; in others, more immediately, giving answers themselves, which they either pronounc'd *viva voce*, or return'd by Dreams, or Lots, (the former of which were suppos'd to be inspir'd, and the latter directed by the Gods) or some other Way. At some places, both these ways were us'd; for instance, those that consulted *Trophonius*, after having propos'd their Questions, first receiv'd an answer in a Dream; and, if that was obscure, and hard to be understood, had the meaning of it interpreted by Men kept for that purpose, and instructed in that Art by the Deity: several other ways also this God us'd to give answers to Enquirers, as *Pausanias* reports in his Description of *Boeotia*; and in another place (b), the same Author tells us, an Answer was return'd by him in these Heroick Verses,

Πεῖν δεῖ συμβαλέειν ἐχθροῖς, σίσσασθε τροπαιον,
Λαοῖδ' αὖ κοσμήσαντες ἐμῷ, πλὴν εἴσατο νηῶ
Ὅδεος Αἰετομήνης Μιαιμένης, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοὶ
Ἀνδρῶν Δυσμενέων φίλῳ στρατὸν Ἀακισίων.

Let not the bloody Ensigns be display'd,
Nor least attack upon your Foes be made,
Before an ample Trophy you erect
And to my hallow'd Shield pay due respect,

(a) *Eumenidibus*. (b) *Messenis*.

Which

Which in the Temple to my growing praise
The valiant *Aristomenes* did raise:
Thus when you've done, you may expect that I
Will crown these toils of War with joyful Victory.

Mr. Hutchin.

This answer was given to the *Thebans* before the Battle at *Leuctra*, wherein, by the conduct of *Epaminondas*, they gave the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates a notable Overthrow.

Thus much of Oracles in general. I shall in the next place endeavour to give a particular Description of them, especially such as were of any Note, together with a short account of the Ceremonies required of those that consulted them, the manner of returning Answers, with other things remarkable in each of them. And because *Jupiter* was reputed to be the first Author of them; I shall begin with those, that were thought to be more immediately deliver'd by Him.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Oracles of Jupiter.

DODONA (a), is by some thought to have been a City of *Thessaly*; by others it was plac'd in *Epirus*; and others, to reconcile these two Opinions, will have two *Dodona's*, one in *Thessaly*, and another in *Epirus*. They that place it in *Epirus*, (and that is generally believ'd to have been the seat of the Oracle, whether there was another *Dodona* in *Thessaly*, or not) are no less divided in their opinions about it; for some of them will have it in *Thesprotia*, others in *Chaonia*, or *Molossia*; but *Eustathius* (b) has undertaken to decide the Controversie, telling us that it did indeed once belong to the *Thesprotians*, but afterwards fell into the hands of the *Molossians*; and He is herein confirm'd by *Strabo* (c).

It was first built by *Deucalion*, who in that universal Deluge, wherein the greatest part of *Greece* perish'd, retreated to this place; which by reason of it's height secur'd him from the waters. Hither resorted to him all that had escap'd from the Inundation, with whom he peopled his new-built City, calling it *Dodona*, either from a Sea-nymph of that name, or *Dodon* the Son, or *Dodone* the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Europa*; or from the River *Dodon*, or *Don*, for so it is call'd by *Stephanus*; or, as some say, from *Dodanim* the Son of *Javan*, who, they tell us, was Captain of a Colony sent to inhabit those parts of *Epirus*. At

(a) *Eustath. Iliad. B. p. 254. & Il. π'. p. 1074. Edit. Basil. Stephanus Byzant.*
(b) *Udyll. E. p. 544.* (c) *Geogr. lib. X.*

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the same Time, *Deucalion* is said to have founded a Temple, which He consecrated to *Jupiter*, who is thence call'd *Dodoneus*. This was the first Temple in *Greece*, but the Oracle seems to have been a considerable Time before it; for *Herodotus* in the second Book of his History reports, that it was the most ancient of all Oracles in *Greece*, which would be false, had it not been before *Deucalion's* time; for He, as the Poets tell us, having escap'd the Deluge, consulted the Oracle of *Themis* on Mount *Parnassus*, what means he should use to replenish the Countrey with People; and the same Oracle, they tell us, was joyntly possess'd by the *Earth*, and *Neptune*, before it belong'd to *Themis*.

The Original of it, tho', like all other things of such Antiquity, wrapp'd up in Fables, I will repeat to you out of the fore-mention'd place of *Herodotus*, where he hath given us two accounts of it, the first of which, He tells us, he receiv'd from the Priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Aegypt*; it was this: That the *Phœnicians* had carried away two Priestesses from that place, one of which they sold into *Libya*, the other into *Greece*; that each of these had erected the first Oracle in those Nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodoneus*. The other account was given him by the Priestesses at *Dodona*, and confirm'd by all those that ministred in the Temple, viz. That two black Pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, one of them came to *Libya*, where she commanded that an Oracle should be erected to *Hammon*; the other to *Dodona*, where she sat upon an Oak-tree, and speaking with an Humane voice, order'd that there should be in that place an Oracle of *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion about the matter, which was this; That if the *Phœnicians* did really carry two Women from *Thebes*, and sell one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, it might be probable that she, that was transported into *Greece*, was sold to the *Thesprotians* in that Countrey, which in his time was call'd *Hellas*, but formerly nam'd *Pelasgia*, where she instituted the Oracle to *Jupiter*, and gave instructions after what manner he was to be worshipp'd. To confirm this conjecture, he adds, that those two Oracles have a near resemblance to each other. Moreover he tells us, the two Women were said to be Black, because they came from *Aegypt*; and were call'd *Doves*, because their language was barbarous, and as unintelligible as that of Birds; afterwards when they had learn'd the *Greek* Tongue, they were said to speak with an Humane voice. *Eustathius* (a) gives two reasons more for this appellation; the first is, That they were call'd *Πέλειαί*, or *Doves*, γ. *Πελοισιάντις*, because they made their predictions by the observation of those Birds; as they, who made use of Crows in Divination, were nam'd *Κορακοισιάντις*. The other reason is, that in the *Molossian* language old Women were call'd *Πέλειαί*, and old Men *Πέλεις*, and that those Prophetesses being old Women, either by a mistake of the word, or a Poetical equivocation were com-

(a) *Odyss.* E. p. 544, 545. Edit. *Basil.*

monly

monly call'd *Doves*; and why aged Persons should be thus term'd, the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* (a) informs us; for, saith He, the three old Prophetesses were call'd *Πέλειαί*, γ. *Πεπολιωμέναί*, because of their grey Hair. I will add in the last place *Servius's* reason, which he gives us in his Comment upon *Virgil's* tenth *Eclogue*, viz. That in the *Thesalian* Tongue the word *πείλαις* is us'd to signify a Prophetess, as well, as a Dove; and it seems also no unusual thing amongst the ancient *Greeks*, for Prophetesses to have the name of *Doves*, and therefore the Enigmatical Poet calls *Cassandra* by that Name twice in one Sentence (b),

Τῆμ' ὅ βιαίως φάσατο πρὸς τόγυς λέγος
Γαμφᾶσιν ἄρπης οἶνὰς ἐκκυθήσομαι.

As when a rav'nous Vultur first espies
A trembling Pigeon, straight-way fousing flies
Thro' liquid Air, to bear the with'd for Prize,
To his Ætherial Nest; so I forlorn
Shall as a weak, and tim'rous Dove be born,
B' insulting Ajax to a forreign Bed.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Others say, that this Oracle was founded by the *Pelasgians*, who were the most ancient of all the Nations that inhabited *Greece*; of this Opinion is *Strabo* (c), being led hereunto by the Testimony of *Homer*, who calls the same *Jupiter*, by the two Names of *Dodoneus* and *Pelasgius*, in this verse (d),

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ. ———

Pelasgian Jove, that far from *Greece* resides
In cold *Dodona*. ———

Hesiod, whose Testimony also *Strabo* makes use of, is more plain, when he saith,

Δωδώνῳ, φηγόν τε Πελασγῶν ἔδραν ἦκεν.

He to *Dodona* came, and th' hallow'd Oak,
The Seat of the *Pelasgi*. ———

And this seems somewhat more probable; especially, if what is commonly reported of *Deucalion*, deserve any Credit, viz. That he sav'd himself from the Deluge, not on the Top of the Mountain at *Dodona*, but on

(a) *Trachin.* v. 176 (b) *Cassandr.* v. 357. (c) *Geogr. lib.* VII. (d) *Il.* π.

Parnassus, where was the Oracle of *Themis* consulted by him after his deliverance. *Strabo* relates another fabulous Opinion concerning the foundation of this Oracle, out of *Suidas's Thessalica*, who, (saith my Author) out of a design to gratifie the *Thessalians* with a new invented Fable, hath reported that the Oracle of *Dodona* was translated into *Epirus* out of *Pelassgia*, a Countrey of *Thessaly*, being accompanied by a great number of Women, from whom the Prophetesses in after-ages were defended, and that *Jupiter* receiv'd from them the appellation of *Pelagicus*.

The Persons, that deliver'd the Oracles, were, at the first, Men, as *Strabo* (a), and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd out of *Homer*, who calls them in the masculine gender *Ἱπορίτας*, and *Σελλῆς* (c),

Ζεῦ, ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, πηλοῖσι νείων,
Δωδώνης μεδῶν θυχεμίρε· ἀμφὶ δ' Σελλοὶ
Σοὶ νείουσ' ἱπορίται ἀνιπρόποδες χαμαιῶναι.

Parent of Gods, and Men, *Pelassgian* Jove,
King of *Dodona*, and it's hallow'd Grove;
King of *Dodona*, whose intemp'rate Coast
Bleak Winds infest, and Winters chilling Frost,
Round thy Abode thy Priests with unwash'd Feet
Lie on the naked Earth. ———

Mr. Huchin.

Where some, saith *Eustathius* upon that place, read ἀμφὶ δέ σ' Ἑλλοι, making those Priests to be call'd *Helli*; but the former Lesson, he tells us, is generally receiv'd. The *Selli*, are so call'd from *Sellæ*, a Town in *Epirus*; or, according to *Eustathius*, from the River call'd by *Homer* (d) *Selleis*,

Ἡγάγεν ἐξ Εφύρης, ποταμῷ ὑπὸ Σελλήεντο.

Whom He from *Ephyra*, and *Selleis* brought.

But herein he contradicts *Strabo*, who tells us in the fore-mention'd place, that this River doth not belong to *Ephyra* in *Thesprotia*; for that neither there, nor yet in *Molossia* was ever any River of that Name, but to another *Ephyra*, which is a City of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*. The same were call'd *Ellis*, or *Helli*, from *Ellus* the *Thessalian*, from whom *Ellopiea*, a Countrey about *Dodona* receiv'd it's name; and *Philochorus* in *Strabo* is of opinion, that these Priests were nam'd *Ellis*, from this Region; but *Pliny* will have the *Selli*, and the Inhabitants of *Ellopiea*, to have been a different People. *Apollodorus* in *Strabo*, thinks they

(a) Loc. cit. (b) Loc. citat. (c) Loc. cit. (d) *Iliad*. ὁ. v. 531.

were

were call'd *Ἑλλοι*, ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλῶν, from the Fens and Marshes near the Temple of *Dodona*. From the two Epithets of ἀνιπρόποδες, and χαμαιῶναι, given them by *Homer*, *Strabo* concludes they were barbarous and unciviliz'd; *Eustathius* (a) tells us, they were nam'd χαμαιῶναι, because they slept upon the Ground in Skins, and in that posture expected Prophetical Dreams from *Jupiter*; Others, he tells us, would have them call'd χαμαιῶναι, because they did not lie in Beds, but upon the bare Ground; and ἀνιπρόποδες, because they never went out of the Temple, and therefore had no occasion to wash their Feet; whence *Euripides* in his *Erechtheus*, saith of them,

Πηγαῖσι δ' ἔχ' ὑγραίνουσι πόδας. ———

Nor bath'd their Feet in any purling Stream.

Lastly, others will have these Names to be understood in a Symbolical and Figurative sence, thus; Χαμαιῶναι μὲν, ἀνιπρόποδες δ', τὰς χαμαὶ ἔ' ἐναΐζοντο, ἀνιπρόποδες δ' τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀλυσσάταις ἐν μαντείαις φιλοσοφίαν. i. e. Their Bodies indeed did lie upon the Ground, but their Minds, by the assistance of Prophetical Philosophy, mounted up higher, soaring above these lower Regions.

There is a report grounded upon the Testimony of *Pherecydes*, that before the time of the *Selli*, the Temple of *Dodona* was inhabited by the seven Daughters of *Atlas*, that were the Nurses of *Bacchus*, and from this Temple call'd *Dodonides*. Their names were these; *Ambrosia*, *Eukloia*, *Pasitoe*, *Coronis*, *Plexaure*, *Pytho*, and *Tyche*, or *Tythe*. However that be, 'tis certain that in later Ages, the Oracles were pronounc'd by three old Women; and *Strabo* tells us this Change was made, when *Jupiter* admitted *Dione* to cohabit within, and receive Divine honours in this Temple; nor was it strange or unusual that the same Temple should belong to two Deities, for *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were worshipp'd in the Temple at *Delphi*, *Apollo* and *Branchus*, or, as *Sicphanus* (b) affirms, *Jupiter* and *Apollo* at *Miletus*.

Strabo (c) in his Description of *Bæotia* tells us, that of the People consulting this Oracle, all others receiv'd Answers from Women, but the *Bæotians* receiv'd theirs from Men; and the reason of this Custom we have in the same place, which was this; In a War between the *Bæotians* and *Pelassgians*, the *Bæotians* coming to *Dodona*, to enquire of *Jupiter* the event of the War, receiv'd Answer; That their Enterprize should have success, if they would act wickedly; upon this the *Bæotians* suspecting that the Prophetess spoke in favour of the *Pelassgians*, (for that they were the first founders of that Oracle) seiz'd her, and cast her into the fire, justifying the Law-fulness of the Fact.

(a) *Il. π. p.* 1074. Edit. Basil. (b) Voce Διδυμῶ. (c) Geogr. lib. IX.

On the other hand, they that ministred in the Temple thinking it impious to put to death (especially in so sacred a place) Persons uncon-
demn'd, would have had them refer the matter to the two sur-
viving Prophetesses; but the *Bæotians* alledging that no Laws in the
World permitted Women to do Judgment, it was agreed that two
Men should be in joynt Commission with them; when the time to pass
Sentence was come, they were condemn'd by the Women, and ab-
solv'd by the Men; whereupon (as was usual when the number of
Voices was equal on both sides) the *Bæotians* were acquitted, and dis-
miss'd: Ever after it was establish'd, that Men only should give An-
swers to the *Bæotians*.

The Prophets of this Temple were commonly call'd *Tomiri*, the
Prophetesses *Tomiræ*, from *Tomirus*, a Mountain in *Thesprotia*, at the
Foot of which stood the Temple. So commonly was this word made
use of, that it came at last to be a general name for any Prophet;
for so *Hesychius* expounds it, and *Lycophron* (a) hath us'd it in this
sense, applying it to *Prylis* the Son of *Mercury*,

Τόμυρῃ περὶ τὰ λῶσα νημερτέστατε.

The best of Prophets, and the truest too.

Near the Temple there was a sacred Grove full of Oaks, in which
the *Dryades*, *Fauni*, and *Satyri* were thought to inhabit, and were
frequently seen dancing and sporting wantonly under the shade of the
Trees. Before sowing was invented, when Men made use of A-
corns instead of Corn, those of this Wood were very much e-
steem'd; insomuch, that *Virgil* hath mention'd them by way of emi-
nence (b),

*Liber, & alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
Chaonia pingui glandem mutavit arista.*

*Bacchus, and Ceres, taught by you the Field
Doth Grain for old Chaonian Acorns yield,
And Wine for Water.*

Mr. Hutchin.

And again in the same Book (c),

*Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere serram
Instituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacra
Deficerent silvæ, & victum Dodona negaret.*

Acorns, and Wildings, when the Woods deny'd,
Nor old Dodona longer Food supply'd,

(a) *Cassandr. v. 223.* (b) *Georg. v. 27.* (c) *Verf. 146.*

Then

Then *Ceres* taught to till the pregnant Earth.

Mr. Hutchin.

These Oaks were endued with an Humane Voice, and Prophetical
Spirit, for which reason they were call'd *Προφητεύοντες*, and *μυθη-
γοί* *δρυες*, i. e. speaking, and prophesying Oaks. And *Argo*, the
Ship of the *Argonauts*, being built with the Trees of this Wood,
was endu'd with the same Power of speaking, and therefore *Ly-
cophron* (a) calls it *λάλῳδρον κίεον*, a chattering Mag-pye. The
reason of which fiction some think was this; The Prophets when they
gave Answers, plac'd themselves in one of these Trees, (for some will
only allow this vocal Faculty to one of them) and so the Oracle
was thought to be utter'd by the Oak, which was only pronounc'd
out of it's hollow Stock, or from amongst it's Branches.

I must not omit the other way of Propheying us'd in this place,
which was by the sound of brazen Kettles, which, as *Demon* in *Suidas*
reports, were so artificially plac'd about the Temple, that by striking
one of them the sound was communicated to all the rest. *Aristotle*, (saith
my Author) was of another opinion, and reports, that there were two
Pillars, on one of which was plac'd a Kettle, upon the other a Boy
holding in his hand a Whip, with lashes of Brass, which being by the
violence of the Wind struck against the Kettle, caus'd a continual
sound; whence came the Proverb *Δωδωναίων χαλκίον, ὅτι τῶν μι-
μολογόντων*, (saith he) or rather, *ὅτι τῶν μακρολογόντων*, for it was
applied to talkative Persons. Another Saying we have not much dif-
ferent from the former, *νιξ. Κερκυραίων μάλιστα*, which (as some are
of opinion) was taken from this Whip, which, together with the Boy,
and Kettle, were all dedicated by the *Corcyreans* (b). About what Time,
or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain, but
Strabo (c), who flourish'd under *Augustus Cæsar*, saith, that in his
time the Gods had, in a manner, deserted that, and most other Oracles.

The same Author (d), in his Description of *Elis*, makes mention of
an Oracle of *Olympian Jupiter*, which was once famous, but did not
continue long in Repute; yet the Temple, in which it stood, still pre-
serv'd it's ancient Splendor, and was adorn'd with magnificent Stru-
ctures, and enrich'd with Presents from every part of *Greece*. *Pindar* also
hath taken notice of an Altar dedicated to *Jupiter* at *Pisa*, where An-
swers were given by the Posterity of *Iamus* (e).

There was another very ancient Oracle of *Jupiter* in *Crete*, mention'd
also by *Strabo*, from which *Minos* is said to have receiv'd a Plat-form
of the Laws afterwards enacted by him; whence *Homer* saith of
him,

(a) *Cassandr. v. 1319.* (b) *Epitom. Strab. lib. VII.* (c) *Lib. VII.* (d) *Lib. VIII.* (e) *Olymp. initio Od. VI.*

Εὐνέως

Εννέωρον βασιλίδε Διὸς μεγάλα ἰαεῖσις.

Minos, that counsels dar'd with *Jove* to mix,
Nine years *Crete's* Scepter sway'd.

That is, (as *Plato* in *Strabo* expounds it) He descended into the sacred Cave of *Jupiter*, (for this Oracle was under ground) and receiv'd from him those precepts, which He afterwards made publick for the common benefit of Mankind. The Will of the Gods was reveal'd in this place by Dreams, in which the Gods came and convers'd familiarly with the Enquirers; as we learn from the Story of *Epimenides* (a), who lay asleep in this place many years; with him also *Pythagoras* descended into this Cave to consult the Gods, as *Diogenes Laertius* hath related in the Life of *Pythagoras*. There was a Temple in the same place dedicated to *Jupiter*, from which to the City *Cnossus* (b) there was a High-road, very pleasant, and delightful. It stood upon Mount *Ida*, and tho' *Maximus Tyrius*, in the fore-mention'd place, calls it Δι-κταίε Διὸς ἄντρον, yet in his twenty-second Dissertation, he saith it was plac'd on *Ida*, to which *Diogenes Laertius*, and others agree. It was sometimes call'd Ἀρκέσιον, from the word ἀρκέσαι, which signifies to help, or defend; because the Sons of *Titan*, being vanquish'd by *Saturn*, fled into this Cave, and there escap'd the Fury of their pursuing Conqueror (c).

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Oracles of Apollo.

I Come in the next place to speak of the Oracles sacred to *Apollo*, who was thought more peculiarly to preside over Prophets, and inspire into them the knowledge of future Events; for which reason it is, that the Enigmatical Poet calls him Κερδαῖος, or Gainful, from κέρδος, which signifies Gain, because of the profit which Mankind receiv'd by his Predictions, saith *Tzetzes* (d) upon that place.

The Oracles of *Apollo* were not only the most numerous, but of greatest Repute; and amongst them the *Delphian* challeng'd the first place, as well for it's Antiquity, (wherein it contended even with that of *Dona*)

(a) *Maximus Tyrius* Diss. XXVIII. (b) *Plato* de Leg. lib. I. (c) *Etymolog. Auctor.* (d) *Cassandr.* v. 208.

dona) as for the truth and perspicuity of it's Answers, the magnificence of it's Structures, the number and richness of the sacred ἀναθήματα, or Presents, dedicated to the God, and the Multitudes which from all Parts resorted thither for Counsel; in all which respects it surpass'd, not only all the Oracles of other Gods, but even those sacred to *Apollo* himself.

The place in which the Oracles were deliver'd was call'd *Pythium*, the Priestesses *Pythia*; the Sports also instituted in honour of *Apollo* were nam'd *Pythian*, and *Apollo* himself *Pythius*; either from *Python* a Serpent, or a Man for his Cruelty so call'd, who possess'd this place, and was overcome by *Apollo*: or ἀπὸ τῆς πύθειν, i. e. to putrifie; because the Carcase of *Python* was suffer'd to lye there and putrifie, and this reason is given us by *Homer* (a): or ἀπὸ τῆς πυθίδαν, i. e. to enquire; because the Oracle was there consulted and enquired of, and this is *Strabo's* (b) opinion: or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphi*, the place of this Oracle, given it from *Pythia* the Son of *Delphus*, the Son of *Apollo*.

The City *Delphi* (as *Strabo* (c) reports) was by some thought to be plac'd in the middle of the World; and the Poets feign that *Jupiter*, being desirous to know the middle part of the Earth, sent forth two Eagles, (or Crows, as *Pindar*, or Swans, as others relate) one from the East, the other from the West, and that they met in this Place. However that be, *Strabo* telleth us, it was plac'd in the middle of *Greece*; whence it is by the Poets commonly call'd Ομφαλός, which word signifieth a Navil, because that is the middle part of Man's body; and therefore *Sophocles* calls this Oracle μεσομυφαλον μαντήιον: and in allusion to that name, *Strabo* and *Pausanias* say, there was to be seen in the Temple the figure of a Navil, made of white Stone, with a Ribband hanging from it, instead of the Navil-string, and upon it were plac'd two Eagles, in memory of the Eagles sent forth by *Jupiter*. But *Lactantius*, and *Phurnutus* are of opinion, that this Name was not deriv'd from the Situation of the Place, but from the divine Answers that were given there, and are in *Greek* call'd Ομφαί.

Concerning the Original of this Oracle there are various Reports, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (d) tells us, it first belong'd to *Earth*, by whom *Daphne*, one of the Mountain-Nymphs, was constituted Priestess; the same Author afterwards saith, that in a *Greek* Poem call'd *Eumolpia*, it is reported to have been sacred both to *Earth*, and *Neptune*; and that *Earth* gave Answers her self, but *Neptune* had an Interpreter nam'd *Pyrco*, and that afterwards *Neptune* resign'd his part to *Earth*. This Goddess was succeeded by *Themis*, who gave Oracles about the time of *Deucalion's* Deluge, and was consulted by him: some

(a) Hymn. in *Apollinem* v. 372. (b) *Geogr.* lib. IX. (c) *Lib.* IX. (d) *Lib.* XVI. cap. XVI.

there are, that will have *Themis* to have possess'd this Oracle from the beginning; and in *Calius* (a) we find, that others say it belong'd to *Saturn*. However that be, at length it came into the hands of *Apollo*; nor did he long enjoy it alone, for in the War against the Sons of *Titan*, *Bacchus* being mangled and torn in pieces by them, was afterwards restor'd to his Brother *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his Temple, and order'd that divine Honours should be paid him there. This Fable you may find quoted out of *Callimachus* and *Euphorion*, by *Isaac Tzetzes* in his Comment upon *Lycophron* (b), where *Agamemnon* is brought in sacrificing to *Bacchus* in the Temple of *Delphinian Apollo*. Hence some say, the City *Delphi* was so call'd, ἡ Δελφοί, which word signifieth Brethren, because *Apollo* and *Bacchus* were both Sons of *Jupiter*.

We find it related in *Diodorus the Sicilian* (c), that this Oracle was first discover'd by Goats, in memory whereof the *Delphians*, when they ask'd Counsel of the God, for the most part offer'd a Goat. The manner of the discovery was thus: Upon Mount *Parnassus*, where Goats were wont to feed, there was a deep Cavern, with a small, narrow Mouth, to which when any of the Goats approach'd, they began immediately to leap after an unusual and antick manner, uttering strange and unheard of sounds; the Goat-herd (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) observing this, and wondering what should be the cause of it, went himself to view the Cavern, whereupon he also was seiz'd with a like Fit of Madness, leaping and dancing, and fore-telling things to come. This being nois'd abroad, vast Multitudes of People flock'd to the Place, where as many as look'd in, were inspir'd after the same manner. At length, when many were possess'd with such a degree of Divine Phrenzy, as to throw themselves headlong into the *Vorago*; there was an Edict put out, whereby it was made unlawful for any Man to approach to it; and a *Tripus* was plac'd upon the Mouth of it, upon which a Virgin was appointed to sit, and there deliver the Answers of the God. This is the most common Account of the Original of this Oracle: *Pausanias* hath given some others, which I shall forbear to mention, being unwilling to abuse the Reader's patience in the repetition of any more vain and useless Fables. Thus much however is certain (if any thing at such a distance may be call'd so,) viz. That this Oracle was very ancient, and flourish'd above an hundred Years before the *Trojan War*.

Concerning the *Tripus* plac'd upon the mouth of the Cavern, there are different Opinions: some say, it was a Pot fill'd with dust, thro' which the *Afflatus* pass'd into the Virgin's Belly, and thence proceeded out of her Mouth. The *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (d) saith, it was a wide-mouth'd Brass-Pot, fill'd with *ἄσπεροι*, or Pebbles, by the leaping of which the Prophetess made her Conjectures. Others are of opinion, that it was a large Vessel supported by three Feet, into

(a) Lect. Ant. lib. XVI. cap. XL. (b) Vers. 209. (c) Biblioth. Hist. l. XVI. (d) *Lyfistrate*.

which

which the Prophetess plung'd her self, when she expected an Inspiration. But, according to the more common opinion, *Calius* (a) hath prov'd at large, that it was not a Vessel, but a Table, or Seat, on which the *Pythia* lean'd, or sat. The cover of the *Tripus*, or, as some say, the *Tripus* it self, they call'd *ὀλμῶς*, which word properly denotes a Mortar, or round Stone, according to *Hesychius*; whence *Apollo* is call'd in *Sophocles*, *Εὐολμῶς*, and his Prophetess, *Εὐολμῆς*. And this, as some are of opinion, gave occasion to the Proverb, *Εν ὀλμῶι δινάτω*, which is applied to those that speak prophetically; but others derive it from a certain Diviner, call'd *Holmus*; and others (amongst whom is *Aristophanes* the Grammarian, in *Zenodorus*) refer it to the old superstitious Custom of sleeping in these *ὀλμοι*, when they desired a Prophetical Dream. *Phrynus* will have the *Tripus* to have been sacred to *Apollo*, either because of the perfection of the Number Three; or in allusion to the three celestial Circles, two of which the Sun toucheth, and passeth over the third in his Annual Circuit. The *Tripus*, saith the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b), had three Legs, by which were symbolically signified the knowledge of the God, as distinguish'd by the three Parts of Time, viz. Present, Past, and Future,

ὅς τ' ἤδει τὰ τ' ἐόντα, τὰ τ' ἐσόμενα, ὡς τ' ἐόντα.

Who knew things past, and present, and to come.

The same *Tripus* was not always us'd; the first, it is probable, might be plac'd there by the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Countrey; afterwards, when *Pelops* married *Hippodamia* the Daughter of *Oenomaus*, King of the *Eleans*, he presented to *Apollo* a *Tripus*, wrought by *Vulcan*, which seems to have been that famous one made of Brass, so famous amongst the Poets. There was also another *Tripus* of Gold, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (c) reports, dedicated to *Apollo* on this account: Certain Fisher-men at *Miletus*, having sold their next draught to some Persons that stood by, cast their Nets into the Water, and drew up a Golden *Tripus*; whereupon there arose a very hot Contention between the Fisher-men and their Chap-men; the Fisher-men alledging, that they sold nothing but the Fish they were to take, and that therefore the *Tripus* belong'd to them; The Buyers, on the other hand, replyed, that they had bought the whole draught, and therefore laid a just claim to whatever came to the Net; at length, when neither side would yield, they agree'd to submit the matter to *Apollo's* determination, whereupon they came to *Delphi*, and there receiv'd this Answer,

(a) Lect. Antiq. lib. VIII. cap. XV. (b) *Initio Pluti*. (c) *Loco citat.*

Ἐρχοιτο Μιλήτης, τρίποδος πέρι Φοῖβον ἐρωτᾶς ;
Ὅς σοφίη πάντων πρῶτον, τέττα τρίποδα δέος.

Art Thou, a Native of *Miletus*, come
T' enquire what must be with the *Tripod* donè?
Give it to Him, who's wisdom claims a right
Above all others. —————

Mr. Hutchin.

This Oracle was given at the time when the seven Wise-men flourish'd in *Greece*; the *Tripus* therefore was presented to one of them, (which that was, is not agree'd on by ancient Writers) He modestly refusing it, they offer'd it to another, and so on to the rest, till it had been refus'd by them all; whereupon it was determin'd to consecrate it to *Apollo* himself, as being the Fountain of all Wisdom. The *Tripus* was call'd by the *Latins* *Cortina*, of which appellation there are several reasons assign'd, for which I refer you to the *Grammarians*. Others say, *Cortina* was only the Cover of the *Tripus*, and therefore derive it from the word *corium*, i. e. a Skin, because it was made, as they say, of *Python's* Skin. Lastly, others more probably think it signified the Tent, within which was kept the sacred *Tripus*, and that because of it's figure, which was, like that of a Cauldron, round; upon the same account *Cortina* was us'd to signify the Tiring-room in the Theater, or the Curtains, or Hangings, out of which the Players us'd to be usher'd on to the Stage; for the same reason the celestial *Hemisphere* is by *Ennius* call'd *Celi cortina*; and the *Tholus*, or round Compass at the top of a Theater, is by another nam'd *cortina Theatri*.

The Person, that deliver'd the Oracles of the God, was a Woman, whom they call'd *Pythia*, *Pythonissa*, and *Phæbas*: the most celebrated of these, saith *Pausanias* (a), was *Phæmonoe*, who is remarkable, not only as being the first Priestess of that Oracle, but more especially because she was the first (as most say,) that cloath'd the Oracles with Heroick Verse. But *Bæo*, a *Delphian* Lady, in one of her Hymns, reports that *Olen*, with the *Hyperboreans*, first instituted this Oracle, and return'd Answers in Heroick Verse, of which He was the first Inventor; Her words we find in *Pausanias* to be thus,

Εἴθε τοι Ὀμήησον χρυσέηον ἐκτελέσαντο
Παῖδες Τυφρορέων, Πάλασθ', καὶ δῖον Ἀγυαῖς, &c.

Where *Hyperboreans* to thy lasting praise
Eternal Oracles did consecrate.

Then she proceeds to enumerate some others of the *Hyperboreans*, and in the End of the Hymn adds,

(a) *Theophrastus*.

Ὀλλύω

Ὀλλύω θ', ὅς γένετο πρῶτον Φοῖβου περὶ πάτας,
Πρῶτον δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτὴν ἀοιδῶν.

No *Græcian* yet warm'd with Poetick Fire
Cou'd fit th' unpolish'd Language to the Lyre,
Till the first Priest of *Phæbus Olen* rose,
And chang'd for smooother Verse, their stunning Prose.

Mr. Hutchin.

But herein She contradicts (saith my Author) the common opinion of Mankind, grounded on the Testimony of ancient Writers, who unanimously agree in this, That never any but Women were the Interpreters of this God.

Venerius (a) is of opinion, that there were more than one *Pythia* at the same time; which he gathers out of *Herodotus*, who in the sixth Book of his History reports, that *Cleomenes* corrupted with bribes the Prophetess *Perialla*, who was *vaticinantium mulierum antistes*, the President of the Prophetesses: How true this may be I know not, but I do not remember that ever I have read of above one at the same time; and tho' the words quoted by *Venerius* are in the *Latin* Version, yet no such thing is said, or can be infer'd from the *Greek*, where *Perialla* is only call'd *περὶμαντις*, which word (however it may seem to signify a Prophet superiour to the rest) according to it's common acceptation implyes no more than *μάντις*, for so *Eschepides* (b) hath us'd it, when he saith *περὶμαντις κακῶν*, i. e. one that fore-telleth evils to come. And in like manner *Herodotus* himself in another place hath us'd the Verb *περὶμαντίζετο*: more instances would be needless.

These Women were, at the first, Virgins, till one of them was deslow'd by *Echechrates* a *Thessalian*; and then choice was made of Women above fifty years of Age; that so they might either be secur'd from the Attempts of Lust, or, if they should be at any time forc'd to the violation of their chastity, having pass'd the time of Child-bearing they might remain undiscover'd, and not bring the Oracles, or Religion into Contempt: nevertheless they wore the habit of Virgins, thereby to signify their Purity, and Virginal Modesty. They were oblig'd to observe the strictest Laws of Temperance and Chastity; not being allow'd to wear rich and costly Apparel, or use phantastical Dresses; and *Plutarch* (c) hath told us, they neither anointed themselves, nor wore Purple Garments. The *Pythia*, before she ascended the *Tripus*, us'd to wash her whole Body, especially her Hair, in *Castalis*, a Fountain at the Foot of *Parnassus*, where the Poets, Men inspir'd by the same Deity, us'd to wash and drink. At her

(a) *De Divination. & Orac. Antiq.* (b) *Helena.* (c) *Lib. de Pyth. Orac.*

first sitting down upon the *Tripus*, She us'd to shake the Laurel-tree that grew by it, and sometimes to take the Leaves, and eat them. Her self also, and the *Tripus* were crown'd with Garlands of the same Plant, as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (a) at this Verse, where one asketh,

Τί δὴ ὁ Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ στεμμάτων ;

What from the Oracle with Garlands trimm'd
Has *Phœbus* utter'd.

Nor did the *Pythia* only make use of Laurel in this manner, but other Prophets also, because it was thought to conduce to inspiration; whence it was peculiarly call'd *μαντικὸν φυτόν*, the Prophetick Plant. The *Pythia* being plac'd upon the *Tripus*, receiv'd the Divine *Afflatus* in her Belly; and she is commonly call'd *ἐγγραμμένη*, or *ἐγγραμμένη*, because the *Dæmon* sometimes spoke within her. She was no sooner inspir'd, but she began immediately to swell, and foam at the mouth, running round, tearing her Hair, cutting her Flesh, and in all her other Behaviour appearing like one phrenetick and distracted. But she was not always affected in the same manner, for if the Spirit was in a kind and gentle Humour, Her Rage was not very violent; but if sullen and malignant, She was thrown into extreme Fury; in-somuch, that *Plutarch* (b) speaks of one that was enrag'd to such a degree, that She affrighted, not only those that consulted the Oracle, but the Priests themselves, so that they run away and left her; and so violent was the Paroxysm, that in a little Time after she dyed. Some say, that under the *Tripus* hath been seen a *Dragon* that return'd Answers.

The Time of consulting the Oracle, was only one Month in a Year. This Month, *Plutarch* (c) tells us, was call'd *Ῥύσιος*, which, as many are of Opinion, was so nam'd *ρ. φύσιος*, from *φύειν*, i. e. to Spring up, because it was in the beginning of Spring, when all things flourish and put forth buds; but this (saith he) is not the true reason, for the *Delphians* do not use B for Φ (as the *Macedonians*, who for *Φίλιππος*, *Φαλακρός*, and *Φιγονίχα*, say *Βίλιππος*, *Βαλακρός*, and *Βεγγίνα*) but instead of Π; for they usually say *βατεῖν*, for *πατεῖν*, and *βικρὲν*, for *πικρὲν*: *Ῥύσιος* therefore is put for *Πύσιος*, so call'd *Ἀπὸ τὴν πύσιν*, because in that Month they were allow'd to enquire of *Apollo's* Oracle, and this is their genuine and Country-way of speaking. The seventh day of this Month they call'd *Apollo's* Birth-day, naming it *Πολύβοιός*, (not *πολύβοιός*, as some read it) not because they bak'd a sort of Cakes call'd *φθόβις*, but because the God did then return a great many Answers; and at the

(a) In *Pluto*. (b) De Defect. Orac. (c) *Quæst. Græc.* IX.

first the *Pythia* gave Answers only on this Day, as *Callisthenes* and *Antandridas* report. To this purpose *Plutarch*. And even in later ages, Oracles us'd only to be given once every Month.

Whoever went to consult the Oracle, was required to make large Presents to the God, whereby it came to pass, that this Temple in Riches, Splendor, and Magnificence was superiour to almost all others in the World. And *Aphetoria opes* (so call'd from *Ἀφήτωρ*, a name of *Apollo*, given him, as some say, from sending forth Oracles) have been proverbially us'd for abundance of wealth. Another thing required of those that desired Answers, was, that they should propound their Questions in as few words as might be: this we learn from *Philostrophus* (a), in the Life of *Apollonius*. It was the Custom also, to offer Sacrifice to *Apollo*, in which except the Omens were favourable, the Prophetess would not give any Answer. At these Sacrifices there were five Priests, saith *Plutarch* (b), nam'd *Οσιος*, i. e. Holy, that assisted the Prophets, and perform'd many other Offices with them, being suppos'd to be descended from *Deucalion*; there was one also that presided over these, call'd *Οσιωτής*, or Purifier; tho' *Plutarch* saith, that the Sacrifice slain when any of the *Οσιος* were declar'd, was call'd by that name; unless instead of *τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον*, or the Sacrifice kill'd, we might be allow'd to read *τὸ θυόμενον ἱερεῖον*, or the Person that kill'd the Sacrifice. There was another Priest also that assisted the Prophetess in managing the Oracle, whom they call'd *Ἀφίτωρ*, upon the same account that *Apollo* was so named.

The Answer was always return'd in *Greek*, as appears from *Cicero* (c), who, speaking of the Oracle, reported by *Ennius* to be given to *Pyrrhus* the *Epirote* by *Apollo*, viz.

Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Go *Pyrrhus*, go, engage with Warlike Rome,
Fate has decreed th' irrevocable Doom,
And you the Valiant Romans shall o'come.

Mr. Huchin.

concludes it was genuine, because the *Pythia* never us'd to speak in *Lain*: as also for that in *Pyrrhus's* time they had left off delivering Answers in Verse, which had been the Custom in all former Ages, from the first foundation of the Oracle, deriving (as hath been said already) it's Original from *Phemonoe*, the first *Pythia*. And the ancient *Greeks* deliver'd their Laws in Verse, whence it came to pass, as *Aristotle* witnesseth, that *νόμος*, which in it's proper acceptation signifieth a Law, is often us'd to signify Verses, or Songs. The ancient Philosophers, as oft as they thought fit to Communicate their Mysteries to the

(a) Lib. VI. cap. V. (b) Loc. cit. (c) Lib. II de Divinatione.

World, cloath'd them in Verse ; in short, those Ages scarce seem to have written any thing Curious, or Excellent, nor any thing of weight or moment, but in Verse. The Verses of the *Pythia* were for the most part, saith *Plutarch* (a), rude and unpolish'd, and not comparable to those of *Homer*, or *Hesiod*; yet, saith he, this is no reflexion upon *Apollo*, the Patron of Poets, because He only communicated the knowledge to the *Pythia*, which She deliver'd in what Dress She pleas'd; the Sence therefore was his, the Words her own. In the same Book he tells us, that some were of Opinion, that there were Poets maintain'd in the Temple, to catch the Oracles as they were given, and wrap them up in Verse. The Verses were for the most part Hexameter, insomuch that this Oracle was thought to be none of *Apollo's*, because it was not Heroick enough to become the Author,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σφώτερόν δ' Εὐριπίδης,
 Ἀνδρῶν δὲ πάντων Σωκράτης σφώτατόν.

To Wisdom *Sophocles* makes just pretence,
 Yet do's to sage *Euripides* give place,
 As he and all Men must to *Socrates*.

Mr. Hutchin.

In later Ages, when Oracles began to grow into dis-repute, this Custom of Versifying was left off, the reason whereof hath been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatise on that Subject, to which I refer the Reader. I shall only add one thing more to be observ'd, That as the Custom of giving Answers in Verse never obtain'd so universally, but that sometimes they were deliver'd in Prose, as *Plutarch* hath prov'd by a great many instances; so neither was it ever so wholly left off, but that sometimes Oracles were pronounc'd in Verse, an instance whereof he giveth in his own Time.

The *Delphian* Oracles, if compar'd with some others, might justly be call'd plain, and perspicuous; and, as *Hermias* the Philosopher tells us, it was usual for those that had receiv'd an obscure Answer at *Dodona*, to desire *Apollo* at *Delphi* to explain the Meaning of it; He adds also, that *Apollo* had interpreted a great many of them. Nevertheless, they were generally very obscure, and ambiguous; insomuch, that *Apollo*, as some say, was call'd *Λοξίας*, because his Answers were *Λοξὰ καὶ σκολιὰ*, i. e. crooked, as it were, and hard to be understood. And *Heraclitus* in *Plutarch*, speaking of *Apollo*, saith, ἔτε λέγει, ἔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει, i. e. He doth not speak the Truth plainly, nor yet altogether conceal it, but only give small Hints of it; so that if the Event happen'd contrary to any Man's expectation, he might rather accuse his own ignorance and mistake in mis-interpret-

(b) Lib. de *Pythia* Orac.

ing the Answer, than call in question either the Knowledge, or Honesty of *Apollo*.

The Veracity of this Oracle was so famous, that Τὰ ἐκ Τελμοδός, i. e. the Responses given from the *Tripus*, came to be us'd proverbially, for certain and infallible Truths: and, as *Cicero* rightly argues, it is impossible the *Delphian* Oracle should ever have gain'd so much Repute in the World, or have been enrich'd with such vast presents from almost all Kings and Nations, had not the truth of it's Predictions been sufficiently attested by the Experience of all Ages. But in later Times the case was altered; and so *Cicero* tells us, it was a long while before his Days; nay, *Demosthenes*, who flourish'd three-hundred Years before him, complain'd the *Pythia* did φιλασμίειν, or speak as *Philip* the *Macedonian* would have her. Another time she was said to receive a bribe of *Clisthenes*, to persuade the *Lacedæmonians* to free the *Athenians* from the Tyrants, that were impos'd on them. *Perialla* the *Pythia* was depriv'd of her Office for being corrupted by one of *Cleomenes's* Agents, to say that *Damaratus*, *Cleomenes's* Colleague, was not the true Son of *Arifto*, to the end it might be thought he was not his lawful Successor, and upon that account be dethron'd.

At what Time, or upon what Account this Oracle came to cease, is uncertain; *Strabo* (a) hath told us, that in his time it had lost it's ancient Reputation; and in *Juvenal's* (b) time, the Gods had quite forsaken it, if any credit may be given to him, when he saith,

—— Delphis Oracula cessant.

The *Delphian* Oracles are now no more.

Lucan (c) telleth us, that it had ceas'd a long time before the the Battle at *Pharsalia*,

—— Non ullo Secula dono
 Nostra carent majore Deum, quam Delphica sedes
 Quod siluit. ———

No greater gift can bounteous Heaven bestow,
 Nor do's our Age a greater Blessing want
 Than silenc'd *Delphi*. ———

Mr. Hutchin.

But this must not be understood of a total Defect, or perpetual Silence; for this Oracle, as *van Dale* (d) hath abundantly prov'd, did several times loose it's prophetick faculty, and again recover it. *Lucian* (e) reports, that Answers were given in his Time, which was about the Reigns of *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*. But he

(a) Lib. IX. (b) Sat. VI. v. 554. (c) Lib. V. (d) Dissert. de Orac. (e) *Alexandro Pseudomant*.

is at a loss, whether those Oracles were indeed *Apollo's*, or only supposititious. And farther, 'tis certain that this, and those at *Delos*, and *Dodona*, with some others, continued till the Reign of *Julian* the *Apostate*, and were consulted, saith *Theodoret*, by him; and at what time they were finally extinct, is altogether uncertain: whoever desireth to be more particularly inform'd about their cessation, may consult *van Dale's* Treatise on that Subject.

When the God forsook *Delphi*, he betook himself to the *Hyperborean Scythians*, as we learn from *Claudian*,

———— pulcher Apollo
Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras.

Ah! abject *Delphi*, see thy God resides
In distant *Hyperborean* Climates. —————

Mr. Dechair.

Abaris, a *Scythian*, one of *Apollo's* Priests, is said to have written a Book concerning his Oracles, and removal to that Place. And the *Athenians*, at a time when the Plague rag'd over all *Greece*, receiv'd an Oracle from thence, commanding them to make Vows and Prayers in behalf of the rest; and they continued to send Gifts and Offerings thither, as they had formerly done to *Delphi*.

I might enlarge about the Magnificence and Splendor of the *Delphian* Temple, but I fear I have already trespass'd too far upon the Reader's patience; if any one therefore have Curiosity and Leisure enough to employ about such Trifles, he may have a large and exact Description of all the magnificent Structures, rich Presents, curious pieces of Art, and other Rarities belonging to that Place, in *Pausanias*.

Delos was the most celebrated of all the *Cyclades*, which were a Knot of Islands in the *Aegean* Sea. It is famous among the Poets for having been the Birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, and was therefore accounted so sacred and inviolable, that the *Persians*, when they pillag'd, or destroy'd almost all the other *Grecian* Temples, durst not attempt any thing upon the Temple in this Island; which was seated on the Sea-shore, looking towards *Eubœa*, in the very place, where *Apollo* was feign'd to be born. He had in Image erected in this place in the shape of a *Dragon*; and gave Answers for their Certainty, and Perspicuity, not only not inferiour to those at *Delphi*, but, as some report, (a) far exceeding them, and all other Oracles of *Apollo*; being deliver'd in clear, plain Terms, without any ambiguity, or obscurity. But these Answers were not to be expected all the Year, *Apollo* only kept his Summer's Residence in this Place, and in Winter retired to *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*, as *Servius* hath observ'd in his Comment upon these words of *Virgil*,

(a) *Alexand.* ab *Alex.*

Qualis ubi hybernâ Lyciam, Xanthique fluenta
Deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo (a).

Such Pomp and Splendor God *Apollo* grace,
When He his Winter *Lycia*, or that Place
Which *Xanthus* Silver Streams wash kindly, leaves,
And *Delos* visits, whence He answers gives.
In Summer Seasons. —————

Mr. Dechair.

The Altar was by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wonders of the World; it was erected by *Apollo* at the age of four Years, and compos'd of the Horns of Goats kill'd by *Diana* upon Mount *Cynthus*, which were compacted together in a wonderful manner, without any visible Tye or Cement, whence *Ovid* saith of it,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

———— 'tis strange to see
How each in th'other twin'd the Goat-horns lie,
And make an Altar bound with n'ere a Tye.

Mr. Dechair.

To Sacrifice any living Creature upon this Altar was held unlawful, and a prophanation of the Place, which it was the Gods Will to have preserv'd pure from blood, and all manner of Pollution. *Thucydides* (b) reports, that no Dogs were permitted to enter into the Island; and it was unlawful for any Person to dye, or be born in it; and therefore, when the *Athenians* were by the Oracle commanded to purify it, they dug up the dead Bodies out of their Graves, and waisted them over the Sea, to be interred in one of the adjacent Islands; this done, the better to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an Edict, commanding that whoever lay sick of any mortal or dangerous Disease, and all Women great with Child, should be carried over to a little Isle call'd *Rhena*.

I must not omit in this place the annual Procession made by the *Athenians* to *Delos*, in honour of *Apollo*. The first Author of this Custom was *Theseus*, who, being sent with the rest of the *Athenian* Youths into *Crete*, to be devour'd by the *Minotaur*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, that if He would grant them a safe return, they would make a solemn Voyage to his Temple at *Delos* every Year. This was call'd *Θωεία*, the Persons employ'd in it *Θεωγῆ*, and *Δηλιασται*, from the name of the Island, the Chief of them *Ἀρχηταί*, and the Ship in which they

(a) *Æneid.* IV. v. 143. (b) *Lib.* IV.

went *Θωεῖς*, or *Δηλῖες*, which was the very same that carried *Theseus* and his Companions to *Crete*; being (saith *Plutarch*) preserv'd by the *Athenians* till *Demetrius* the *Phalerean's* time, they restoring always what was decay'd, and changing the old and rotten Planks for those that were new and entire; insomuch, that it furnish'd the Philosophers with matter of Dispute, Whether after so many Reparations and Alterations it might still be call'd the same individual Ship; and serv'd as an Instance to illustrate the Opinion of those, that held the body still remain'd the same numerical substance, notwithstanding the continual decay of old parts, and acquisition of new ones, through the several Ages of Life; for which reason *Callimachus* (a) calls it's Tackle *everliving*,

——— ἀεζώντα Θωεῖδ' οὐ, ἱερὰ Φοῖβ' οἶσ' αὖ,
Κεχροπίδαι πέμπουσ' ἑσπέρια νηὸς ἐκείνης.

To great *Apollo's* Temple ev'ry year,
The sturdy *Theoris* th' *Athenians* send,
Yet spight of envious Time, and angry Seas
The Vessel ever whole will be.

Mr. Dechair.

The beginning of the Voyage was computed from the time that *Apollo's* Priest first adorn'd the Stern of the Ship with Garlands, saith *Plato* (b); and from that time they began to cleanse and lustrate the City; and it was held unlawful to put any Malefactor to death till it's return; which was the reason that *Socrates* was repriev'd thirty days after his condemnation, as we learn from *Xenophon* (c). The *Theoris* wore Garlands of Laurel upon their Heads, and were accompanied by two of the Family of the *Κήρυκες*, who were appointed to be *Παράσιτοι* at *Delos* for that Year, of which Office I have already treated. Before them went certain Men with Axes in their Hands, in shew as if they design'd to clear the Ways of Robbers; in memory, that *Theseus*, in his Journey from *Træzen* to *Athens*, free'd the Countrey from all the Robbers that infested those Parts. To this Custom *Æschylus* (d) seems to allude, when he saith,

Πέμπουσ' ὁ αὐτὸν, καὶ στείλλουσ' ἄλλα
Κελευστοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, χθόνα
Ἀνήμερον πιδέντες ἡμεραιμήνῃ.

Mov'd with a Sense of Piety
To Him th' *Athenians* do repair,

(a) Hymno in *Belum*. (b) In *Thadone*. (c) *Memorab. lib. IV.* (d) *Eumenid. initio.*

Still

Still as they on their Journey go,
Whatever Parts infested be
With Robbers cruel Outrages,
Setting 'em free. ———

Mr. Dechair.

When they went thither they were said *ἀναβαίνειν*, to ascend; when they return'd *καταβαίνειν*, to descend. When they arriv'd, they offer'd Sacrifice, and celebrated a Festival in Honour of *Apollo*: this done, they repair'd to their Ship, and sail'd homewards. At their return, all the People ran forth to meet them, opening their Doors, and making Obeysance as they pass'd by; the neglect of which respect makes *Theseus* complain in *Æwripides* (a),

Οὐ γὰρ τις μ' ὡς Θωεὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμῳ
Πύλας ἀνοίξας δαρήνως προσεγγένειν.

My scornfull Citizens I find neglect,
Rushing to crow'd about the op'ned Doors,
And pay Me that Respect which is decree'd
For one that from the Embassie returns.

Mr. Dechair.

The next Oracle I shall speak of, is that of *Apollo Didymæus*, so nam'd (b) from the double light imparted by him to Mankind, the one directly and immediately from his own Body, which causeth the Day; the other, mediately, and by reflection from the Moon, which enlightneth the Night. The place of it was also call'd *Didyma*, and belong'd to the *Milesians*. It was also call'd the Oracle of the *Branchidae*, and *Apollo* himself was call'd *Branchides*, from *Branchus*, who was reputed the Son of *Machareus*, but begotten by *Apollo*; for it was no unusual thing for the ancient Heroes to be call'd the Sons of two Fathers, the one Mortal, who was always their Mothers Husband; the other some lascivious Deity, that had fallen in Love with her: so *Hercules* was reputed the Son of *Jupiter* and *Amphitryon*; *Hector* of *Priamus* and *Apollo*, with many others. This *Branchus* having on a certain time kiss'd *Apollo*, receiv'd from him a Crown and Scepter, together with the gift of Prophecy, and presently after disappear'd. Some time after, a magnificent Temple was erected in honour of Him, and dedicated to Him and *Apollo*; whence *Statius* saith he was

——— *patrioque equalis honori.*

In honour equal to his Father *Phæbus*.

(a) *Hippolyto*. (b) *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. I cap. XVII.* (c) *Theb. III.*

Others derive the Name from *Branchus*, a *Theſſalian* Youth, belov'd by *Apollo*, who receiv'd him into his own Temple, and commanded that Divine honours should be paid him after Death. But *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (a) telleth us, that this Oracle was sacred to *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and perhaps it might belong to all three.

In the time of the *Persian* War (b), this Temple was spoil'd and burn'd, being betray'd into the Hands of the *Barbarians* by the *Branchidae*, or Priests that had the care of it; but they, conscious of their own wickedness, and fearing lest they should meet with condign Punishment, desired of *Xerxes*, that as a requital of their Service, he would grant them a Habitation in some remote part of *Asia*, whence they might never return into *Greece*, but live secure, being plac'd beyond the reach of Justice; *Xerxes* granted their Request; whereupon, notwithstanding a great many unlucky Omens appear'd to them, they founded a City, and call'd it after their ancient name, *Branchidae*. But for all this, they could not escape Divine Vengeance, which was inflicted on their Children by *Alexander* the Great, who, having conquer'd *Darius*, and possess'd himself of *Asia*, utterly demolish'd their City, and put all it's Inhabitants to the Sword, as detesting the very Posterity of such impious Wretches.

The *Persians* being vanquish'd, and Peace restor'd to *Greece* (c), the Temple was rebuilt by the *Milesians*, with such magnificence, that it surpass'd all the other *Grecian* Temples in Bigness, being rais'd to such a bulk, that they were forc'd to let it remain uncover'd; for the compass of it was no less than that of a Village, and contained, at least, four, or five *Stadia*.

Another of *Apollo's* Oracles, we read of in *Abæ*, a City of *Phocia*, mention'd by *Herodotus* (d), and *Stephanus* the *Byzantian* (e); by the latter of which we are told, it was more ancient then the *Delphian*. *Sophocles* (f) also hath taken notice of it,

Οὐδέτι τὸν ἄδικτον ἔτιμι
Γὰς ἐπ' ὀμπαλὸν σέβων,
οὐδ' εἰς τὸν Ἀβᾶσι νᾶν.

Hence all Religion, now I will no more
Trouble that hallow'd Fane, which equally
Parts the divided Earth, no Journeys make
To *Abæ* for the Answers of a God;
In vain 'tis to be good.

Mr. Dechar.

The *Scholiasts* on this place are of opinion, that *Abæ* was a City in *Lycia*, but are sufficiently refuted by the testimonies already cited.

(a) Voce *Διόφυα*. (b) *Strabo* lib. XIV. & *Suidas* in voce *Βραγχιδᾶν*. (c) *Strabo* loc. cit. (d) Lib. I. cap. XLVI. (e) Voce *Αβᾶ*, item *Hesychius*, & *Phavorinus*. (f) *Oedip. Tyr.* v. 902.

At *Clarus*, a City of *Ionia*, not far from *Colophon*, there was another Oracle sacred to *Apollo*, first instituted by *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, who fled thither in the second *Theban* War, when the *Epigoni*, i. e. the Sons of those that were slain in the former War, invaded *Thebes*, under the conduct of *Alcmaeon*, in revenge of their Fathers Deaths. The Person that deliver'd Answers, was a Man, who was generally chosen out of some certain Families, and for the most part out of *Mileus* (a): He was usually unlearn'd, and very ignorant, yet return'd the Oracles in Verses wonderfully satisfactory, and adapted to the intention of the Enquirers; and this by the Virtue of a little Well, feign'd to have sprung out of the Tears of *Manto*, when she bewail'd the desolation of her Countrey: into this He descended when any Man came to consult him; but paid dear for his Knowledge, for the Water was very prejudicial to his Health, and, as *Pliny* (b) hath told us, a means to shorten his Life.

At *Larissa*, a Fort of the *Argives*, there was an Oracle of *Apollo* surnam'd *Δειπαιδῆς*, from *Diras*, a Region belonging to *Argos*. The Answers in this place were return'd by a Woman, who was forbidden the company of Men; every Month she sacrific'd a Lamb in the Night, and then, having tasted the Blood of the Victim, was immediately seiz'd with a Divine Fury.

Apollo had another famous Oracle at *Eutresis*, a Village in *Boeotia* (c), seated in the way between the *Theſſians*, and *Plateans*.

At *Tegyra*, a City in *Boeotia*, there was an Oracle sacred to *Tegyrian Apollo*, which was frequented till the *Persian* War. but after that remain'd for ever silent (e).

No less famous was *Ptoius*, a Mountain in *Boeotia*, for the Oracles given by *Apollo* surnam'd *Ptoius* from that Place, where was a Temple dedicated to him. This Oracle ceas'd when *Thebes* was demolish'd by *Alexander* (d).

Apollo, surnam'd *Δαφνῆος*, from *Daphne* his beloved Mistress, or the Laurel, into which she was transform'd, had an Oracle near the *Castalian* Fountain, the Waters of which were also endu'd with a prophetick Virtue (f).

Apollo was call'd *Ismenius*, from *Ismenus* a River, and Mountain in *Boeotia*, in which he had a Temple, and gave Answers to those that came to enquire of him.

Pausanias (g) hath told us of another place in *Boeotia*, where *Apollo* return'd Answers, viz. a Stone call'd *Σωπεγνιστός*, upon which he had an Altar, erected out of the Ashes of Victims offer'd to him; whence he was call'd *Spodius* from *Σπῶδός*; i. e. ashes; whence for *Σπῶνδός* in *Pausanias* must be read *Σπῶδός*. He did not here, as in other places signify his will *viva voce*, but by Omens, in the observation of

(a) *Cal. Rhod. Ant. Lect.* lib. XXVII. cap. V. (b) *Nat. Hist.* lib. II. cap. CIII. (c) *Stephanus* in voce *Εὐτρῆς*. (d) *Plutarch. Pelopida*. (e) *Pausanias Boeoticus*. (f) *Clemens Protrept.* (g) *Pausan. Ibidem.*

which

which He instructed Persons appointed for that purpose; for this way of Divination also was in use amongst the *Grecians*, especially at *Smyrna*, saith my Author, where was a Temple built on the outside of the City-wall for that Purpose. Thus much of the Oracles of *Apollo*.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Oracle of Trophonius.

Trophonius, the Son of *Eresinus*, and Brother of *Agamedes* (a), being possess'd with an immoderate Thirst of Glory, built himself a Mansion under Ground, at *Lebadea* a City of *Boeotia*, into which when he enter'd, he pretended to be inspired with an extraordinary Knowledge of future Events; but at length, either out of Design to raise in People an Opinion, that he was translated to the Gods, or being some way necessitated thereto, perish'd in his Hole (b). *Cicero* (c), giveth us a very different account of his Death, when he tells us, that *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, having built *Apollo's* Temple at *Delphi*, requested of the God, that, as a Recompence for their Labour, he would give them the best Thing that could happen to Man; *Apollo* granted their Petition, and promis'd them, that what they desired should be effected the third Day after; accordingly, on that Day in the Morning they were found dead. Several other Fables concerning him, and the manner of his Death you may find in the *Scholias*t upon the *Clouds* of *Aristophanes*.

However that be, *Trophonius* had divine Honours paid him after Death, and was worshipp'd by the name of *Jupiter Trophonius* (d); nor was it a thing unusual for Men Deified to be honour'd with the name of a God, I might give you several instances of the same Nature, but one shall suffice for all, viz. that of *Agamemnon*, who was worshipp'd at *Sparta* by the name of *Jupiter Agamemnon*, as *Lycophron* witnesseth (e),

Εμὸς δ' ἀκοίτης, διμωίδος νύμφης ἀναξ,
Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοισι κληθήσεται,
Τριμὸς μέγιστος παρ' Οἰβάλλῃ τέκνοισι λαχών.

Then shall my Husband, whom a Captive Bride
I now obey as my superiour Lord,

(a) *Suidas* voce *Τροφώνιος*. (b) *Phavorin*. (c) *Tusc. Quest. lib. I.* (d) *Strabo lib. IX.* (e) *Cassandr. v. 1123.*

By subtle crafty *Spartans* Jove be call'd,
And worshipp'd so, from their Posterity
Receiving greatest Honours.

Mr. Dechair.

Which words *Cassandra* speaks of *Agamemnon*, whose Captive and Concubine she was after the Destruction of *Troy*.

This Oracle came first into repute on this Account: On a time, when for the space of two years there had been no Rain in *Boeotia*, all the Cities of that Countrey, with a joyn't consent, appointed chosen Persons to go to *Delphi*, there to pay their Devotions to *Apollo*, in the Name of their Countrey, and desire his Advice and Assistance: The God accepted their Piety, but return'd them no other Answer, than that they should go home, and consult *Trophonius* at *Lebadea*. The Embassadors immediately obey'd, and repair'd to *Lebadea*, still remaining as much in the dark, as at the first; there being not the least Sign or Foot-step of any Oracle in that place: at length, when they had search'd a long time to no purpose, and began to despair of success, one *Saon* an *Acrephian*, the Senior of all the Embassadors, espy'd a swarm of Bees, and immediately took up a resolution to follow them; by this means he came to a Cave, into which he had no sooner enter'd, but by some evident tokens perceiv'd, that in that place was the Oracle, *Apollo* had commanded them to enquire of. Upon this he pay'd his Devotion to *Trophonius*, and receiv'd from him a well-come, and satisfactory Answer, together with Instructions in what Manner, and with what Rites and Ceremonies he would have those that should come for Advice, to approach him (a).

The Place of this Oracle was under the surface of the Earth, and therefore it was commonly call'd *καταδαίσιον*, and the Persons that consulted it *καταδαινόντες*, because the way to it was a Descent. Concerning it, there are innumerable Fables, which it would not be worth the while to mention in this place; I shall therefore pass them by, only giving you the Accounts *Pausanias* and *Plutarch* have left of it; the former of which consulted it in person, and thereby had opportunity of being an Eye-witness of what he reports. His words are thus translated by Mr. *Abel*:

"Whosoe're's exigencies oblige him to go into the Cave, must
"in the first place make his abode for some set-time in the Chappel
"of Good Genius and Good Fortune; during his stay here, he abstains
"from hot Baths, and employs himself in performing other sorts of
"Atonements for past offences; he is not wholly debarr'd bathing,
"but then it must only be in the River *Hercynna*, having a sufficient sustenance from the Leavings of the Sacrifices. At his going
"down he sacrificeth to *Trophonius* and his Sons, to *Apollo*, *Saturn*
"and *Jupiter*, (who hath the title of King) to *Juno Heciocha*, and
"*Ceres*, call'd *Europa*, reported to be *Trophonius's* Nurse. There's a

(a) *Pausanias Boeotia*.

"Priest stands consulting the Bowels of every Sacrifice, who accord-
 "ing to the Victims's aspects, prophecies whether the Deity will
 "give an auspicious and Satisfactory Answer. The Entrails of all
 "the Sacrifices confer but little towards the Revealing of *Tropho-*
 "nius's Answer, unless a Ram, which they offer in a Ditch, to *Ag-*
 "medes, with supplication for success, that night on which they de-
 "scend, presents the same Omens with the former; on this depends
 "the Ratification of all the rest, and without it their former Obla-
 "tions are of none effect: if so be this Ram doth agree with the
 "former, every one forthwith descends, back'd with the eagerness of
 "good Hopes; and thus is the Manner: Immediately they go that
 "night along with the Priests to the River *Hercynna*, where they
 "are anointed with Oyl, and washt by two Citizen's Boys, aged
 "about thirteen years, whom they call *Εμμεῖς*, i. e. *Mercuries*; these
 "are they, that are employ'd in washing whoever hath a mind to
 "consult; neither are they remiss in their Duty, but, as much as
 "can be expected from Boys, carefully perform all things necessary.
 "Having been washt, they are not straightway conducted by the
 "Priests to the Oracle, but are brought to the River's Rifes, which
 "are adjacent to one another: here they must drink a dose of the
 "Water of it, call'd *Lethe*, or Oblivion, to deluge with oblivion
 "all those things, which so lately were the greatest part of their
 "concerns. After that, they take the Water of *Mnemosyne*, viz. Re-
 "membrance, to retain the remembrance of those things, that shall
 "be exhibited to them in their Descent; amongst which is expos'd
 "a Statue, adorn'd with that admirable carving, that it's set up by
 "the People for *Daedalus's* workmanship; whereupon they never ex-
 "hibit it, unless to Descendants: to this therefore, after some vene-
 "rable obeysance, having mutter'd over a Prayer or two, in a linnen
 "Habit set off with Ribbands, and wearing Pantofles, agreeable with
 "the fashion of the Countrey, they approach the Oracle, which is
 "situated within a Mountain near a Grove, the foundation of which is
 "built spherical-wise, of white stone, about the size, in circumference,
 "of a very small Threshing-floor, but in height scarce two cubits,
 "supporting brazen Obelisks, encompass'd round with ligaments of
 "brass, between which there are doors that guide their passage into
 "the midst of the Floor, where there's a sort of a Cave, not the
 "product of rude Nature, but built with the nicest accuracy of Me-
 "chanism and Proportion; the Figure of this Workmanship is like
 "an Oven, it's breadth diametrically (as high as can be guess)
 "about nine cubits, it's depth eight, or thereabouts; for the guidance
 "to which there are no stairs, wherefore 'tis requir'd that all comers
 "bring a narrow and light Ladder with them, by which when they
 "are come down to the bottom, there's a Cave between the Roof
 "and the Pavement, being in breadth about two *πυγμαῖ*, and in
 "height not above one; at the mouth of this, the Descendant
 "having brought with him Cakes dipt in Honey, lies along on the
 "ground,

"ground, and shoves himself Feet foremost into the Cave; then he
 "thrusts in his Knees, after which the rest of his Body is rowl'd along,
 "by a force not unlike that of a great and rapid River, which over-
 "powring a Man with it's vortex, tumbles him over Head and Ears.
 "All that come within the approach of the Oracle, have not their
 "Answers reveal'd the same way: some gather their Resolves from
 "outward appearances, others by word of mouth; they all return
 "the same way back, with their Feet foremost. Among all that
 "have descended, 'twas never known that any was lost, except one
 "of the Live-guard of *Demetrius*; and besides 'tis credible the reason
 "proceeds from the neglect of the Rituals in his descent, and his
 "ill design; for he went not out of necessity to consult, but out
 "of an avaricious humour, for the sacrilegious conveyance back of
 "the Gold and Silver, which was there religiously bestow'd; where-
 "fore 'tis said, that his Carcase was thrown out some other way,
 "and not at the Entrance of the sacred Shrine. Among the va-
 "rious Reports that flie abroad concerning this Man, I've deliver'd
 "to Posterity the most remarkable. The Priests, as soon as the Con-
 "sultant is return'd, place him on *Mnemosyne's* Throne, which is not
 "very far from the Shrine; here they enquire of him, what he had seen,
 "or heard; which when he hath related, they deliver him to others,
 "who (as appointed for that Office) carry him stupify'd with amaze-
 "ment, and forgetful of himself, and those about him, to the Chappel
 "of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*, where he had made his former
 "stay at his going down; here, after some time, he's restor'd to his
 "former Senses, and the cheerfulness of his Visage returns again.
 "What I here relate, was not receiv'd at second-hand, but either as
 "by ocular demonstration I have perceiv'd in others; or what I've
 "prov'd true by my own Experience; for all Consultants are oblig'd
 "to hang up engrav'd on a Tablet, what they have seen, or heard.

Thus far *Pausanias*. *Plutarch's* Relation concerns the Appearances
 exhibited to Consultants; which, tho' they were various, and sel-
 dom the same, being it is a remarkable Story, I will give it you, as it
 is translated by the same Hand.

"*Timarchus*, being a Youth of Liberal Education, and just ini-
 "tiated in the Rudiments of Philosophy, was greatly desirous of
 "knowing the Nature and Efficacy of *Socrates's* *Demon*; wherefore com-
 "municating his project to no Mortal Body but Me and *Cebes*, after
 "the performance of all the Rituals requisite for Consultation, He
 "descended *Trophonius's* Cave; where having stay'd two nights and
 "one day, his return was wholly despair'd of, insomuch that his
 "Friends bewail'd Him as dead: in the Morning He came up very
 "brisk, and in the first place pay'd some venerable acknowledgments
 "to the God; after that, having escap'd the staring Rout, He laid
 "open to us a prodigious Relation of what he had seen or heard,
 "to this purpose: In his Descent, he was beset with a caliginous
 "Mist, upon which he pray'd, lying prostrate for a long time, and
 "not

"not having Sense enough to know whether he was awake, or in a dream, He surmises, that he receiv'd a blow on his Head, with such an echoing violence, as dissever'd the Sutures of his Skull, thro' which his Soul migrated; and being disunited from the Body, and mixt with bright and refin'd Air, with a seeming contentment, began to breath for a long time. and being dilated like a full Sail, was wider than before. After this, having heard a small noise, whistling in his Ears a delightful sound; he look'd up, but saw not a spot of Earth, only Islands reflecting a glimmering flame, interchangeably receiving different colours, according to the various degrees of Light. They seem'd to be of an infinite number, and of a stupendious size, not bearing an equal parity betwixt one another in this, tho' they were all alike, viz. globular: it may be conjectur'd, that the circumrotation of these mov'd the Æther, which occasion'd that Whistling, the gentle pleasantness of which bore an adequate agreement with their well-tim'd motion. Between these there was a Sea, or Lake, which spread out a Surface, glittering with many Colours, intermixt with an azure; some of the Islands floated in its Stream, by which they were driven on the other side of the Torrent; many others were carry'd to and fro, so that they were well-night sunk. This Sea, for the most part, was very shallow and fordable, except towards the South, where 'twas of a great depth; it very often ebb'd and flow'd, but not with a high Tide; some part of it had a natural Sea-colour, untainted with any other, as miry and muddy as any Lake. The rapidness of the Torrent carry'd back those Islands from whence they had grounded, not situating them in the same place as at first, or bringing them about with a circumference; but in the gentle turning of them, the Water makes one rising Row: betwixt these, the Sea seem'd to bend inwards about (as near as he cou'd guess) eight parts of the whole. This Sea had two mouths, which were lets to boisterous Rivers, casting out fiery foam, the flaming brightness of which cover'd the best part of its natural Azure. He was very much pleas'd at this Sight, until he lookt down, and saw an immense Hiatus, resembling a hollow'd Sphere, of an amazing and dreadful profundity; it had darkness to a miracle; not still, but thicken'd, and agitated: here he was seiz'd with no small fright, by the astonishing hubbubs, and noises of all kinds, that seem'd to arise out of this hollow, from an unfathomable bottom, viz. he heard an infinity of Yells and Howlings of Beasts, Cries and Bawlings of Children, confus'd with the Groans and Outrages of Men and Women. Not long after, he heard a voice invisibly pronounce these words.....

What follows is nothing but a prolix and tedious Harangue upon various subjects. One thing there is more especially remarkable in this account, viz. That he makes *Timarchus* to return from Consultation with a brisk and chearful countenance, whereas 'tis commonly reported, that all the Consultants of this Oracle became pensive and

and melancholy; that their Tempers were sowr'd, and their Countenances, however gay and pleasant before, rendred dull and heavy; whence of any Person dejected, melancholy, or too serious, it was usually said, *εἰς Τροφονίῳ μεμάρτυται*, i. e. He has been consulting the Oracle of *Trophonius*. But this is only to be understood of the Time immediately ensuing Consultation; for, as we learn from *Pausanias*, all Enquirers recover'd their former chearfulness in the Temple of *Good Genius* and *Good Fortune*.

CHAPTER XI. Of other Grecian Oracles.

Amphiaraus was the Son of *Oicleus*, and married *Eriphyle* the Sister of *Adrastus*, King of *Argos*; he was an excellent Soothsayer, and by his Skill forelaw that it would prove fatal to him, if he engag'd himself in the *Theban War*. Wherefore, to avoid inevitable destruction, He hid himself, but was discover'd by his Wife *Eriphyle*, whom *Polynices* had corrupted with a Present of a golden Chain. Being discover'd, he was oblig'd by *Adrastus* to accompany the Army to *Thebes*, where it happened to Him as He had foretold; for, together with his Chariot and Horses, he was swallow'd up by the Earth. Whence *Ovid* saith of him,

Notus humo mergis Amphiaraus equis.

Some say this Accident happen'd in the way betwixt *Thebes* and *Chalcis*, and for that reason the place is call'd *Apuz*, i. e. a Chariot, to this day, saith *Pausanias* (a).

After his Death, he was honoured with Divine Worship; first by the *Oropians*, and afterwards by all the other *Grecians*: And a stately Temple, with a Statue of white Marble, was erected to him in the place where he was swallow'd up, saith my Author, being about XII *Stadia* distant from *Oropus*, a City in the confines of *Attica* and *Boeotia*, which for that reason is sometimes attributed to both Counties. There was also a remarkable Altar, dedicated to him in the same place; it was divided into five parts: The first of which was sacred to *Hercules*, *Jupiter*, and *Pæonian Apollo*: The second to the *Heroes*, and their Wives: The third to *Vesta*, *Mercury*, *Amphiaraus*, and the Sons of *Amphilochus*, (for *Alcmaeon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, was not allow'd to partake of any of the Honours pay'd to *Amphilochus*, or *Amphiaraus*, because he slew his Mother *Eriphyle*) The fourth to *Venus*, *Panacea*, *Jason*, *Hygia*, and *Pæonian Minerva*. The fifth part to the *Nymphs*, *Pan*, and the Rivers *Achelous*, and *Cepheisus*.

Answers were not deliver'd, as those of *Apollo*, by a *Pythiſſa*, but in Dreams: *Jophon* the *Gnoſian*, who publiſh'd the ancient Oracles in Heroick Verſes, reports, That *Amphiaraus* return'd an Answer to the *Argives* in Verſe; but my Author herein contradicted him, and reports farther, that it was the general opinion, that only thoſe, who were inspir'd by *Apollo*, gave Answers after that manner; whereas all the reſt made Predictions either by Dreams, or the Flight of Birds, or the Entrails of Beaſts. He adds, for a confirmation of what he had ſaid before, viz. that theſe Answers were given in Dreams, That *Amphiaraus* was excellently skill'd in the Interpretation of Dreams, and Canoniz'd for the Invention of that Art.

They that came to conſult this Oracle, were firſt to be purify'd by offering Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*, and all the other Gods, whoſe Names were inſcrib'd on the Altar: (a) *Philoſtratus* adds, they were to faſt 24 hours, and abſtain three days from Wine. After all, they offer'd a Ram in Sacrifice to *Amphiaraus*; then went to ſleep, lying upon the Victim's Skin, and in that poſture expected a Revelation by Dream. In the ſame manner did the People of *Apulia* *Daunia* expect Answers from *Podalirius*, who died there, and return'd Prophetick-dreams to thoſe that came to enquire of him: whoe're conſulted him, was to ſleep upon a Sheep's ſkin at his Altar, as we learn from theſe words of *Lycophron* (b),

Δορᾶς δὲ μύλων τίμειον ἐγκοιμωμένοις
χρήσει καὶ ὕπνον πᾶσι νημερτῇ φέρειν.

They, whoſe aspiring Minds curious to pry
Into the Myſtick Records of Events,
Ask aid of *Podalirius*, muſt ſleep
Proſtrate on Sheep-skins at his hallow'd Fane,
And thus receive the true Prophetick Dreams.

Mr. Hutchin.

To return. All Perſons were admitted to this Oracle, the *Thebans* only excepted, who were to enjoy no benefit from *Amphiaraus* in this way: for, as *Herodotus* reporteth (c), He gave them their option of two Things, viz. His Counſel and Advice, to direct them in time of Neceſſity; or his Help and Protection, to defend them in time of Danger; telling them they muſt not expect both: whereupon they choſe the latter, thinking they had a greater need of Defence, than Counſel, which they could be ſufficiently furniſh'd with by *Delphian Apollo*.

This Oracle was had in very great eſteem: *Herodotus* (d) reckons it amongſt the five principal ones of Greece, conſulted by *Craſus*, before his Expedition againſt *Cyrus*; viz. the *Delphian*, *Dodonean*, *Am-*

(a) Vita *Apolloni* *Tyanai* lib. II. (b) *Cassandra* v. 1050. (c) lib. viii. cap. cxxxiv. (d) Lib. I. c. xlv.

phiaraus's,

phiaraus's, *Trophonius*'s, and the *Didymean*; and *Valerius Maximus* (a) ſaith, it was not inferiour either to the two firſt of thoſe already mention'd, or that of *Jupiter Harthmon*.

Near the Temple was the Fountain, out of which *Amphiaraus* aſcended into Heaven, when he was receiv'd into the number of the Gods, which for that reaſon was call'd by his Name; it was held ſo ſacred, that it was a Capital crime to employ the Waters of it to any ordinary uſe, as waſhing the hands, or Purification; nay it was unlawful to offer Sacrifice before it, as was uſual at other Fountains: The chief, and perhaps only uſe it was employ'd in, was this, viz. they that by the advice of the Oracle had recover'd out of any Diſeaſe, were to caſt a piece of coyn'd Gold, or Silver into it; and this (b) *Pausanias* tells us was an ancient Cuſtom, and deriv'd from the primitive Ages.

At *Pharae*, a City of *Achaia*, Answers were given by *Mercurius* *Ἀγκάου*, ſo nam'd from *ἀγορά*, i. e. the Market-place, where was a Statue of ſtone erected to him, having a Beard, which ſeems to have been a thing unuſual in his Statues; before it was plac'd a low Stone-altar, upon which ſtood brazen Baſons ſoldered with Lead. They that came for Advice, firſt offer'd Frankincenſe upon the Altar, then lighted the Lamps, pouring Oyl into them; after that, they offer'd upon the right ſide of the Altar a piece of Money, ſtamp'd with their own Country-impreſſion, and call'd *Χαλκοῦς*, then propos'd the Questions they deſir'd to be reſolv'd in, placing their Ear cloſe to the Statue, and after all departed, ſtopping both their Ears with their Hands, till they had paſs'd quite through the Market-place; then they pluck'd away their Hands, and receiv'd the firſt Voice that preſented it ſelf, as a Divine Oracle. The ſame Ceremonies were practic'd in *Egypt*, at the Oracle of *Serapis*, as (c) *Pausanias* hath reported.

(d) At *Bura* in *Achaia*, there was an Oracle of *Hercules*, call'd from that City *Buraicus*; the place of it was a Cave, wherein was *Hercules*'s Statue: Predictions were made by throwing Dice. They that conſulted the God, firſt addreſs'd themſelves to him by Prayer; then taking four Dice, out of a great heap that lay ready there, they threw them upon the Table; all the Dice had on them certain peculiar marks, all which were interpreted in a Book kept for that purpoſe; as ſoon therefore as they had caſt the Dice, they went to the Book, and there found every Man his Doom.

At *Parra*, (e) a City on the Sea-coaſt of *Achaia*, not far from the Sacred Grove of *Apollo*, there was a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which were erected three Statues, two to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, ſtanding; the third to *Earth*, ſitting upon a Throne. Before the Temple there was a Fountain, in which were deliver'd Oracles, very famous for the truth of their Predictions. Theſe were not given upon every account, but concern'd only the Events of Diſeaſes. The manner of

(a) Lib. VIII. c. XV. (b) *Attich*. (c) *Achaic*. (d) *Ibidem*. (e) *Pausanias* *ibidem*.

conſulting

consulting was this; They let down a Looking-glass by a small cord into the Fountain so low that the bottom of it might just touch the surface of the Water, but not be cover'd by it; this done, they offer'd Incense and Prayers to the Goddess; then looked upon the Glass, and from the various Figures and Images represented in it, made Conjectures concerning the Patient.

(a) At *Træzen*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was an old Altar dedicated to the *Muses* and *Sleep*, by *Ardalus*, one of *Vulcan's* Sons; who was the first Inventor of the Flute, and a great Favourite of the *Muses*, who from him were call'd *Ardalides*. They that came for Advice, were oblig'd to abstain certain days from Wine. Afterwards they lay down by the Altar to sleep, where, by the secret Inspiration of the *Muses*, proper Remedies for their Distempers were reveal'd to them.

(b) At *Epidaurus*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, there was a Temple of *Æsculapius*, famed for curing Diseases; the Remedies of which were reveal'd in Dreams. When the Cure was perfected, the Names of the diseased Persons, together with the manner of their Recovery, were registred in the Temple. This God was afterwards translated to *Rome*, by the Command of *Delphian Apollo*, who told them, that was the only way to be free'd from the Plague, which at that time rag'd exceedingly amongst them: whereupon they sent Embassadors to *Epidaurus*, to desire the God of them; but the *Epidaurians* being unwilling to part with so beneficial a Guest, *Æsculapius* of his own accord, in the shape of a great Serpent, went straight to the *Roman* ship, where he repos'd himself, and was with great veneration convey'd to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with great joy; and having deliver'd them from the Distress they lay under, was honour'd with a Temple in the little Island, encompass'd by the River *Tibur*, and worshipp'd in the same Form he had assum'd. This Story is related by *Pliny* (c), and *Ovid* (d).

At *Amphiclea*, call'd by *Herodotus* *Ophiica*, by *Stephanus* *Amphicea*, there was a Temple sacred to *Bacchus*, but no Image, at least, none expos'd to publick view. To this God, saith *Pausanias* (e), the *Amphicleans* ascribe both the Cure of their Diseases, and the Foretelling of future Events; the former he effected by revealing proper Remedies in Dreams; the latter, by inspiring into his Priests Divine Knowledge.

Strabo, in his Description of *Corinth*, telleth us, *Juno* had an Oracle in the *Corinthian* Territories, in the way between *Lechaum* and *Page*.

There was also in *Laconia*, a Pool sacred to *Juno*, by which Predictions were made after this manner: They cast into it Cakes made of Bread-corn; if these sunk down, good; if not, something dreadful was portended.

(f) *Cælius Rhodiginus* telleth us out of *Philostratus*, that *Orpheus's* Head at *Lesbos*, gave Oracles to all Enquirers, but more especially to the

Grecians; and told them, That *Troy* could not be taken without *Heracles's* Arrows: He adds, that the Kings of *Persia* and *Babylon*, often sent Embassadors to consult this Oracle, and particularly *Cyrus*, who being desirous to know by what death he was to die, receiv'd this Answer, *Τὸ ἐμὸν, ὦ Κόρη, τὸ πῦρ* i.e. My Fate, O *Cyrus*, is decreed you. Whereby it was meant he should be Beheaded; for *Orpheus* suffer'd that death in *Thrace*, by the fury of the Women, because he profess'd an hatred and aversion to the whole Sex: his Head being thrown into the Sea, was cast upon *Lesbos*, where it return'd answers in a Cavern of the Earth. There were also Persons initiated into *Orpheus's* Mysteries, call'd *Ὀρφεοτελεσται*, who assur'd all those that should be admitted into their Society, of certain Felicity after Death: which when *Philip*, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, *Leotychidas* the *Spartan* reply'd, Why do not you die then, you Fool, and put an end to your Misfortunes, together with your Life? At their Initiation, little else was requir'd of them, besides an Oath of Secrecy.

In *Laconia*, in the way betwixt *Oebylus* and *Thalamia*, (a) *Pausanias* saith, there was a Temple and Oracle of *Ino*, who gave Answers by Dreams, to those that enquir'd of her.

(b) *Plutarch* maketh mention of another famous Oracle in *Laconia*, at the City *Thalamia*, which was sacred to *Pasiphae*, who, as some say, was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, and had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*. Others are of opinion it was *Cassandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this place, was call'd *Pasiphae*, *πᾶσι τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν τὰ μαντεῖα*, from revealing Oracles. Others will have it, that this was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amyclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transformed into a Lawrel, and honour'd by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. This Oracle, when *Agis*, King of *Sparta*, endeavour'd to reduce the *Spartans* to their ancient manner of Living, and put in force *Lycurgus's* old Laws, very much countenanced and encouraged his Undertaking, commanding the People to return to their former State of Equality. Again, when *Cleomenes* made the like Attempt, it gave the same Advice, in this manner, as my Author relates the Story (c): About that time, saith he, one of the *Ephori*, sleeping in *Pasiphae's* Temple, dream'd a very surprizing Dream; for he thought he saw the four Chairs remov'd, where the *Ephori* us'd to sit and hear Causes, and one only plac'd there; and whilst he wonder'd, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, saying, *This is best for Sparta*.

Upon the top of *Cithæron*, a Mountain in *Boeotia*, was a Cave call'd *Sphragidium*, where many of the Inhabitants of that Countrey were inspir'd by the Nymphs, call'd *Sphragitides*, and thence nam'd, *Νυμφολήνιοι* (d), i.e. inspir'd by the Nymphs.

(a) *Pausanias*. (b) *Idem Corinthiac*. (c) *Lib. IV.* (d) *Met. XV. Phocicis*. (f) *Antiquitat. lib. XV. cap. IX.*

(a) *Laconia*. (b) *Agide*. (c) *Cleomenes*. (d) *Pausanias Boeotia*.

Ulysses had an Oracle amongst the *Eurytians*, a Nation of *Ætolia*, as (a) *Aristotle* is said to report by *Tzetzēs*, in his Comment upon *Lycophron*, who hath these words concerning *Ulysses*,

(b) Μάντιν δὲ νεκρὸν Εὐρυτῶν σέβει Λεῶς,
Ο, τ' αὐτὸ ναίων Τραμπύας ἐδέθλιον.

Æolian People the dead Prophet crown.

Several other Oracles we read of in Authors, as that of *Tiresias*, and *Ægeus*, with others of less Repute; which for that reason I shall forbear to mention.

CHAPTER XII.

Of Theomancy.

HAVING given you an Account of the most celebrated Oracles in Greece which make the first and noblest Species of Natural Divination; I come now to the second, call'd in Greek Θεομαντεία, which is a compound word, consisting of two parts, by which it is distinguish'd from all other sorts of Divination; by the former (viz. Σιδς) it is distinguish'd from Artificial Divination, which, tho' it may be said to be given by the Gods, yet does not immediately proceed from them, being the effect of Experience and Observation. By the latter (viz. μαντεία) it is oppos'd to Oracular Divination; for tho' Μαντεία be a general Name, and sometimes signifie any sort of Divination; yet it is also us'd in a more strict and limited Sense, to denote those Predictions that are made by Men; and in this acceptance it is oppos'd to Χρησμός, as the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* has observ'd (c).

Thus much for the Name. As to the Thing, it is distinguish'd from Oracular Divination, (I mean that which was deliver'd by Interpreters, as at *Delphi*, for in others the Difference is more evident) because that was confin'd usually to a fixed and stated Time, and always to a certain Place; for the *Pythia* could not be inspir'd in any other place but *Apollo's* Temple, and upon the sacred *Τρίπων*; whereas the Θεομάντιες were free and unconfin'd, being able (after the offering of Sacrifices, and the performance of the other usual Rites) to prophesie at any Time, or in any Part of the World.

(a) *Iliac. Politæ* 2. (b) Vers. 799. (c) In *Oedip. Tyr.*

As to the Manner of Receiving the Divine Inspiration, that was not always different; for not only the *Pythia*, but the *Sibyls* also, with many others, were possess'd with Divine fury, swelling with rage, like Persons distracted, and beside themselves. (a) *Virgil* describes the *Sibyl* in this hideous posture,

—Cui talia fanti
Ante fores subito non vultus, non color unus
Non comæ mansere comæ, sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
Nec mortale sonans: afflata est numine quando
Jam propiore Dei—

Thus at the Entrance spake the sacred Maid;
And now no settl'd Air, or Feature staid
Thro' the whole symmetry of her alter'd Face,
For fleeting Colours seiz'd each other's place.
But when the head-strong God, not yet appear'd,
With holy Phrensy had the *Sibyl* seiz'd,
Terror froze up her grizly Hair; her Breast
Throbbing with holy Fury, still exprest
A greater horror, and She bigger seems
Swoln with th' *Afflatus*, whilst in Holy screams
Sh' unfolds the hidden mysteries of Fate.

Mr. *Hutchin.*

Few that pretended to Inspiration, but rag'd after this manner, foaming and yelling, and making a strange, terrible noise; sometimes gnashing with their Teeth, shivering and trembling, with a thousand other antick Motions: and therefore some will have their Name (viz. μαντις) to be derived ἀπὸ τοῦ μαινέσθαι, i. e. from being mad.

Other Customs also they had common to them, with the *Pythia*; I shall only mention those about the Laurel, which was sacred to *Apollo*, the God of Divination, ever since the Death and Metamorphosis of his Beloved *Daphne*, and thought to conduce very much to Inspiration, and therefore call'd μαντικὸν φυτόν, the Prophetick Plant; whence *Claudian* saith of it,

—Venturi præscia *Laureus*.

The Laurel skill'd in Events.

With this therefore they us'd to crown their Heads, as *Euripides* (b) saith of *Cassandra*. And *Æschylus* (c) also agrees with him herein, when he saith of her,

Καὶ σκῆπτρα, καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέσση σέση.
Her Hand a Laurel-scepter grasp'd, her Neck
The same Prophetick Plant with Garlands grac'd.

(a) *Æn. lib. VI. v. 47.* (b) *Andromache.* (c) *Agamemnone v. 1273.*

Where by *σκήπτρον*, he means a Staff of Laurel, which Prophets usually carried in their Hands; it was call'd in Greek *ἱβωπτερον*, as we learn from *Hesychius*. Farther, it was usual for them to eat the Leaves of this Tree; and therefore (a) *Lycophron* saith of *Cassandra*,

Δαρνιφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαμῶν ὄπα.

The Mouth with Lauril-morsels often blest'd,
In Mystick words unriddl'd future Truths.

And the Sibyll in *Tibullus* speaks of it, as one of her greatest Privileges, placing it in the same rank with that of Virginity, a thing held by her very sacred, tho' not always observ'd by other Prophets; for *Cassandra* was *Agamemnon's* Concubine; and tho' the condition of a Captive might lay some force upon her, yet 'tis agree'd by all, that *Helenus* married *Andromache*; and nothing is more commonly known, than that Blind *Tiresias* was led up and down by his Daughter *Manteia*. But to return to the Sibyll: Her words in *Tibullus* are these,

— Sic usque sacras innoxia Lauris
Vescar, & æternum sit mihi Virginitas.

With holy Laurel may I e're be fed,
And live, and die an unpolluted Maid.

Thus much of these Prophets in general; I shall only add, that they, as also other Diviners, were maintain'd at *Athens* at the publick Charge, having their Diet allow'd in the *Πρυτανεῖον*, or Common Hall, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* observes.

Of the *Θεομαντεῖς* there were three sorts among the *Græcians*, distinguished by three distinct manners of Receiving the Divine Affluus.

One sort were possess'd with prophesying Demons, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them; or spoke out of the Bellies, or Breasts of the possess'd Persons, they all the while remaining speechless, and not so much as moving their Tongues, or Lips; or rather pronounc'd the Answer themselves, making use of the Members of the *Dæmoniack*. These were call'd *Δαίμονοκλήτοι*, i. e. possess'd with Demons; and because the Spirits either lodged, or spoke within their Bodies, they were also named *Εγγασείμωδοι*, (which Name was also attributed to the Demons) *Εγγασείμαντες*, *Στενομαντικ*, *Εγγασπται*, &c. This way of Prophesying was practic'd also in other Countries, and particularly amongst the *Jews*, as also *Necromancy*: For the Prophet *Isaiah* denounceth

(a) *Cassandra* v. 6.

God's heavy Judgments upon those that made use of either of them. (a) His words, as they are translated by the Seventy, run thus, *Καὶ ἐὰν εἴπωσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ζητήσατε τὰς ἐγγασείμωδας, καὶ τὰς Σπῆς τῆς γῆς φωνούντας, τὰς κενολογούντας, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνῶσιν· οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς θεὸν αὐτὰς ἐκζητήσασιν; τί ἐκζητῶσι πρὸς τοῦ ζώντων τὰς νεκρῶν;* And if they say unto you, Seek unto them, whose speech is in their Belly, and those that speak out of the Earth, those that utter vain words, that speak out of their Belly: Shall not a Nation seek unto their God? why do they enquire of the Dead concerning the Living? To return: These Diviners were named *Εὔρυκλεις*, and *Εὔρυκλείται*, from *Εὐρύκλεις*, the first that practis'd this Art at *Athens*, as the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* hath inform'd us, at these words,

Μιμητάμωδοι τῷ Εὔρυκλείῳ μιανταίαν καὶ ἀλένοισαν
Εἰς ἀλλοτείας κατέβηκεν ἐνδύς, καμφοδινὰ πολλὰ χεῖρας (b).

Like that fantastick Divination,
Which *Emyrcles* of old did first invent,
To enter Bellies, and from thence pronounce
Ridic'ulous Whims.

Mr. Hinchm.

They were also call'd *Πύθωνες*, and *Πύθωνικοι*, from *Πύθων*, a Prophesying Demon, as *Hesychius* and *Suidas* have told us: the same is mention'd in the Acts of the Apostles (c), *Εγένετο δὲ παρενοχλῶν ἡμῶν εἰς πνεῦμα πύθωνος, ἀπαποσταίῃ ἡμῶν.* Our Translators have rendred it thus: And it came to pass as we went to prayer, a certain Damsel possess'd with a Spirit of Divination met us. But the Margin reads *Python*, instead of *Divination*, which is a general Name, and may be us'd in that place, as more intelligible by the Vulgar. *Plutarch* in his Treatise about the Cessation of Oracles, saith these Familiar Spirits, were anciently call'd *Εὔρυκλεις*, and only *Πύθωνες* in latter Ages: "It is absurd (saith he) and childish to suppose that God himself, like the *Εγγασείμωδοι*, which were formerly call'd *Εὔρυκλεις*, but are now named *Πύθωνες*, should enter into the Bodies of Prophets, and make use of their Mouths and Voices, in pronouncing their Answers.

As to the Original of this Name (*Python*) there are various Conjectures; the most probable of which seems to be, That it was taken from *Apollo Pythius*, the God that presides over all sorts of Divination, and afterwards appropriated by Custom to this species; for so we find a great many Words of a general signification, in time made pecu-

(a) Cap. VIII. v. 19. (b) *Vespis*. (c) Cap. XVI. v. 16.

liar to some one part of what they signified before. To give you an Instance, *Τυραννίς*, among the ancient Greeks, was apply'd to all Kings, as well the just and merciful, as the cruel and whom we now call *Tyrannicall*; but in more Modern Ages, was appropriated to that latter sort, and became a Name of the greatest ignominy, and detestation. On the contrary, Words of a narrow and limited Sense, have sometimes passed their bounds, and taken upon them a more general and unconfined one: so *Μαντεία*, which at first signified only that sort of Prophecy, that was inspired with Rage and Fury; being derived (as *Plato*, and others after him will have it) *ἀπὸ τῆς μανίης*, from being Mad; and us'd by *Homer* (a) in that sense, being set in opposition to some other ways of Divination, as that by Dreams, and Entrails, came at length to be a general Name for all sorts of Divination.

The second Sort of *Θεομάντις*, were call'd *Ενθουσιασμός*, *Ενθουσιασμοί*, and *Θεοπνευσία*, being such as pretended to what we also call *Enthusiasm*; and differed from the former, because they contain'd within them the Deity himself; whereas these were only governed, acted, or inspired by him, and instructed in the knowledge of what was to happen. Of this sort were *Orpheus*, *Amphion*, *Museus*, and several of the *Sibylls*.

A third sort were the *Εκστατικοί*, or those that were cast into Trances or Extasies, and so lay like Men dead, or asleep, deprived of all Sense and Motion, but after some time, (it may be Days, or Months, or Years, for *Epimenides* the *Cretan* is reported to have lain in this posture LXXV Years) returning to themselves, gave strange and amuling Relations of what they had seen, and heard. For it was a vulgar Opinion, that Man's Soul might leave the Body, and wander up and down the World; nay, and visit the place of the Deceased too, and see what was done there, and by converse with the Gods and Heroes, be instructed in things useful and necessary for the Conduct of Human Life. *Plato*, in the tenth Book of his *Politicke*, speaks of one *Pamphilus*, a *Phærean*, that lay ten Days amongst the Carcasses of slain Men, and afterwards being taken up, and plac'd upon the Funeral-pile, to be burned, returned to Life, and related what places he had seen in Heaven, Earth, and Hell, and what was done there, to the astonishment of all that heard him. *Plutarch* also, in his Discourse concerning *Socrates's Demon*, saith, it was reported of the Soul of *Hermodorus* the *Clazomenian*, that for several Nights and Days, it would leave his Body, travel over many Countreys, and return after it had view'd things, and discours'd with Persons at a great distance; till at last, by the treachery of a Woman, his Body was delivered to his Enemies, who burn'd the House, while the Inhabitant was abroad. Several other Stories of the same nature, are recorded in History; which, whether true or false, it matters not much, since they were believ'd, and receiv'd as such.

(a) *Iliad* α'.

Thus

Thus much for *Natural Divination*. I come in the next place to speak something of that, which is call'd *Artificial*: In doing which, because Divination, or Prediction by Dreams, bears a somewhat nearer Affinity to the *Natural*, than the rest, and is by some reckon'd amongst the Species of it, I shall therefore in the first place give you an Account of the Customs practis'd in it.]

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Divination by Dreams.

I Shall not in this place trouble you with the various Divisions of Dreams, which do not at all concern my present Purpose; my Design being only to speak of those, by which Predictions us'd to be made, commonly call'd *Divine*: and of these, there were three sorts.

The first was *Χρηματισμός*, when the Gods, or Spirits in their own, or under any assumed Form, seem'd to converse with Men in their Sleep: Such an one was *Agamemnon's* Dream, at the beginning of the second *Iliad*; where the God of Dreams, in the form of *Nestor*, adviseth him to give the *Trojans* Battle, and encourageth him thereto, with the promise of certain Success and Victory. Such an one also was the Dream of *Pindar*, in which (as (a) *Pausanias* reports) *Proserpina* appeared to him, and complained he dealt unkindly by her, for that he had compos'd Hymns in honour of all the other Gods, and she alone was neglected by him: She added, that when he came into her Dominions, he should celebrate her Praises also. Not many Days after, the Poet died, and in a short time appear'd to an old Woman, a Relation of his, that us'd to employ a great part of her time, in reading and singing his Verses, and repeated to her an Hymn made by him upon *Proserpina*.

The second is *Οραμα*, which is that wherein the Ideas, or Images of Things, that are to happen, are plainly and clearly represented; and when Things appear in their own shape and likeness: and this is by some call'd *Θεωρηματικός*. Such an one was that of *Alexander* the Great, mention'd by (b) *Valerius Maximus*, when he dreamed that he was to be murdered by *Cassander*: And that of *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, when he dreamed that his Son *Alys*, whom he design'd to succeed in his Empire, should be slain by an Iron Spear, as (c) *Herodorus* relateth.

(a) *Bæticæ*. (b) *Lib. I. cap. VII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. XXXIV.*

The

The third Species, call'd *Ονειρος*, is that in which future Events are revealed, by certain Types and Figures; whence it is named *Αλληγορικός*, for an *Allegory*, as (a) *Heracles* of *Pontus* defines it, is a Figure, by which one Thing is express'd, and another signify'd. Of this sort was *Hecuba's*, when she dream'd, she had conceiv'd a Fire-brand; and *Cæsar's*, when he dream'd he lay with his *Mother*; whereby was signified, he should enjoy the Empire of the Earth, the common Mother of all living Creatures. From this Species, those, whose Profession it was to interpret Dreams, have desum'd their Names, for they are call'd in *Greek* *Ονειροκρίται*, *Ονειράτων Ξοκρίται*, from Judging of Dreams; *Ονειροσκόποι*, from Prying and Looking into them; and *Ονειροπόλοι*, because they were *Conversant* about them. To one of these three Sorts may all Prophetical Dreams be reduc'd; but the Distinction of their Names is not always nicely, or critically observ'd.

The first Author of all Dreams, as well as other Divinations, was *Jupiter*, as I have already intimated,

——— καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ὄσιν.

For Dreams too come from *Jove*.

saith (b) *Homer*. But this must not be understood, as if Dreams were thought immediately to proceed from *Jupiter*: It was below his Dignity to condescend to such mean Offices, and therefore Inferiour Deities were employ'd in these, and such like Ministrations.

To omit therefore the Apparitions of the Gods, or Spirits in Dreams, upon particular occasions, such as was that of (c) *Patroclus's* Ghost to *Achilles*, to desire his Body might be interr'd: The Earth was thought to be the cause of Dreams, saith *Ætærides* (d):

——— ὦ πέτνια χθὼν,
Μελανοπτερόων μάτερ ὀνείρων.

Hail reverend *Earth*, from whose prolifick womb
Sable-wing'd Dreams derive their Birth.

Where the *Scholiast* gives this Reason for it, viz. That the *Earth*, by obstructing the passage of the Light of the Sun, causeth the Night, in which Dreams present themselves, and are upon that account imputed to the *Earth*, as their Mother. Or, that out of the *Earth* proceeds Meat, Meat causeth Sleep, (Sleep being nothing but the Ligation of the exterior Senses, caus'd by humid Vapours ascending from the Stomach to the Brain, and there obstructing the Motion of the Animal Spirits, which are the Instruments of Sensation, and all other

(a) De Allegor. Homericis. (b) Iliad. α'. (c) Iliad. ψ'. (d) Hecub. v. 70. Animal

Animal Operations) and from Sleep come Dreams; but these were esteem'd meer Cheats, and Delusions, as *Eustathius* telleth us, in his Comment upon the nineteenth Book of *Homer's Odyssey*, not far from the end; and such as these he saith the Poet speaketh of, when he maketh Dreams to inhabit nigh the *Ocean*, the great Receptacle of the humid Element,

Πὰρ δ' ἴσται Ωκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς, καὶ Ἀδρυάδα πέτραι,
Ἡδὲ παρ' ἡλίοιο πύλαι, καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων.

Near to that Place, where with impetuous force
The rowling Ocean takes his rapid course,
Near *Phæbus's* glittering Gates, and that dark Cell,
Which Dreams inhabit.

Mr. Hutchins.

Others were ascribed to the Infernal Ghosts, as *Virgil* hath told us, at the end of his sixth *Æneid*,

Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.

By this th' Infernal Deities conveigh
Into the upper World phantastick Dreams.

Sophocles also beareth me witness herein, when he brings in *Electra*, saying that *Agamemnon*, out of a concern for *Orestes* and his Designs, haunted *Clytemnestra* with fearful Dreams,

(a) Οἶμας μὲν ἔν, οἶμαί π' ἐχκαίνω μέλον,
Πέμψαι τὰδ' αὐτῇ δυσπρόσοπ' ὀνείρατα.

For He, solicitous of those Affairs,
In frightful Dreams doth *Clytemnestra* haunt.

Others were imputed to *Hecate*, and to the *Moon*, who were Goddesses of the Night, and sometimes taken for the same Person; were suppos'd also to have a particular Influence, and to preside over all the Actions, and Accidents of the Night, and therefore invoked at Incantations, and other Night-mysteries, as I shall shew afterwards.

But the chief cause of all, was the God of Sleep, whose Habitation, as (b) *Ovid* describes it, was among the *Cimmerii*, in a Den dark as *Hell*, and in the way to it; around him lay whole swarms of Dreams of all sorts and sizes, which he sent forth when, and whither He pleased; but *Virgil* assigns to the false and deluding Dreams another place, upon an Elm at the entrance of *Hell*,

(a) *Electra* v. 480. (b) *Metam.* lib. XI. Fab. X
M m

*In medio ramos amosaque brachia pandit
Ulmus opaca, ingens : quam sedem somnia vulgo
Vana tenere ferunt, solisque sub omnibus hævem (a).*

I' th' midst an ancient spreading Elm doth grow
Whose clasping arms diffuse a shade below ;
And here, if Fables don't the World deceive,
To ev'ry Branch, to ev'ry trembling Leaf
Clings a phantastick Dream.

Mr. Hutchin.

It may be, he supposes this to have been the Receptacle of some part of them, and the rest to accompany the God of Sleep. Ovid tells us He had three Attendants more ingenious than the rest, which could transform themselves into any Shape, and assume any Form ; their Names were *Morpheus*, *Phobetor*, or *Icelos*, and *Phantasus* ; the Employment of the first, was to counterfeit the forms of Men, the second imitated the likeness of Brutes, and the last of inanimate Creatures ;

(b) *Excitat artificem, simulatoremque figuræ
Morphea ; non illo jussus solertior alter
Exprimis incessus. vultumque, sonumque loquendi ;
Adjicit & vestes, & consuetissima cuique
Verba, sed hic solos homines imitatur. At alter
Fit fera, fit volucris, fit longo corpore serpens,
Hunc Icelon superi, mortale Phobetora vulgus
Nominat. Est etiam diversæ tertius aris
Phantasos ; ille in limum, saxumque, undamque, trabemque,
Quæque vacant animâ feliciter omnia transit.*

He rous'd the Antick Fiend ; than whom none can
More subtly, or more lively mimic Man.
The *Beaux*, the *Clown*, he'll in their Garbs express
And set his Tongue to each Man's proper Phrase,
Their Looks, tho' ne're so different, he can ape ;
But He's oblig'd t' assume an Human shape.
The different shapes of Beasts a second bears,
And now in snaky Wreathings he appears,
A hissing Serpent ; now again he seems
A tim'rous Bird, thus mixes all extreams.
Him *Icelos* th' Immortal Beings call,
But Men *Phobetor*.

Phantasus next, but He, distinct from these,
Usurps the uncouth shapes of wither'd Trees,
Of Stones, or other lifeless Substances.

Mr. Hutchin.

(a) *Æneid*. VI. v. 283. (b) *Ovid*. *Loc. citat.*

In

In *Virgil*, the God of Sleep descended from Heaven upon *Palinurus* ; which is not to be understood, as if Heaven was his proper Seat ; but that he was sent thence, by some of the *Etherial* Gods, by whom He had been call'd thither : or else He is to be suppos'd to rove up and down through the Heavens, or Air, to disperse his Dreams among Men, as He sees convenient : (a) *Virgil's* words are these,

*levis æthereis delapsus Somnus ab astris
Æra dimovis tenebrosam, & dissipat umbras ;
Te, Palinure, petens, Tibi tristia Somnia portans.*

When nimble Sleep glides through the liquid Air,
Dispells the Clouds, and makes the Skies more clear,
Laden with fearful Dreams, which He doth bear
For Thee, unhappy *Palinurus*.

Mr. Hutchin.

There was another Deity also, to whom the care of Dreams was committed, call'd *Brixo*, from the old *Greek* word *βριζω*, which signifies to sleep : *Cælius* saith she was worshipped in the Island *Delos*, and had Boats full of all sorts of Things offer'd to her, except Fish. But she was thought rather to assist at the Interpretation of Dreams, than to be the efficient cause of them ; and is therefore by *Hesychius* call'd *Βριξία*. This Account *Cælius* hath taken out of the eighth Book of *Athenæus*, who adds farther, that they used to pray to her for the Publick Safety, and Prosperity ; but more particularly, that she would vouchsafe to protect, and preserve their Ships.

Having treated of the reputed Authors of Dreams, I shall in the next place speak something of the Ways, by which they were suppos'd usually to come. Now these were two, one for delusive Dreams, which pass'd through a Gate of Ivory ; and another for those that were true, and they pass'd through a Gate of Horn. Descriptions of these two Gates, you may find every where, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, all which I shall therefore omit, only giving you one, in each Tongue : the first is that of (c) *Homer*, where speaking of Dreams, he saith,

*Τῶν οἱ μὲν κ' ἔλθουσι διὰ πεισοῦ ἐλεονίῳ,
οἱ δ' ἐλεραίονται ἐπὶ ἀκράντα φέροντες.
οἱ δὲ διὰ ξειῶν κερῶν ἔλθουσι δούραζε,
οἱ δ' ἐπύμα κραινοῦσι βροτῶν ὅτε κεν τις ἴδῃται.*

The second shall be that of (d) *Virgil*, imitated from the former,

(a) *Æneid*. V. v. 838. (b) *Antiq. Lect. lib. XXVII. cap. X.* (c) *Odyss. XIX. v. 562.* (d) *Æneid VI. v. 893.*

*Sunt gemine Somni portæ, quarum altera feritur
Cornea, quæ veris facilis datur exitus Umbris :
Alterâ candenti perfectâ nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad Cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.*

Vain, and phantastick are the Dreams, that fly
Thro' the great Gate of polish'd Ivory,
With senceless Whims these to our Heads repair,
Gull us with golden Mountains in the Air :
But when i' th' Morn we wake, our drowzy Eyes
Big with th' expectation of the lovely Prize,
With eager haste the giddy Phantasm flies.
But no such Whims infest our easy Pate,
When Sleep conveys our Dreams thro' th' other Gate,
Compos'd of polish'd Horn. For those from hence
Are true prophetick Dreams, and full of solid Sence.

Mr. Hutchin.

In allusion to these Gates, *Philostatus* saith, they us'd to represent Dreams in a white Garment, wrapp'd over a black one, with a Horn in his Hand. And *Eustathius*, in his Comment upon the fore-mention'd Passage of *Homer*, hath made several Conjectures concerning it, most of which are so frivolous and trifling, that barely to mention them would be lost labour; and such as desire farther satisfaction, if they think it worth their while, may consult the Author.

The Time in which true Dreams were expected, was *Νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶς*, and therefore *Homer* telleth us, that *Penelope* having an auspicious Dream about her Son *Telemachus*, who was travelling in search of his Father *Ulysses*, rejoiced the more, because it appear'd to her at that time,

— ἢ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνόρουσε
Κούρη Ιχαιείοιο, φίλον δὲ οἱ ἦτορ ἰάνετο,
Ὡς οἱ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐφαίνετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ (a).

But when *Penelope* awak'd, her Breast
With greater Joy and Gladness was possess'd,
Because at Break of Day the Dream appear'd,

Mr. Hutchin.

What Time that was, Grammarians do not agree; some derive it (saith *Eustathius*) from the privative Particle *α* and *μολέω*, to walk, or *μολέω*, to labour and toil, as tho' it were *ἀμολῶ*, or *ἀμολῶ*, and by Epenthesis, *ἀμολγῶς*, as tho' it should signify the dead of the Night, in which People neither labour, nor walk abroad. Others also think it may signify

(a) Fine *Odys.* IV.

the

the middle, or depth of the Night, but for a different reason; for *ἀμολγῶς*, (say they) is the same with *πυκνός*, i. e. thick, or close compacted; and *Hesiod* hath us'd the word in this sence, when he saith,

Μάλα τ' ἀμολγαῖν ———

That is, as *Athenæus* expounds it, *πυκνὴν ἀμμοαῖα*, a thick Cake, such as the Shepherds, and Labouring Men eat. Others allow it the same Signification, but for a third reason; *Αμολγῶς*, (say they) according to the *Glossographers*, amongst the *Acheans*, is the same with *ἀκμή*, which signifies the the midst, or height of any thing, as *ἀκμή θέρος*, that part of Summer, when the Heat is most violent, Midsummer; and Men are said to be *ἐν ἀκμῇ*, when they are in their full Strength; and therefore *ἀμολγῶς*, or *ἀκμή νυκτός*, must be the depth, or midst of the Night. But this Signification concerns not our present purpose, for I no where read, that Dreams had any whit the more credit, because they came in the dead of the Night. *Αμολγῶς* therefore was us'd in another sence, for the time in which they us'd to milk Cattle, being derived from *ἀμέλω*, to milk; and then *ἀμολγῶς νυκτός* must signify the Morning, in opposition to *ἡμέρας ἀμολγῶς*, or the Evening milking-time: And that it was us'd in this sence, is evident from *Homer's* twenty-second *Iliad*, where he saith the Dog-star (which riseth a little before the Sun) appears *ἐν νυκτὶ ἀμολγῶ*. His words are these,

Παμφαῖνονθ' ὥς ἀστὲρ ἐπεστυρόμενον πεδίοιο,
Ὅς ἔα τ' ὑπώγης εἶσιν, ἀείζηλοι δὲ οἱ οὐρανὸν
φαῖνονθ' πολλοῖσι μετ' ἄστροισι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ,
Ὅν τε κυνὶ Ωρίωνι ὀπίηλυσιν καλέουσιν (a).

— Rushing he shone,
As when th' Autumnal Dog-star hast'ning on
To seat himself 'fore Morning in the Skie,
Darts down his blazing Beams from high;
A dazling Lustre all around is seen,
It burns the brightest in the heavenly Plain.

Mr. Dechair.

And that this was the Time, in which Dreams were thought to deserve greatest regard, (b) *Horace* assures us,

(a) *Il.* X. v. 26. (b) *I. Sat.* X. 31.

At

*At Ego quoniam Græcos facerem natus mare citra
Versiculos, veniit me tali voce Quirinus,
Post mediam noctem visus, quoniam somnia vera.*

Now being a Roman born,
And Grecian Numbers once resolv'd to try
Quirinus kindly did my Wish deny;
Methought, the Night near spent, when Dreams are true,
'Twas at the dawn of Day, he came unto my view,
And spoke such words as these.

Mr. Dechar.

And Ovid was of the same opinion, when he said,

*Namque sub Auroram jam dormitante lucernâ,
Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.*

Near Morn, when Lamps are dwindling out their Light,
And seem to nod for sleep, that part of Night
When Dreams are truest offer'd to our Sight.

Mr. Dechar.

Theocritus also agrees with them,

*ἔγχευε δ' ἡνός,
Εὔτε καὶ ἀστράτων ποιμαίνε' ἔδν' οὐκ εἰδόν.*

And now Aurora's just about t' appear,
When surest Dreams do most excuse our Fear.

Mr. Dechar.

The reason of this Opinion was this, viz. They thought all the remainders of the Meat upon their Stomachs might by that time be pretty well digested, and gone; for till then Dreams were believ'd rather to proceed from the Fumes of last-night's Supper, than any Divine, or Supernatural Cause: and therefore Pliny tells us, a Dream is never true presently after Eating, or Drinking; and Artemidorus goes farther yet, when he saith, that there can small credit be given to a Morning Dream, if you have eat too plentifully the Night before; because all the Crudities cannot then be suppos'd to be carried off.

For that reason, they that desired a Prophetick Dream, us'd to take a special Care of their Diet, so as to eat nothing hard of Digestion, as Beans, or raw Fruit. Some, that they might be sure to be free from Fumes, and sleep with an empty Stomach, were so superstitious as to fast one Day before, and abstain from Wine for three. Fish is not soon, or easily digested, and therefore ('tis probable) was thought to obstruct true Dreams; which seems to have been the reason why such quantities of them were offer'd in Sacrifice to the Goddess Brizo; for it was

usual to offer to the Gods the things they had an especial kindness for, or a great aversion from; the former, because they were thought delightful, and acceptable to them; the latter, because they had an Antipathie against them, and therefore 'twas believed it afforded no small pleasure to see them burn and perish upon their Altars. (c) Plutarch observes, that the Polyphus's Head was prejudicial to those that desired Prophetical Dreams;

Πελοπόδης κεφαλὴ ἐν ῥύψι κελόν, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐδλόν.

I th' Polyphus's Head
Something of Ill, something of Good is bred.

Because it is sweet and pleasant to the Taste, but disquieteth Men in their Sleep, and maketh them restless, causing troublefom and anxious Dreams; and therefore he compares Poetry to it, because it containeth many things, as well profitable, as pleasant, to those that make a right Use of it; but to others is very prejudicial, filling their Heads with vain, if not impious Notions, and Opinions. In short, all things apt to burden the Stomach, to put the Blood into a Ferment, and the Spirits into too quick and agitated a Motion; all things apt to create vain or strange Imaginations, to disturb Men's Rest, or any way hinder the free and ordinary Operations of the Soul, were to be avoided; that to the Mind and Phantasy being pure, and without any unnatural, or external Impressions, might be the fitter to receive Divine insinuations. Some choice there was also in the colour of their Cloaths: for Suidas hath told us, it was most proper to sleep in a white Garment, as if that could conduce to make the Dreams and Visions the clearer.

Besides all this, (to omit those that expected Dreams from Amphiaeus, or other Deities, in an Oracular way, of which I have spoken in another place) before they went to Bed, they us'd to sacrifice to Mercury; so Calasiris in Heliodorus, after he had pray'd to all the rest of the Gods, calls upon Mercury, to give him εὐνείεον νύκτα, i. e. a Night of good Dreams. Now you must know, Mercury was thought to be ὁ δότης, the Giver of Sleep, as Eustathius telleth us, and therefore they usually carved his Image upon the Bed's-foot, which were for that reason call'd ἐρμῆνες, which word Homer hath made use of, when he saith that Vulcan caught Mars in bed with Venus,

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἐρμῆσιν χεῖ δέσματα κίχλω ἅπαντα (b).

Great massy Chains on ev'ry Bed-post round,
With a restless Force God Vulcan bound.

(c) Initio Libelli de Audiendis Poetis. (b) Odyss. 6. v. 278.

Again, in the twenty-third Book of his *Odysses*, he hath the same word,

ἢ ὅτι σάθμῳ ἴθουα
(a) Ερμῶν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ

Then having with his Rule first shap'd it out,
H' a polish'd Bed-post made.

Tho' others will have ἑρμῶς to be derived from ἑρμα, i. e. a Prop, or Support, because by it the Bed was upheld, and supported. However that be, certain it is that one of *Mercury's* Employments was, to preside over *Sleep*, and *Dreams*, and the Night also, with all things that belongs to it: for so *Homer* hath told us in his Hymn upon this God, wherein he call him

(b) Ληϊστῆρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνειρέων,
Νυκτὶς ὀπωπιτῆρα, πυλιδόχον.

A thieving God, a Cattle-stealer, one
Whose Care are Dreams, and Noises in the Night.

After all this Preparation, they went to sleep, big with expectation of knowing whatever they were solicitous, or concern'd about, before the Morning: But if their Fate was revealed in obscure, or Allegorical Terms, so that themselves could not dive into their meaning, then an Interpreter must presently be consulted. The first of this kind, as *Pliny* (c) reports, was *Amphiethyon*, *Deucalion's* Son: *Pausanias* (as I have told you before) would have it to be *Amphiaras*, who, he saith, had Divine Honours paid him, for the Invention of that Art: but whoever was the Author of it, it is certain that, amongst the ancient *Greeks*, it was had in very great Credit, and Reputation, as appears from the number of Books written concerning it; for *Geminus Pyrius* compos'd three Books upon this subject, *Artemon* the *Milesian* two and twenty, beside *Panyasis* the *Halicarnassian*, *Alexander* the *Myndian*, *Phyllobus* the *Antiochian*, *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, *Nicostratus* the *Ephesian*, *Asiopho* the *Athenian*; with others, whose Writings are still extant; such are *Artemidorus*, *Astrampsychnus*, *Philo Judeus*, *Achines* the Son of *Syrinus*, *Nicephorus*, &c. But for all this, it was never in so great request as the other Species of Divination; the many false and frivolous Dreams that happened to every Man, cast a suspicion upon all the rest, and those that were nothing but delusions, made those that were true, ὀνειρεῖσθαι, or Prophetical, to be call'd in question; and therefore when the Heroe in (d) *Homer* adviseth the *Græcians* to enquire of some Prophet, what means they might use to appease the anger of the God

he speaks boldly, and without hesitation of μάντις, or the Inspired Prophet; and ἱερδῆς, or him that consulted the Entrails of Victims offered in Sacrifice (for so ἱερδῆς must signify in that place) but when he comes to ὀνειροπόλος, or the Interpreter of Dreams, he's forc'd to make a sort of an Apology for what he saith, in this manner,

Αλλ' ἄγε δὴ πῶς μάντιν ἐξείσομαι, ἢ ἱερδῆα,
ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.

But come, let's call some Prophet here, or Priest,
Or Dream-Interpreter, for sure, at least
Some Dreams are sent from *Jove*.

Mr. Dechair

Whereby he anticipates a Question, that he foresaw might be propos'd to him thus: But why should we ask Counsel of one, whose business is only to expound fallacious, vain Delusions? why should we trust the safety of the whole Army in the Hands of a cunning, pretending Impostor? To this he answers, That indeed there were a great many false, and deceitful Dreams; but that it could not from thence be concluded, that all Dreams were so: for, notwithstanding the many Delusions that appeared, yet for all that, some of them were true, and came from *Jupiter*, the common Father of all Prophetical Predictions, and therefore might be depended upon. After this manner *Eustathius* has paraphrased the Poet's words. In later Ages Dreams came to be little regarded, except by old dotting Women, who were very superstitious in observing them, as (a) *Propertius* gives us to understand, when he saith,

Que mea non decies somnia versas anus?

A hundred times old Women have I told
My frightful Dreams.

In more remote Ages, the People that lived near the *Gades*, and *Boristhenes*, and the Inhabitants of *Telmessus*, and *Hybla Gereatis*, a City belonging to the *Cataneans*, in *Sicily*, were famed for their Skill in this Art. The Signs by which they made Conjectures, would be too tedious to mention in this place; if any one has leisure, and vanity enough to employ himself in such solemn and ridiculous Fooleries, let him consult *Artemidorus*.

If Dreams contained in them any thing frightful and terrible, they us'd to disclose their Fears to some of the Gods, offering Incense, or some other Oblation; and praying, that, if Good was portended, it might be brought to pass: if the contrary, that the Gods would avert

(a) Ver. 198. (b) Ver. 14. (c) Lib. VII. cap. V. (d) Il. α'.

(a) Lib. II. Ep. IV.

whatever ill was boded by them. This telling of Dreams was not appropriated to any particular Deity, for some would discover them to *Hercules*, others to *Jupiter*, as one doth in *Plautus*; however, because the Household-Gods were nearest at hand, and thought to have a particular Concern and Care for the Family, in which they were worshipp'd, it was therefore usual to declare Dreams to them, and particularly to *Vesta*, as you may learn from (a) *Propertius*;

Vadit ex hinc castæ narratum Somnia Vestæ,
Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.

Chaste *Vesta* too my Dreams she went to tell,
Such Dreams, as both for You and Me were well.

Mr. Dechair.

Apollo also had a peculiar Right and Title to this Worship, under the Name of *Ἐξακισιεύς*, *ἑξακισιεύς*, or *Averruncus*, so called from averting Evils, and *Προσπύτης*, because he presided over, and protected Houses, and therefore, as the old *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* informs us, had Images erected to him in the Porches. Whence, in *Sophocles's Electra*, *Clytemnestra* having seen a terrible Dream, calls upon her Woman thus,

Ἐπαίρει δὲ σὺ θύμαθ' ἢ παρῆσά μοι,
Πάσχαρπ', ἀνακτι τῷ δ' ἔπος λυτνειοῖς
Εὐχὰς ἀνὰ δαίμονα δειμάτων ἀ νυῖ ἔχω (b).

Here, bring the Incense, Maid, for I intend
To *Phœbus* strait t' address my self in Prayer,
That he would free me from those aking Fears,
Which pain my troubled Breast.

Mr. Dechair.

And then she begins her Prayer,

Κλύεις ἄν ἦδ' ἡ, Φοῖβε προσπύττει,
— ὅδ' ἄκκε τῇδε γ' ἐγὼ φράσω.
Α γ' ὡς σέβειν νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
Διωτῶν ὀνείρων, ταῦτά μοι, Λύκει' Ἀναξ,
Εἰ μὴν πέρηνεν ἐδῶλ', ὅς τε λεισφόρα
Εἰ δ' ἔχθρα, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἑμπαλιν μέδεις.

Great God *Apollo*, You who from all Harms
Our Houses guard, attend my humble Prayer,

(a) Lib. I. Ep. XXIX. 3. (b) Ver 635.

The

The Visions which were to my Fancy brought
Last night in Dreams, if Good they do portend,
Let me enjoy the same; if otherwise,
My Enemies may they the Ill receive.

Mr. Dechair.

But before that, she had discovered her Fears to the Sun, for *Chrysothemis* tells *Electra*, she had come to the knowledge of her Dream by that means, being informed by one that overheard her,

(a) Τοιαῦτά τε παρὲντος, ὡς ἂν ἡλίου
Δείκνυσσι τῆμαρ, ἔκλυον ἐξηγεμένην.

This I was told by one who present was,
When to the Sun her Dream she did rehearse.

Mr. Dechair.

Both the *Scholiasts* upon that place tell us, that it was done conformably to the ancient Custom of relating Dreams to the Sun; and *Triclinius* giveth this Reason for it, viz. That, because the Sun is contrary to the Night, he might avert, or expel all the Evils that proceeded from it. The same Custom we find also practis'd by *Iphigenia* in (b) *Euripides*, with this difference, that she discloses her thoughts to the Heavens, whereas *Clytemnestra* had done it to the Sun alone: Her words are these,

Ἄ κεν δὲ ἡνὶ νύξ φέρουσι φάσματα,
Λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ', εἴπῃ δὲ τὸδ' ἐς' ἄκρ'.

But what new Dreams this present Night affords,
To th' Skie I'll tell, if that will benefit.

The doing this they called *ἀποπέμπειν*, *ἀποδομομπεῖν*, and *ἀποτρέπειν* ἑνυχὸν ἔλιν, or *ἀποδομομπεῖν* τῷ ἡλίῳ, &c.

But before they were permitted to approach the Divine Altars, they were oblig'd to purify themselves from all the pollutions of the Night; and therefore in (c) *Æschylus* one saith,

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστη, καὶ χερσὶν καλλιγένης
Ἐλυσσα πηγῆς, σὺν θυπέτῳ χεῖ
Βωμῷ προσέειπε, δαίμονας δαίμοσι
Θέλυσσα θύσαι πέλανον.

As first I rose, I to the Rivers went,
And wash'd away those foul Impurities,

(a) Ibid. v. 435. (b) *Taur.* v. 43. (c) *Pers.*

Which

Which had my Body stain'd; this being done,
I approach'd the holy Fanes, and offer'd up
A Sacrifice to the Deliv'ring Gods.

Mr. Dechair.

(a) *Silius* also mentioneth the same Custom,

————— *sub lucem ut visa secudent*
Oro calicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

I cleanse my self in running Streams, and pray
My Dreams may lucky prove.

For it was unlawful to worship the Gods at any time, till they had purified themselves by Water, as I have told you before; but at this time it was more especially required. (b) *Perfius* adds farther, that it was usual amongst the *Romans*, to dip their Heads five times in the Water, before Morning-prayer,

Hec sancte ut poscas, Tiberino in gurgise mergis,
Mane caput bis terque, & noctem flumine purgas.

And lest your Prayer shou'd speak a sinful Mind,
You purge away the Filthiness you find
Procur'd by Night; You to the *Tiber* go,
And down into the Tide You flouncing bow
Five times Your Head.

Mr. Dechair.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of Divination by Sacrifices.

DIVINATION by Sacrifices was call'd *ἱεργμαντεία*, or *ἱεργμαντία*, and was divided into different kinds, according to the diversity of the Materials offer'd to the Gods. For first they made Conjectures from Signs observ'd in the External Parts, and Motions of the Victim; then from it's Entrails, from the Flame in which it was consum'd, from the Cakes and Flower, from the Wine and Water, and several other Things, of which in their order.

First then, The Art, whereby Observations were made in killing, and cutting up the Victim, was call'd *Θυμική*. Unlucky Omens were, when the Beast was drawn by force to the Altar, when it escap'd by the way, avoided the fatal Blow, did not fall down quietly, and without reluctance, but kick'd, leap'd up, or bellow'd, bled not freely, was long

(a) Lib. VIII. (b) Sat. II. ver. 16.

a dying, shew'd any tokens of great pain, beat upon the ground, expir'd with Convulsions, or did any thing contrary to what usually happens at the slaughter of Beasts: These were thought to be certain Signs of the Divine Displeasure. But on the contrary, the Gods were judg'd to be propitious, and kindly to receive the Devotions paid to them, when every thing was carry'd on with Ease; when the Victim went voluntarily, and without compulsion to the slaughter, endur'd the Blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expir'd without groaning. Somewhat also they observ'd in the wagging of his Tail; whence the Poet saith,

————— *Κέρκυ πρὸς ποιεὶ κελῶς.*

The Victim kindly wagg's his Tail.

After this, the Victim being cut open, they made Observations from its Entrails, in which if all things were whole, and sound, had their Natural place, Colour, and Proportion, then all was well: but if any part was decay'd, or wanting, if any thing was out of Order, or not according to Nature, Evil was portended.

The first and principal part to be observ'd, was the Liver; for if that was corrupted, they thought that both the Blood, and all the rest of the Body must be so too; and therefore if it was found very bad, they desisted immediately, nor caring what the other Parts might promise; such Signs were for that reason call'd *ἀνέλδου*, being such as hinder'd them from going any farther. This observing the Liver was call'd *Ἡπατοσκοπία*, which also became a general Name for Divination by Entrails, because it was the chief part of it. If the Liver had a pleasing, and Natural Redness, if it was sound, without spot, or blemish, if its Head was large, if it had two Heads, or there were two Livers, if its Lappets were turned inwards, then abundance of Prosperity, and Success in their Undertakings might be expected. On the other hand, nothing but Dangers, Disappointments, and Misfortunes were to be looked for, if there was *δίψα*, (as they call'd it) too much Dryness, or *δεσμὸς*, a tie between the parts, especially if it was *ἀλοῦ*, without a Lappet, or the Liver it self was altogether wanting. Bad Signs also were accounted such as these; If it had upon it any Blisters, Wheals, or Ulcers; were parch'd, thin, hard, or of an ugly, blackish Colour; had any corrupt and vitiated Humours, was any way displaced; or, lastly, if in boiling it did not conspicuously appear amongst the rest of the Entrails, was polluted with any nasty, corrupt Matter, became very soft, and, as it were, melted into a Jelly. The Concavous part of the Liver was called *ἐσθλὸς*, i. e. belonging to the Family, because the Signs observ'd there concern'd themselves, and their Friends; the Gibbous side *ὀπίσθιος*, or *ἀνίσθιος*, because the tokens in it concern'd their Enemies: if either of these Parts was shriveled, corrupted, or any way changed for the worse, it boded ruin

ruin to the Person concern'd in it; but if large, and sound, or bigger than usual, it was a prosperous Omen. The Romans also us'd the same Method; for *Lucan* tells us, *Cæsar's* Victory over *Pompey* was foretold this way: His words are these,

*Quodque nefas nullis impune apparuit extis,
Ecce videt capiti Fibrarum increscere molem,
Alterius capiti pars ægra & marcida pender,
Pars micat, & celeri venas movet improba pulsa.*

Another Ill-presaging Sign was seen,
For of the Liver's Heads one overgrown,
And, as 'twere, squeez'd was by the other down,
Sickish, and wither'd one side quiet lay,
The other leapt, and sportfully did play.

Mr. Dechair.

The Place, or Seat, where all the parts of the Liver lay, was called *ἡξίς*, and *δοχή*. The Place between the parts in the middle, *πυλαία*, and *ἐνερχαιία*, by *Hesychius* ὁδοί, or *ἐνδοποι*, by *Euripides* πύλαι,

————— πύλαι καὶ δοχή πέλας
Καὶ δὲ ἔσταινον πρὸ σκοποδυντὶ πορτολάας.

The next thing to be taken notice of, was the Heart, which if it was very little, palpitated much, leaped, was shriveled, or wrinkled, or had no Fat at all, portended bad Fortune; if there was no Heart to be found, it was a deadly Omen.

Next to the Heart, they us'd to observe the Gall, the Spleen, the Lungs, and the Membranes, in which the Bowels were inclos'd. If there were two Galls, if the Gall was large, and ready to burst out of its Skin; then sharp and bloody, but yet prosperous Fights were expected. If the Spleen lay in its own place, was clear and sound, of its natural colour, without wheals, hardness, or wrinkles, it boded nothing but Success; as the contrary Signs presaged Misfortunes: So did also the Entrails, if they chanced to slip out of the Hands of him that offer'd the Sacrifice; if they were besmear'd with Blood, of a livid colour, or spotted; were full of Blisters, or Pimples, fill'd with corrupt or salt Matter, broken or torn in pieces, or stunk like putrified Bodies; lastly, if Serpents crawling, or any thing else terrible and unusual was found in them. If the Lungs were cloven, the Business in hand was to be deferr'd; if whole and entire, it was to be proceeded in with all possible speed, and vigour.

Other Parts of the Victim did sometimes presage things to come, especially if any thing happened extraordinary, and contrary to the common course of Nature. For Instance, On the day that King *Pyrrhus* was

was slain at *Argos*, his Death was foretold, by the Heads of the Sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own Blood, as *Pliny* (a) reports. Another unlucky Omen happened to *Cimon*, the Athenian General, a little before his Death; for when the Priest had slain the Sacrifice according to Custom, the Blood that ran down, and congeal'd upon the Ground, was by a great many Pismires carried to *Cimon*, and placed all together at his great Toe: they were a long Time in doing this, before any man perceived them, but *Cimon* had no sooner espy'd them out, but the *Augur* brought him word, that the Liver had no Head; and in a very short time after that famous Captain died.

Hither are to be reduc'd some other ways of Divination, by things made use of at Sacrifices; as first, *Πνευματεία*, Divination by the Fire of the Sacrifice. Good Signs were such as these; If the Flames immediately took hold of, and consum'd the Victim, seizing at once all the parts of it; wherefore that it might do so, they usually prepared *τὰ σφύρανα*, dry Sticks, that would easily take Fire; also if the Flame was bright, and pure, and without Noise, or Smoke; if the Sparks tended upward in the form of a Pyramid, if the Fire went not out till all was reduc'd to Ashes. Contrary Signs were when it was kindled with difficulty, when the Flame was divided, when it did not immediately spread it self over all the parts of the Victim, but creeping along, consum'd them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a straight Line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or downwards, and was extinguish'd by Winds, Showres, or any other unlucky Accident; when it crackled more than ordinary, was black, casting forth Smoke, or Sparks, or died before all the Victim was consum'd. All these, and such like, were unlucky Omens, and signify'd the Displeasure of the Gods. Some of these Signs *old Theophrastus* speaks of in (b) *Sophocles*, as very fatal, and pernicious,

————— ἐν δὲ θυμάτων
*Ἡρακλῆος ἐκ ἐλαμπεν· ἀλλ' ὅππῃ σποδῶ
Μυδῶτα κηκίς μυελῶν ἐτίκκετο,
Κᾶπτρε, κἀνέπλεε καὶ μετάρσι
Χολαὶ διασπείροντο, καὶ χαλαρῶν
Μυελὶ καλυπτῆς ἐξέκειντο πμελῆς.*

————— At the Sacrifice

No sparkling Flames from up the Fire flew,
But a black Smoak, with cloudy Vapours mixt;
That roll'd, and smother'd all the Place;
Scatter'd abroad the mangl'd Entrails lay,
And Thighs defil'd without their wonted Fat.

Mr. Dechair.

(a) Lib. XI. cap. XXXVII. (b) *Antigon*, ver. 1122.

Sometimes, when the Entrails foretold nothing certain by Dissection, the Priest made Satisfactory Observations from them in the Fire; and therefore they sometimes took the Bladder, and binding the Neck of it with Wooll, (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the Bladders *μαλλοδέτις κύστις*) put it into the Fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine: sometimes they took Pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the Fire; and if there arose but one entire Flame, it was taken for a good Omen. In matters of War, or Enmity, they took most notice of the *ἀνω λαμπάς*, or uppermost part in the Flame, and the Gall, *πικρὸν ἔλθεσι*, for that Enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt.

καπομαντεία, Divination by the Smoke of Sacrifices, in which they observed what Windings, and Turnings it made, how high it ascended, and whether in a direct, or oblique Line, or in wreaths; also how it finelled, whether of the Flesh that was burned, or any thing else.

λίβανομαντεία, Divination by Frankincense, which, if it presently caught Fire, and sent forth a grateful odour, was esteem'd an happy Omen; but if the Fire would not touch it, or any nasty Smell, contrary to the Nature of Frankincense, proceeded from it, it boded some Ill.

οἶνομαντεία, and *ὕδρομαντεία*, Divination by Wine, and by Water, in which they made Conjectures from the Colour, Motion, Noise, and other Accidents of the Wine, of which Libations were made, and the Holy-water, in which the Victims were washed, and some parts of them boyled. (a) *Virgil* hath made mention of them both, in the Story of *Dido*,

*Vidit, thuricremis cum dona imponeret aris,
Horrendum dictu! latices nigrescere sacros,
Fusaque in obscuro se vertere vina cruorem.*

Offering before the Altar, as she stood,
(Amazing Sight!) Lo, into putrid Blood
The Wine is chang'd, the Water, clear before,
A sudden, muddy Blackness covers o'er.

Mr. Dechair.

κλειδομαντεία, and *ἀλδομαντεία*, Divinations by which Predictions were made from the Flower, with which the Victim was besprinkled.

Hither also you may refer *ἰχθυομαντεία*, Divination by the Entrails of Fishes, for which *Tiresias*, and *Polydamas* are said to have been famous: as also *ὄοσκοπία*, which made Predictions by Eggs, and several others.

(a) *Aeneid*. IV. v. 453.

Who

Who was the first Inventor of this Divination, is uncertain, by some it is attributed to *Prometheus*, the great Father of most Arts. No doubt it was very ancient: And so great Credit it had, that they would desist from the greatest, and seemingly most advantageous Undertakings, and attempt things most hazardous, and unlikely to be attain'd; if the Entrails of Victims dissuaded them from the former, or encouraged them to the latter; take but one Instance out of *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Aristides*: When *Mardonius* the Persian made an Assault upon the *Graecians*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedaemonian*, at that Time General of all the *Graecian* Forces, offer'd Sacrifice, and finding it not acceptable to the Gods, commanded the *Lacedaemonians* laying down their Shields at their Feet, to abide quietly, and attend his Directions; making no Resistance to any of their Enemies. Then offering a second Time, (for if the first Victim afforded not auspicious Omens, it was usual to offer on, till they obtained what they desired) as the Horse charged, one of the *Lacedaemonians* was wounded: At this Time also *Callicrates*, who by report was the most comely, proper Man in the Army, being shot with an Arrow, and upon the point of expiring, said, That he lamented not his Death, (for he came from home to lay down his Life in the Defence of Greece) but that he had died without Action. The cause was heard, and wonderful was the forbearance of the Men; for they repelled not the Enemy that charged them, but expecting their opportunity from the Gods, and their General, suffered themselves to be wounded, and slain in their Ranks; and so obstinate they continued in this Resolution, that tho' the Priests offered one Victim after another without any Success, and the Enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a Foot, till the Sacrifices proved propitious, and the Soothsayers foretold the Victory.

CHAPTER XV.

Of Divination by Birds.

I Come in the next place to speak of Divination by Birds; the Invention of which is by some ascribed to *Prometheus*, or *Melampus*, the Son of *Amythaon* and *Dorippe*; (a) *Pliny* reports that *Car*, from whom *Caria* receiv'd its Name, was the first that made Predictions by Birds; and *Orpheus* by other Animals; (b) *Pausanias* telleth us, That *Parnassus*, after whose Name the Mountain *Parnassus* was called, first ob-

(a) *Lib*. VII c. LV. (b) *Theocrit.*

Q c

served

served the Flight of Birds. This Art was very much improved by *Calchas*, who, as *Homer* tells us, was

οἰωνοπόλων ὅχ' αἰετος.

Of Augurs far the best.

At length it arrived at such Perfection, and gained so much Credit in the World, that seldom any thing of moment was undertaken, either in Time of War, or Peace, seldom any Honours conferred, any Magistrates created, without the Approbation of Birds: Nay, other Divinations were sometimes passed by unregarded, if not confirmed by them. At *Lacedæmon*, the King, and Senate had always an Augur attending upon them, to advise with; (a) and *Cælius* reports, that Kings themselves used to study this Art. The Birds, because they were continually flying about, were thought to observe, and pry into Men's most secret Actions, and to be acquainted with all Accidents; whence that of (b) *Aristophanes*,

Οὐδείς εἶδε τ' ἤσπασεν τὸν ἐμὸν, πλὴν εἴπῃς ἄρ' ὄρνις.

None, but perhaps some Bird, knows any thing
About my Treasure.

And the *Scholiast* quotes such another Saying out of him;

Οὐδείς με θεωρεῖ πλὴν ὁ παρ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρνι.

None sees me, but the Bird that flieth by.

There is a Proverb also much to the same purpose; for when they thought themselves secure from the Knowledge of all Persons, they us'd to say, Οὐδείς εἶδε τί ὠμίλῃται, πλὴν γε εἴπῃς ὄρνις. None is conscious to what I have been conversing about, except perchance some Bird. (c) *Aristophanes* hath introduced the Birds themselves, telling what religious observance was paid them,

Εσμέν δ' ὑμῖν Ἀμμων, Δελφοί, Δωδώνη, Φῶκος Ἀπόλων,
Ελθόντες γὰρ παρ' ὅρκους, ἔτι παρ' ἁπάντα τέπειθε.

For we to You instead of *Hammon* are,
Instead of *Delphi*, and *Dodona's* Oak,
Instead of *Phæbus*; for our Oracles
You first consult, then prosecute Designs.

(a) *Antiq. Leq.* lib. VIII. cap. I. (b) *Avibus.* (c) *Loc. citat.*

The Omens given by Birds were by the *Greeks* called ὄρνις, ὀρνιθοσκοπία, αἵσιμα, οἰωνοί, οἰωνίσματα, &c. And the Observers of them, ὀρνειοσκόποι, ὀρνιδομάντις, ὀρνιδοσκόποι, οἰωνιστής, οἰωνοδέτης, οἰωνοπόλος, &c. But afterwards, these Names were promiscuously us'd for almost all the Species of Artificial Divination; as *Aruspicium*, and *Augurium* were among the *Latins*. *Plato* is of Opinion that οἰωνιστή was originally a general Name, and written with an ὀ *Micron*, οἰωνιστή, signifying any thing, δι' ἧς οἴμεθα τὰ μέλλοντα, by which we make Conjectures of what is to come; but now (saith *Aristotle*) they write it with ὠ *Mega*, τὸ ὠ σεμνύνοντες, to give the better grace to it.

The *Græcian* Augurs were not, as the *Latin*, clothed in Purple, or Scarlet, but in White, having a Crown of Gold upon their Heads when they made Observations, as (a) *Alexander ab Alexandro* informs us. They had also οἰωνιστήριον, i. e. a Place, or Seat appointed for that purpose, called sometimes by the general Names of δῶκος, and δῶκος, as in *Sophocles's* (b) *Antigone*:

Εἰς γὰρ παλαιὸν δῶκος ὀρνιδοσκόπον
Ἰζων, ἔν' ᾧ μοι παῖδες οἰωνοδ' ἔμελλ'.

For sitting in my wonted hallow'd Place,
Whither all Birds of Divination flock,

saith *Tiresias*, when he expected an Omen; and the *Scholiast* upon that place telleth us, this Seat was peculiarly named δῶκος, and that *Tiresias* had power to assemble the Birds from all Quarters, when he had Occasion for them. They us'd also to carry with them writing Tables, as the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* reports, in which they wrote the Names, and Flights of the Birds, with other things belonging thereto, lest any Circumstance should slip out of their Memory.

The Omens that appeared towards the East, were accounted fortunate by the *Græcians*, *Romans*, and all other Nations; because the Great Principle of all Light and Heat, Motion and Life, diffuses its first Influences from that part of the World. On the contrary, the Western Omens were unlucky, because the *Sun* declines in that Quarter.

The *Græcian* Augurs, when they made Observations, kept their Faces towards the North, and then the East must needs be upon their Right Hand, and the West upon their Left: and that they did so, appears from *Homer*, who brings in (c) *Hector*, telling *Polydamas*, that he regarded not the Birds,

(a) *Gen. Dier.* XV. cap. X. (b) *Ver.* 1115. (c) *Iliad.* μ'. v. 239.

Εἴτ' ὅπ' Ἀῖγι' ἰωπὶ πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡλίου τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀεισερὰ τοί γε ποτὶ ζῆρον ἡρέντα.

Whether o'th' Right Hand, tow'rd's the gilded East,
Or on the Left, towards the dusky West,
They take their Flight.

For this reason, the Signs that were presented to them on the Right Hand, were accounted fortunate; and those on the Left, unlucky. On the contrary, the Romans, making Observations with their Faces towards the South, had the East upon their Left Hand, and the West upon their Right; of which I might give you innumerable Proofs, which for brevity's sake I shall pass by, remitting such as desire farther Satisfaction, to Varro, and other Latin Authors. For this reason, whatever was fortunate, the Græcians called δεξιὸν, the Romans, Sinistrum, on what Hand soever it appeared. And tho' the Roman Poets do sometimes call things unlucky, Sinistra; yet then they speak Græcians more: and so doth (a) Virgil, when he saith,

Sæpe sinistra cavā prædixit ab illic cornix.

Oft has th' Ill-boding Crow from hollow Oaks
These miseries presag'd.

On the contrary, Statius, tho' the business in hand concern'd the Græcians, speaks more Romano, when he saith in his Thebais,

Signa feras, lævumque tones.

Hence it came to pass, that things awkward, and foolish were called Sinistra; in which sense (b) Virgil has us'd the word,

*Sæpe malum hoc nobis (si mens non læva fuisset)
De calo tacitas memini prædicere quercus;*

That is, My Misfortunes were often presaged by the Oakes torn in pieces by Thunder, if I had but had Wit, or Foresight enough to have understood the Divine Prodigies. In (c) Sophocles the word ἀεισερὰ has the same Signification,

Οὐποτὲ δ' ἐνέσθην γ' ἐπ' ἀεισερὰ,
Πᾶσι Τηλαμῶνι, ἔσας.

He means, that if Ajax had been in his right Wits, he would never have committed Actions so foolish and ridiculous; and the old

(a) Eclog. l. v. 18. (b) Ib. v. 16. (c) Ajax v. 184.

Scholiast upon that Place tells us in express Terms, that the Right Hand signify'd Prudence, and the Left, Folly; Αεισερὰ, (saith he) καὶ παλαιὸν τὸ μωρὰ ἐκάλουν, δεξιὰ δὲ τὰ σωεπά.

Birds were Fortunate, or Unfortunate, either by their own Nature, or by the Place, and Manner of their Appearance: for the same Birds at different Times have boded different and contrary Events. The Unlucky Birds were called ἐξώλαιοι, Pernicious; ἀποδύμοι, Hated, or Ungrateful; ἀεικέλιοι, Troublesom, *ab eo priv.* and εἰνω cedo, q. non sinistre, i. e. non sinentes, because they would not permit a Man to proceed in his Undertakings; so Sinistra (if we may believe Festus) is rather derived à sinendo, than à sinistra manu. For the same Reason they were also named καλὸν πτερόν, and εὐχλινόν, because they restrained Men from what they had design'd. Those that appear'd out of their wonted Place, or in any Unlucky Place, were call'd δίδροι, and ἐξέδροι, which words are peculiar to the Soothsayers, tho' they be sometimes applied to other things that are displaced; as when Euripides saith, ἐξέδροι χθονός, i. e. Persons banished, and that had left their own Countrey; and ἐξέδροι φρενῶν, a Man distracted and out of his Wits, or any thing against Reason in (a) Hippolytus,

ἐκπλήσυσσι με
φόνου πῶδ' ἀλλάσσοντες ἐξέδροι φρενῶν.

On the contrary, Lucky Birds were call'd αἰστοί, ὄδοι, and σωέδροι. I shall give you a brief Account of some of both sorts, and the Omens signified by them; only give me leave first to tell you, that there were two sorts of Ominous Birds: The πανπτερεῖς, or Alites, whose Flight was observed by the Augurs: And the ὀψιγρά, or Osciæ, which gave Omens by their Voices, and Singing.

First then, if a Flock of all sorts of Birds came flying about any Man, it was an excellent Omen, and portended some extraordinary Felicity, or unexpected Success; such as Diodorus Siculus observes happened to Gordius, who from a poor Country Farm, was exalted to Kingdom.

The Eagle, if she appeared brisk, clapping her Wings, sporting about in the Air, and flying from the Right Hand to the Left, was one of the best Omens the Gods could give; as (b) Niphus telleth us, out of Appian. King Priamus, designing to go to the Græcian Fleet to receive Hector, begs of Jupiter that he would give him assurance of his Protection, by sending his beloved Bird, the Eagle,

Πέμψον δὲ οἶωνόν τε ταχὺν ἀργεῖον, ὅς τέ σοι ἀντίδ
φίλτατον οἶωνόν, καὶ ἑκέρτατον ὅτι μέγιστον,

(a) Ver. 934. (b) De Auguriis lib. I. c. IX.

Δεξιὸν, ὅρα μιν αὐτὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας,
Τῷ πῶσι μιν ὅτι νῆας ἰὼ Δαναῶν ταχυπαίων.

Command, great Jove, the Eagle Your delight,
Aud Queen of Birds, to take her lucky Flight.
Let her upon my Right Hand straight appear,
And move with noisy Flutt'ings thro' the Air:
This happy Sight some chearful hopes will give,
That from the *Greeks* my Son I shall receive.

Mr. Dechair.

Aristander observing an Eagle to fly from their Camp to the Enemies, foretold, that *Alexander* should obtain the Victory. Observations also were made from the manner of taking their Prey: For instance, (a) when *Telemachus* was at *Sparta* in search of *Ulysses*, an Eagle came flying upon his Right Hand, bearing in her Talons a tame Goose, which she had caught in her Roost: from which Omen *Helena* then foretold, that *Ulysses* would return, surprize all *Penelope's* Courtiers in his House, and inflict upon them the Punishment they deserv'd. And *Penelope* is said to have made the same Conjecture, from an Eagle that seiz'd upon twenty Geese, feeding in her House. When an Eagle dragg'd a Fawn by the Feet, and cast it down upon *Jupiter Panomphæus's* Altar, the *Græcians*, tho' before quite disheartened, took such Courage, that they gave the *Trojans* a signal Defeat. On the contrary, when *Hector* attempted to burn the *Græcian* Fleet, an Eagle appear'd towards the Left Hand, carrying in her Talons a Serpent, which made such Resistance, that she, not able to convey it to her Nest, was forc'd to let it fall; whereupon *Polydamas* presently foretold, that *Hector* would be constrained to desist from his Enterprize. When *Penelope's* Suitors way-laid *Telemachus*, there appeared an Eagle on the Left, with a Dove in her Talons; and *Amphinomus* concluded from that Omen, that their Design would not succeed. When two Eagles appear'd, tearing each other with their Talons, and hovering over the Assembly wherein the Suitors were, *Halitherses* foretold that they should be all slain by *Ulysses*. Lastly, to mention but one Instance more, an Eagle snatching a Javelin out of the Hand of a Souldier of *Dionysius the Syracusan*, portended the Down-fall, and Miseries that Tyrant was to suffer.

The Flight of Vulturs was very much observed, because (as some say) they do but seldom appear, and their Nests are rarely, or never found; wherefore a Sight so unusual must needs portend something extraordinary: or, (as *Herodorus* thinks) because Vulturs feed only upon Carcases, not meddling with living Creatures; and therefore he tells us, *Hercules* was always well pleas'd, when a Vultur appear'd to him at the Undertaking of any Enterprize; because he esteemed it the most just of all the Birds of Prey. But *Aristotle* and *Pliny* reckon them amongst the Unlucky

(a) *Homer. Odysf. v. v. 160.*

Birds,

Birds; and add, that they were usually seen two or three Days before any great Slaughter; and it was the common Opinion, that Vulturs, Eagles, Kites, and other Birds of Prey, if they followed an Army, or continued for a considerable Time in any place, were certain Signs of Death, and Bloodshed.

The Hawk is a ravenous Bird, and an unlucky Omen, portending Death (saith *Niphus*) if she appeared seizing upon her Prey; but if the Prey slipped from her, or made its escape, thereby was signified, that the Man should be delivered from all Dangers. The Buzzard, call'd in Greek *Τερόρχης*, because he has three Stones, was accounted by *Phamonee* a very Ominous Bird. The Falcon-Hawk, in Greek *Κίρκος*, as (a) *Pliny* reports, was very lucky to People that were about Marriage, or any Money-business. This Bird was sacred to *Apollo*, as (b) *Homer* tells us; and when *Telemachus* was solicitous, and troubled in Mind about his Mother's Suitors, appear'd in this manner,

Ὡς ἄρα οἱ εἰπόντι ἐπέπιατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις,
Κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος, ἐν δὲ πέδιλοι
Τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων, καὶ δὲ πτερὰ χερσὶν ἔραζε
Μεσσηγὺς νηὸς τε, καὶ αὐτὸ Τηλεμάχοιο.

—This said, a Falcon-hawk
(*Apollo* sent it) o' th Right Hand, between
The Ship and young *Telemachus* was seen;
Towering he flies, and bears a Dove away,
Clinch'd in his Talons for his dainty Prey;
Pluck'd from the Roots her Feathers all around
Flie scatter'd in the Air, down to the Ground.

Mr. Dechair.

By which *Theoclymenus* foretold, that *Telemachus* should prevail over his Enemies.

Swallows flying about, or resting upon a place, were an unlucky Omen. In *Darius's* Expedition against *Scythia*, the Appearance of them presaged the bad Fortune he afterwards met with, when his Army was totally defeated by the *Scythians*. The same Birds sitting upon *Pyrrhus's* Tent, and *Antony's* Ship, are said to have signified the overthrow of the Armies of both those Generals.

Owls were for the most part looked upon to be unlucky Birds, but at *Athens* were Omens of Victory and Success, being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City; and therefore the Proverb *ὄwl' ἵππαται*, was usually apply'd to Persons, whose Undertakings met with Success. (c) *Plutarch* reports, that when *Themistocles* was consulting with the other Officers, upon the uppermost Deck of the Ship,

(a) *Lib. X. c. XIII.* (b) *Odysf. v. v. 525.* (c) *Themistocle.*

and

and most of them opposed him, being unwilling to hazard a Battle, an Owl coming upon the Right side of the Ship, and lighting upon the Mast, so animated them, that they unanimously concurred with him, and prepared themselves for the Fight. But in other places it was otherwise, as we are told by (a) *Ælian*, who saith, that Owls were unlucky Omens, when they appeared to Men going about any serious Business: an Instance of which we have in King *Pyrrhus*, whose inglorious Death at *Argos* was portended by an Owl, which came and sat upon the top of his Spear, as he held it in his Hand. And for this Reason, when *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* went as Spies to the Trojan Camp, tho' it was Night, the most proper Time for Owls to appear in, yet (b) *Homer* reports, that *Minerva* gave them a lucky Omen, by sending an *ἐρωδὶς*, or *Hern*,

Τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἐρωδὶν ἐς ὅς οὐδ' ὀδῶ
Παλλὰς Ἀθηνᾶιν

As they were marching on, a lucky Hern
Minerva sent

Where *Eustathius* saith, that this Bird was a Token of Success, to Men that lay in Ambush, or were engag'd in any such secret Designs. Yet Owls were not at all times esteemed inauspicious, as appears from *Hieron*, at whose first Admission into Military Service, an Eagle came and sat upon his Shield, and an Owl upon his Spear; by which was signified, that he should be Valiant in War, and Wise in Counsel, and at length arrive to the Dignity of a King. This Story you may find in *Justin*, at the end of his Third Book.

The Dove in *Homer* is a lucky Bird. So also was the Swan, especially to Mariners, being an Omen of Fair Weather; for which we have a reason in *Æmilius*, as he is cited by *Niphus*,

*Cygnus in auspiciis semper latissimus ales,
Hunc optant Nautæ, quia non se mergit in undis.*

The Mariner, when tost by angry Seas,
Straight for a Swan, the luckiest Omen, prays;
For the her self i' th' Waters ne're doth drown.

Crows, and Ravens, if they appeared about an Army, were dangerous Omens. If they came croaking upon the Right Hand, it was a tolerable good Omen: if on the Left, a very bad one; as also the Chattering of Magpies seems to have been. When *Alexander* entered into *Babylon*, and *Cicero* fled from *Anony*, their Deaths were foretold by the Noise of Ravens: And these Birds alone were thought

to have any sense of their own Predictions, because (as (a) *Pliny* writeth) the worst Omens were given by them, when they made a harsh sort of a Noise, rattling in their Throats, as if they were choak'd.

Cocks were also accounted Prophetic, especially in Matters of War, for they were sacred to *Mars*, and therefore are call'd by *Aristophanes* Ἀρεὺς νεσφός, and were usually offered in Sacrifice to him, and pictured with him. The Crowing of Cocks was an auspicious Omen, and presaged *Themistocles's* Victory over the *Persians*; in Memory whereof he instituted an Annual Feast, call'd *Ἀλεκτρούγων ἁγών*, which was observed by Fighting Cocks in the Theater. And that Signal Victory, wherein the *Bæotians* overthrew the *Lacedæmonians*, was foretold by the Crowing of Cocks some whole Nights before, which was interpreted to be an Omen of Success; because the Cock, when he is overcome, sits silent and melancholy; but when he obtains the Victory, struts and crows, and as it were Triumphs over his vanquished Enemy. On the contrary, if a Hen was heard to crow, they thought some dreadful Judgment was hanging over their Heads.

Thus I have given you a short Account of the Principal Birds, that were esteem'd Ominous; I am not ignorant that there were several others, by which they made Predictions, and several other ways of Foretelling from those I have already mentioned; but what I have said, is, I think, sufficient; and therefore shall not be much farther tedious to you. Only I must not forget to tell you, That there were some that pretended to understand the Language of Birds, and thereby to be privy to the most secret Transactions; such an one was the famous Magician *Apollonius* the *Tyanean*, of whom it is reported, that as he was sitting in a Parlour with his Friends, there came a Sparrow, and chattered to a flock of Birds that were before the Window; *Apollonius* having heard the noise, said, She invited them to a Feast, at such a certain place, where a Mule loaden with Corn, had let his Burden fall: the Company, desirous to know the truth of the Business, rose up immediately, went to the place, and found it as he had told them. *Democritus* also was a pretender to this piece of Skill, and gave out, that he could teach others the Method of attaining it; which he did by telling them the Names of certain Birds, out of a mixture of whose Blood a Serpent would proceed; which being eaten, would without any farther trouble, inspire into them this Knowledge. It is also feign'd of *Melampus*, that he arriv'd at this Art, by having his Ears licked by Dragons. Such another Story *Eustathius* relates of *Helenus*, and *Cassandra*, the Children of *Priamus*, the Trojan King; viz. That being left in *Apollo's* Temple, Serpents came to them, and rounding themselves about their Ears, made them so quick of Hearing, that they could discover the Counsels, and Designs of the Gods. I must add one thing more,

(a) Lib. X. cap. XII.

(a) *Histor. Anim. lib. XV. c. LIX.* (b) *Iliad. x.*

out of *Apuleius*; viz. That when any Unlucky Night-Birds, as Owls, Swallows, Bats, &c. got into a House; to avert the bad Omen, they took especial care to catch them, and hang them before their Doors, that so the Birds themselves might undergo, or atone for those Evils, which they had threatened to the Family.

Thus much for Birds. It will be convenient in the next place, to speak something concerning the Predictions made by Insects, Beasts, and Signs in the Heavens. First then, Ants were made use of in Divination, as may appear from the Instance given in the last Chapter, where I told you, *Cimon's* Death was presaged by them. Another Instance you may have in *Midas*, the *Phrygian* King; for when he was a Boy, and fast asleep, Ants came, and dropt grains of Wheat into his Mouth; whereupon the Southsayers being consulted, foretold, that he would be the richest Man in the World.

Bees were esteem'd an Omen of future Eloquence, as appears from the Story of *Plato*; for as he lay in the Cradle, Bees are said to have come to him, and sate upon his Lips; whereupon the Augurs foretold, that he should be famous for Sweetness of Language, and delightful Eloquence. And *Pindar* is said to have been exposed, and nourished by Bees with Honey instead of Milk. Other things also were foretold by them: But the *Romans* esteem'd them an Unlucky and very dreadful Omen, as you may see in *Plutarch's* Life of *Brutus*.

There was a Locust green, and slow in Motion, call'd *Márys*, which was observ'd in Soothsaying, as *Suidas* taketh notice. Toads were accounted Lucky Omens. Snakes also, and Serpents were Ominous; as appears by the Serpent, that, in *Homer's* second *Iliad*, devoured eight young Sparrows, with their Dam; which was by *Calchas* interpreted to signify, that the Siege of *Troy* should continue nine whole Years. Boars were unlucky Omens, boding an unhappy Event to all the Designs of Persons that met them. I shall mention but one more; viz. the Hare, a most cowardly, and timorous Animal; and therefore appearing in time of War, it signified vanquishment, and running away: When *Xerxes* had prepared an innumerable Army to invade *Greece*, it happened that a Mare brought forth a Hare; which Prodigy was a Presage of *Xerxes's* base and cowardly Flight, after his Fleet was destroy'd by *Themistocles*.

I come in the last place to speak a word or two concerning Omens from Heaven. I do not mean those, by which Philosophers and Astrologers made their Predictions; but such as were usually observed by the common People: such were Comets, which were always thought to portend something dreadful, according to that trite saying,

—————*numquam visa est impune Cometa.*

Such also were Eclipses of the Sun, or Moon, with which several Armies have been so terrified, that they durst not engage their Enemies,

mies, tho' upon never so great Advantages. *Plutarch*, in his Treatise of Superstition, reports, That *Nicias*, the *Athenian* General, being surrounded on every side by his Enemies, was struck into such a consternation by an Eclipse of the Moon, that he commanded his Soldiers to lay down their Arms, and so, together with a numerous Army, tamely yielded up himself to the slaughter. For the true cause of them being unknown, they were imputed to the immediate operation of the Gods, that were thought thereby to give notice of some signal and imminent Danger: and so strongly were the Vulgar possess'd with this Opinion, that *Anaxagoras* brought himself into no small danger, by pretending to assign a Natural reason for them.

Lightnings also were observed; and if they appeared on the Right Hand, accounted Good Omens; but if on the Left, Unlucky: as *Eustathius* hath observed, in his Comment upon the second *Iliad*; where *Nestor* tells the *Grecians*, earnestly desiring to return into their own Countrey, That *Jupiter* had made a promise, that they should take *Troy*, and confirm'd it by Lightning,

Ἀσπράτων ὅπῃ δέξῃ ἐναίσημα σήμαλα φαίνων.

By Ominous Lightning gave the lucky Sign.

Other Meteors also were observed by the Soothsayers, as the *Ignis Lambens*, which was an excellent Omen, presaging future Felicity; as appears from *Servius Tullius*, whose Promotion to the Kingdom of *Rome* was foretold by it. The *Argonauts*, in their Expedition to *Colchos*, were overtaken by a dangerous Tempest, near the *Sigean* Promontory; whereupon *Orpheus* made supplication to the Gods for their Deliverance; a little after, there appeared two Lament Flames about the Heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and upon this ensued a fine gentle Gale, the Winds ceasing, and the Sea becoming calm and still: This sudden alteration, begot in the Company a Belief, that the two Brethren had some Divine Power and Efficacy, by which they were able to still the raging of the Sea; insomuch that it became a Custom for Mariners, whenever they were in any dangerous Storms, to invoke their Assistance. If the two Flames (which from this Story are call'd by the Names of the two Heroes) appear'd together, they were ever after esteem'd an excellent Omen, foreboding good Weather; and therefore *Theocritus*, in his Hymn upon the *Dioscuri*, praiseth them for delivering poor Seamen, ready to be swallowed up by the Deep,

Ἀλλ' ἔμπης ὑμεῖς τε καὶ ἐκ βυθοῦ ἔλκετε νῆας
αὐτοῖσιν νῆαυταισιν ὑιοῦσιν δαίμονας.

Αἱ-ψα δ' ἀπολήγντ' ἀνέμοι, λιπαροὶ δὲ μελάνα
ἀμπέλαγ' οὐ, νεφέλαι δὲ δίδραμον ἀλλυδὶς ἄλλαι,

Εκ δ' ἀρκίοι τ' ἐράνησαν, ὄντων τ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμαυρῇ
 Φάτνῃ, σημαίνουσα τὰ πρὸς πλόνον εὐδαίμονα πάντα.

And when the gaping Deep wou'd fain devour
 The tatter'd Ship, You hinder't with Your Pow'r.
 The stormy Winds that vex the troubl'd Seas,
 At Your command, their roaring Blusters cease;
 The pil'd up Waves are still'd, and quiet lain,
 An even Calmness makes a watry Plain.
 The Clouds that had before obscur'd the Skie,
 Vanish away, and quickly dispers'd flie.
 The Bears, and other lucky Stars appear,
 And bid the Seamen Safety not to fear.

Mr. Creech.

Horace speaketh to the same purpose, calling these two Meteors *Stelle*,
 or Stars,

Dicam et Alciden, puerosque Ledaë :
Hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
Nobilem; quorum simul alba Naxis
Stella refulsit,
Defluit saxis agitata Humor
Concidunt Veni, fugiuntque Nubes,
Et minax (quod sic voluere) ponto
Unda recumbit (a).

Alcides next my Muse must write,
 And Leda's Sons; one fam'd for Horse,
 And one in close, and Handy Fight
 Of haughty Brav'ry, and of noble Force.
 When both their Stars at once appear,
 The Winds are hush'd, they rage no more,
 (It is their will) the Skies are clear,
 And Waves roul softly by the quiet Shore.

Mr. Creech.

If one Flame appear'd single, it was called *Helena*, and was a very
 dangerous Omen, portending nothing but Storms, and Shipwracks;
 especially if it followed *Castor* and *Pollux* by the Heels; and, as it
 were, drove them away. Tho' *Euripides*, in his *Orestes*, makes them
 all prosperous and desirable Signs, where speaking of *Helena*, he
 saith,

Ζωὸς γὰρ ἦσαν ζῆν νιν ἀρδιτον χρεὼν,
 Κάσσειε τέ Πολυδεύκῃ τ' ἐν αἰθέρι πυλαῖς
 Σώδακος ἔσαν ταυτίλοις σωτήριος.

(a) Carm. lib. 1.

For

For being sprung from *Jove*, she needs must be
 Immortal too; and with her Brethren share
 The Heav'nly Regions, where her glorious Beams
 Will shine alike, to help the Mariner.

Mr. Dechair.

The Winds also were thought to contain in them something Pro-
 phetical, and were taken notice of in Soothsaying; as appears from
 (a) *Statius*, when he saith,

——— *Veni, aut alite visa*
Bellorum proferre diem. ———

And as the Birds, or boding Winds presage,
 Differ the fatal day of Battle.

I might add a great many others, which I shall pass by, only
 mentioning one more; *viz.* the Thunder, the Noblest, and most ob-
 served of all the Heavenly Omens. It was Good, or Bad, like other
 Signs, according to its different Position; for on the Right Hand,
 it was lucky; on the Left, unfortunate. Thunder in a clear and se-
 rene Skie, was a happy Sign, and given by *Jupiter* in (b) *Homer*, as
 a confirmation, that he granted the Petitions made to him. The
 Poet's words are these, where he speaks of *Ulysses* that had been sup-
 plicating the God for some Sign, to encourage him in his Enterprize
 against *Penelope's* Courtiers;

ὡς ἔφατ' ἐρχόμενος τῷ δ' ἔκλυε μῆτις Ζεὺς,
 Αὐτίκα δ' ἐβρόντησεν ἐπ' αἰγλήνῃ Οὐλύμπῃ
 Τύδαν ἐκ νεφέων, γήθησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς.

Thus pray'd the Sire: and All-wise *Jupiter*
 Forth-with, propitious to his earnest Prayer,
 A Clap of Well-presaging Thunder sent,
 From bright *Olympus* Cryстал Firmament,
 Which glads his Soul.

Mr. Huchin.

To avert unlucky Omens given by Thunder, it was usual to
 make a Libation of Wine, pouring it forth in Cups. And they
 were in so much fear of Lightning, that they adored it, as (b) *Pliny*
 observes, and endeavoured to avert its malignant Influences, by hissing,
 and whistling at it; which they call'd *ποπῶνεν*, as it is evident from
 (c) *Aristophanes*, when he saith, καὶ ἀνασπράψω, If I cast forth Lightning,
 they'll hiss; where the *Scholiast* observes, that it was usual
 ἀσπράψας ποπῶνεν, to hiss at the Lightning.

(a) *Thebaid*, III. (b) *Odyss.* v. v. 102. (c) *Lib.* XXVIII. cap. II. (d) *Vespis.*

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XVI.

Of Divination by Lots.

OF Lots there were four sorts, viz. Political, Military, Lufurious, and Divinatory: the three first do not at all concern my present purpose, however treated of by some in this place. Of the Prophetic there were divers sorts, two of which were most in use, viz. Σπυρομαντεία, and Κληρομαντεία.

Σπυρομαντεία, was a sort of Divination by Verses, wherein 'twas usual to take Fatidical Verses, and writing them upon little pieces of Paper, put them into a Vessel, and so draw them out, expecting to read their Fate in the first Draught. This was often practis'd upon the Sibylline Oracles, which were dispersed up and down in Greece, Italy, and all the Roman Empire: whence it is, that so frequent mention is made in Authors of the Sortes Sibylline. Sometimes they took a Poet, and opening in one, or more places, accepted the first Verse they met with, for a Prediction. This was also called Παλαιομαντεία, from the Rhapsodies of Homer; and, as some are of Opinion, proceeded, at the first, from the Esteem which Poets had amongst the Ancients, by whom they were reputed Divine, and Inspired Persons. But, as Homer had of all the Poets the greatest Name, so also the Sortes Homerica of all others were in the most Credit: Yet Euripides, and other Poets were not wholly neglected, but had some share in this Honour. Virgil also, and the Latin Poets, were made use of in this way, as appears as well from other Instances, as that remarkable one of Severus, whose Promotion to the Roman Empire was foretold by opening at this Verse,

Tu regere Imperio populos, Romaine, memento.

Remember, Roman, with Imperial Sway
To rule the People.

The Christians also practis'd the like on the Bible, according to that of Nicephorus, Ἀνοίξεν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν ψαλτικῷ περὶ βιβλίου οἰκείων Στοιχείων, i. e. He judg'd it necessary to dip into the Psalter, that there he might find a Support, or Defence against the Distress he laboured under. And Heraclius is reported by Cedrenus, to have asked Counsel of the New Testament, καὶ εὗρεν ἐπιτέποντα ἐν Αλβανία χειμάσαι, and to have been thereby perswaded, to winter in Albania. And Saint Augustin himself, tho' he disallows this Practice

Secular Affairs, yet seems to approve of it in Spiritual Matters, as appears from his (a) Epistle to Januarius. Κληρομαντεία, was a sort of Divination, wherein they made Conjectures, by throwing τοὺς κλήρους, or Lots; where you may observe, the Lots were called in the plural number κλήροι, and by the Latins, sortes; to distinguish them from κλήρος, and sort, which in the singular number usually signified the Hint, or Occasion given to Gamblers, to make their Conjectures by, as the Scholiast upon Euripides reports. These κλήροι were usually black and white Beans; amongst the Ancients little Clods of Earth; Pebbles also, Dice, or such like things, distinguished by certain Characters, or Marks: these they put into a Vessel, and having made Supplication to the Gods, to direct them, drew them out, and according to the Characters, conjectured what should happen to them. All Lots were sacred to Mercury, whom they thought to preside over this Divination; and therefore the Ancients, as (b) Eustathius observes, ἐνερμίας ἔνεκεν, i. e. for Good Luck's sake, and that Mercury might be propitious to them, put with the rest of the Lots, to put in one, which they called κληρον, or Mercury's Lot, which was an Olive-leaf, and was drawn out before the rest. This Divination was either invented, or at least much practis'd by the Thria, who were three Nymphs, that nursed Apollo, that at length the word Θείαι came to be a Synonymous Term with κλήροι, whence the Proverb,

Πολλοὶ Θεοδόχοι, παῦροι δὲ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες.

Crowds of your Lot-diviners ev'ry where,
But few true Prophets.

To this Species of Divination we may reduce Παλαιομαντεία, or Prophecy by Rods, mentioned also in the Holy Writings, wherein (c) Hosea, amongst other abominable wickednesses committed by the Israelites, reckons this as none of the smallest, ἐν συμβόλοις ἐπιγνώτων, καὶ ἐν ῥάβδοις αὐτοῦ ἀπήγγειλον αὐτοῖς, πνεύματι πορνείας ἐπλανήθησαν, καὶ ἐκείνην δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰσχρῶς. Our Translation renders it thus, My people ask counsel at their Sticks, and their Staff declareth unto them; for the spirit of Whoredom hath caused them to err, and they have gone a whoring from under their God. The Manner of it seems to have been thus; they took small Sticks, and having put certain Characters upon them, put them into a Vessel, and then drew them out. Not much difference was Βελομαντεία, in which Divination was made by Arrows, taken together in a Quiver. Others are of opinion, that the Arrows

(a) Epist. CXIX. (b) Il. v. p. 548. Ed. Eust. (c) Cap. IV. v. 12.

were cast into the Air, and the Man was to steer his course the same way, that the Arrow inclined in it's descent. And the like has been practis'd, even in our Days, upon Sticks erected. This seems to be the Divination said to be us'd by Nebuchadnezzar, in Ezechiel, where he deliberates about invading the *Israelites*, and the *Ammonites*: The words are these, as they are rendred by our Translators; (a) *Appareat a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Juda in Jerusalem the defended. For the King of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of two ways, to use divination: he made his Arrows bright, (the Septuagint Translation speaks not of *flang*, but *εἰσέδορ*) he consulted with Images, he looked into the Liver. At his right hand was his Divination for Jerusalem, to appoint Captains, to open the mouth in the slaughter, to lift up the voice with shouting, to appoint battering Rams against the Gates, to cast a Mount, and to build a Fort. But because the Prophet speaks of making his Arrows bright, some are of Opinion, that he divined by looking upon the Iron-heads of the Arrows, and observing the various appearances in them; in the same manner, as some in our Days, pretend to tell Fortunes, by looking upon their Nails, saith *Clarius* upon the place. Another Method of Divination by Rods was us'd by the *Scythians*, and is described in (b) *Herodotus*. From the *Scythians* it was derived, with some alteration, to the *Germans*, and is described by (c) *Tacitus*. Others also you may read of in (d) *Strabo*, (e) *Athenæus*, and (f) *Ammianus Marcellinus*; but these, and some others, I shall pass by, as not pertinent to my present Design.*

Another way of Divination by Lots was used in *Greece*, and *Rome*, which was this: The Person that was desirous to learn his Fortune, carried with him a certain number of Lots, distinguished by several Characters, or Inscriptions, and walking to and fro in the publick Ways, desired the first Boy that met him, to draw; and if that which came forth, agree'd with what he had conceiv'd in his Mind, it was taken for an infallible Prophecy. This Divination is by *Plutarch*, in his Treatise about *Isis* and *Osiris*, said to be derived from the *Egyptians*, by whom the Actions and Words of Boys were carefully observed, as containing in them something Divine, and Prophetical; and that for a reason no less absurd, than the Practice itself; all the grounds they had for it being only this, *viz.* That if having wandered up and down, in a fruitless search after *Osiris*, happened at last upon a Company of Boys at Play, and was by them inform'd about what he had so long sought for in vain. To this Custom of Divining by Boys, as some think, (g) *Tibullus* alludes, when he saith,

(a) Cap. XXI. v. 20. (b) Lib. IV. (c) Lib. de Morib. German. (d) Lib. XII. (e) Lib. XII. (f) Lib. XXIX. (g) Lib. I. Eleg. III.

*Illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Retulit e trivis omina certa puer.*

Thrice in the Streets the sacred Lots she threw,
And thence the Boy did certain Omens shew.

But I am rather of Opinion, that the Poet speaks of a different kind of Lots, which was this: In the Market, High-ways, and other places of concourse, it was usual for a Boy, or Man, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Αὔρητος*, to stand with a little Tablet, call'd in *Greek* *πίναξ αὔρητος*, or *αὔρητη στήνις*, upon which were written certain Fatidical Verses, which, according as the Dice light upon them, told the Consultants what Fortune they were to expect: Sometimes, instead of Tablets, they had Pots, or Urns, into which the Lots were thrown, and thence drawn by the Boys; and I am the rather inclined to think the Poet's Words are to be understood in this Sence, because he saith, the Woman herself, that had a mind to be instructed, what was to befall her, took up the Lots; which can never be meant of the Boy's drawing Cuts out the Woman's Hand. *Artemidorus*, in his Preface, speaks of *ἄρ' ἐν ἀγορῇ μάντιον*, i. e. Diviners in the Market-place; and the *Sortes viales* were very common at *Rome*: the *Circus* was thronged with those, and a great many other Diviners, which the poor, silly Women used to consult, as (a) *Juvenal* witnesseth: His words are these,

*Si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrumque
Metarum, & sortes ducet: frontemque, manusque
Præbebit vati crebrum poppysina roganti.
Divitibus responsa dabit Phryx augur, & inde
Conductus, dabit astrorum, mundi que peritus;
Atque aliquis Senior qui publica fulgura condit.
Plebeium in Circo positum est, & in ægere fatum;
Quæ nudis longum ostendit cervicibus aurum,
Consulit ante Phalas, Delphinorumque columnas
An saga vendenti mubat caupone relicto.*

The middle sort, who have not much to spare,
Into the crowded *Circus* straight repair,
And from the cheaper Lots their Fortunes hear.
Or else to cunning *Chiromancers* go,
Who clap the pretty Palm, and thence their Fortunes know.
But the rich Matron, who has more to give,
Her Answers from the *Brachman* will receive.
Skill'd in the Globe and Sphear, he gravely stands,
And with his Compass measures Seas, and Lands.
The Poorest of the Sex have still an Itch
To know their Fortunes, equal to the Rich;
The Dairy-maid enquires if she may take
The truity Taylor, and the Cook forsake.

(a) Sat. VI. v. 851.

Whereby it appears, that Lots had very small Credit in *Jurvenal's* Days, being consulted only by the meaner sort, and such as were not able to be at the charge of more reputable Divinations. *Didymus* tells us, this was done by *Jupiter*, who being desirous, that *Apollo* should preside in chief over Divination, brought Lots, which are said to have been invented by *Minerva*, into disrepute.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of Divination by Ominous Words, and Things.

ANOTHER sort of Divination there was, very different from all those I have hitherto spoken of, which foretold things to come, not by any studied Methods, but by certain Accidents, and Casual Occurrences, that were thought to contain in them Prefages of Good, or Evil. Of these there were three sorts: The first was of Things Internal, by which I mean those that affected the Persons themselves. The second, of Things External, that only appeared to Men, but did not make any Impression upon them. The third were Ominous Words. Of these in their order.

First of those Omens that Men received from themselves, which are distinguished into four Kinds: 1. Marks upon the Body, as *ελαια*, Spots like Oyl. Secondly, sudden Perturbations, seizing upon the Mind; such were the *Panici terrores*, Panick Fears, which were sudden Frights, and Consternations, that seized upon Men, without any visible cause, and therefore were imputed to the Operation of *Dæmons*, especially *Pan*, upon Men's Phantasies. Of these there is frequent mention in History; as when *Brennus*, the *Gallick* General, had been defeated by the *Greeks*, the Night following, He, and the remainders of his Troops were seized with such Terrors, and Distractions, that, ignorant of what they were a doing, they fell together by the Ears, wounding, and killing one another, till they were all utterly destroy'd. Such another Fright gave the *Athenians* a great Advantage against the *Persians*, inasmuch that *Pan* had a Statue erected for that piece of Service; as appears from one of *Simonides's* Epigrams,

Τὸν τραγέπην ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸ κτ' Μήδων,
Τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων σήτατο Μιλτιάδης.

Grateful *Miltiades* rais'd this Monument,
That Me *Arcadian Pan* doth represent;
Because I aided him, and Warlike *Greece*
Against the Powerful *Medes*.——

The

The reason why these Terrours were attributed to *Pan*, was, because when *Osiris* was bound by *Typho*, *Pan* and the *Satyrs* appearing, cast him into a Fright. Or, because he frightened the Giants, that waged war against *Jupiter*. In these Terrours, whereof there was either no apparent Cause, or at least none answerable to the greatness of the sudden Consternation; it was a good Remedy do to something quite contrary to what the Danger would have required, had it been such as men vainly imagined. Thus *Alexander* caused his Souldiers to disarm themselves, when they were on a sudden in a great Fear of they knew not what.

All sudden and extraordinary Emotions and Perturbations, in Body, or Mind, were looked upon as evil Omens; such was that of *Penelope's* Courtiers described by (a) *Homer*, and said to have been caused by *Minerva*, their implacable Enemy;

μνηστῆρσι δὲ Πάλλας Ἀθύνῃ
Ἀστεισὼν γέλον ὄρσῃ, παρέπλαγγεν δὲ νόημα.
Οἳ δ' ἦδη γναθμοῖσι γελῶν ἄλλοτείοισιν.
Ἀἰμορροῦντα δὲ δὴ κρέα ἥδιον· ἔασε δ' ἄρα σφέων
Δακρυόρριν πίμπλασθαι γόον δ' ὤϊετο θυμός.

The Courtiers straight offended *Pallas* seiz'd
With profuse laughter, not to be appeas'd;
And raving frantick thoughts, they now appear
O'rewhelm'd with laughter, not what first they were:
Their Eyes with briny tears o'reflow'd, their Food
Amazing Sight! seem'd chang'd to putrid Blood.
Nothing their anxious thoughts doth entertain,
But lamentable grief.——

An Augur that was present amongst them, was affrighted at so dreadful an Omen, and presently broke out into this Exclamation,

Ἀ δειλοὶ τί κακὸν τόδε πάχετε;——
Ah wretched Men! what Fate is this you bear?

The third sort of Internal Omens, were the *Παλμοί*, or *παλμῶν ἀνίστατα*, so-called *ἀπὸ τῆς πάλλειν*, from Palpitating. Such were the Palpitations of the Heart, the Eye, or any of the Muscles, called in *Latin* *Salissationes*; and *Βόμβος*, or a Ringing in the Ears; which if it was in the Right Ear, was a lucky Omen; so also was the Palpitation of the Right Eye, as *Theocritus* telleth us,

Ἀλλεταὶ ὀφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός——
My Right-Eye twinkles.——

(a) *Odyss.* v. v. 345

Qq 2

(a) *Niphis*

(a) *Niphus* hath enumerated all the Parts of the Body, with all the Omens to be gathered from the Palpitations of each of them; whom you may consult at leisure. *Melampus*, the famous Fortune-teller, dedicated a Book upon this subject to *Ptolomee Philadelphus*: Another to the same purpose was compos'd by *Pofidonius*, as *Suidas* reports; the Title of which was Περὶ τῶν οἰωνισμῶν.

The fourth sort of Internal Omens, were the Πταρμοί, or Sneezings which were so superstitiously observ'd, that Divine Worship was thought due to them; tho' some say this Adoration was only an Expiation of the Omen: Others are of Opinion, as (b) *Casaubon* observes, That Sneezing was a Disease, or at least a Symptom of some Infirmity; and therefore when any Man Sneezed, it was usual to say, Ζῆσθι, May you Live; or, Ζεὺ πάσῃ, God bless you. To this Custom *Ammian* alludes, in an Epigram upon a Fellow with a long Nose, which he saith was at so great a distance from his Ears, that he could not hear himself Sneeze,

Οὐδὲ λέγῃ, Ζεὺ πάσῃ, ὅταν παρῇ, ἢ γὰρ ἀκούῃ
Τῆς ῥινός, πολὺ γὰρ τ' ἀκῶης ἀπέχῃ.

His long-beak'd Snout, at such a distance lyes
From his dull Ears, that he ne'er hears it Sneeze;
And therefore never do's he say, God bless.

Where you may observe, That it was not only usual for Persons that stood by, to cry, Ζεὺ πάσῃ, but also for Men when themselves Sneezed. However it be, it is certain, that Sneezing was accounted sacred, as appears from (c) *Athenæus*, who proves that the Head was esteemed holy; because it was customary to swear by it, and adore as holy the Sneezes that proceeded from it: And *Aristotle* tell us in express Terms, That Sneezing was accounted a Deity, τὸν Πταρμόν θεὸν ἡγούμενον. *Casaubon* also has proved the same, out of (d) *Xenophon*; where he reports, that the Souldiers with one accord worshipp'd it as a God. But it is scarce supposable, they could be so far immers'd in ignorance, as to think every Act of Sneezing a Deity; nor do *Aristotle's* words necessarily imply they did; for no more need be understood by them, than that there was a God of Sneezing, called Πταρμός. and *Xenophon* may be expounded the same way, viz. That when the Souldiers heard a Sneeze, they worshipp'd the God, i. e. the God of Sneezing: Or it may be, no more is meant, than that they worshipp'd God, perhaps in the usual form of Ζεὺ πάσῃ or by casting up some other short Ejaculation to any of the Gods, to avert the Omen.

(a) De Augur. l. I. c. IX. (b) In *Athenæum* l. II. c. XXV. (c) Loc. citat.
(d) De Expedit. *Cyri* lib. III.

However,

However, it is certain that great regard was given to Sneezing, inasmuch that if a Man Sneezed at such a Time, or on such a side, it was enough to persuade them to, or discourage them from any Business of the greatest moment. *Euphrantides* reports, that a Sneeze upon the Right Hand was us'd by *Themistocles* to his Souldiers, as a prevailing Argument to persuade them to fight. Such a Sneeze happening, whilst *Xenophon* was making a Speech, was thought a sufficient Reason to constitute him General. And *Socrates* himself, tho' a great despiser of Heathen Superstitions, judg'd it not unreasonable, to catch advice from another Man's Nose, and make a Sneeze serve instead of an Admonition from the *Dæmon*, that is said to have continually attended upon him, giving him Counsel how to demean himself upon all Occasions.

Sneezing was not always a lucky Omen, but varied according to the alteration of Circumstances: for once when *Xenophon* was persuading his Souldiers to encounter the Enemy, a Sneeze was accounted so dangerous an Omen, that they were forced to appoint publick Prayers, for the Expiation of it. If a Man Sneezed in the Morning, it was a good Omen; but if in the Afternoon, a bad one; the reason of which is accounted for by *Aristotle*, in his Problems. If a Man Sneezed at the Table, while they were taking away; or if another happened to Sneeze upon his Left Hand, it was unlucky; if on the Right Hand, fortunate. If in the Undertaking any Business, two, or four Sneezes happened, 'twas a lucky Omen, and gave Encouragement to proceed; if more than four, the Omen was neither Good, nor Bad; if one, or three, it was unlucky, and dehorted them from proceeding in what they had designed. If two Men were deliberating about any Business, and both of them chanced to Sneeze together, it was a prosperous Omen, as (a) *Niphus* relates, in his Book of Auguries, where he has enumerated a great many other Circumstances in Sneezing, and the Omens thought to be given by them.

I come in the next place to speak something concerning the Omens that appear'd to Men, but were not contain'd in their own Bodies; of which there were several sorts: As first, The Beginnings of Things were look'd upon to contain something ominous; as *Ovid* has observ'd,

Rerum principiis omina inesse solent;
Ad primam vocem timidas advertimus aures,
Et primum visam consulis Augur avem.

Hither also are to be referred Εὐδαίμα σύμβολα, or Omens offering themselves in the way, of which *Polis*, and *Hippocrates* (not the Physician) are said to have written Books.

(a) De Auguriis cap. VIII.

Such

Such as these were, the meeting of an Eunuch, a Black, an Ape, a Bitch with whelps, a Fixon with Cubs; a Snake lying so in the Way, as to part the Company; a Hare crossing the way. A Woman working at her Spindle, or carrying it uncovered, was thought to be very prejudicial to any Design, and to blast whatever Hopes they had conceiv'd about any thing; especially about the fruits of the Ground. A Weezle crossing the way, was a sufficient Reason to defer a Publick Assembly for that Day; it was call'd *γαλῆ*, and *Artemidorus* gives the Reason, why its Running by was so much taken notice of; viz. because it is *ἰοὺ-ῥη* to *δύη*, that is, (as *Mr. Bogan* explains it) the Letters in each word signifie the same Number; viz. 42. All these were *δυσάντηα*, *δυσπώνισα*, and *ἀνὰ πύλα διδάματα*, i. e. unlucky, and abominable Sight.

Another sort of External Omens were those that happen'd at home, and the Divination that observed them, was call'd *τὸ οἰκοσκοπικόν*, concerning which it is reported, that *Xenocrates* wrote a Treatise. Such as these were the coming in of a black Dog, a Mouse eating a Bag of Salt, the appearing of a Snake, or Weezle upon the House-top. This sort of Divining by Beasts, is reported by *Suidas*, to have been invented by *Telegonus*. Such also were the Throwing down of Salt, the Spilling of Water, Honey, or Wine, taking the Wine away, while any Person was drinking, a sudden Silence, and ten thousand other Accidents. In putting on their Clothes, the Right side must be served first; and therefore if a Servant did but give his Master the Left Shoe first, he was sure to have it thrown at his Head.

Hither also may be referred the various Actions that were thought to contain in them Good, or Bad Fortune. For Instance, At Feasts it was accounted lucky to crown the Cup with a Garland,

—————*Pateramque Coronā*
Induit

And with a Garland did the Cup surround.

saith *Virgil*: And, *Vina coronam*, in imitation of *Homer's* Heroes, who used to drink out of Cups, that were *ἐπίσπερς οἰνοῖο* the reason of which (saith *Eustathius*, out of *Athenæus*) was this, viz. Because a Garland represents a Circle, which is the most capacious, and complete of all Figures. It was usual also, to carry home the Fragments of at Sacrifices, for good Luck's sake, as I have observed in another place; and these were call'd *ὕγιαια*, because they were thought to contribute to the preservation of their Health (a) &c. Thus much of Ominous Actions, and Accidents, whereof I have only given you some that were most remarkable and usual; for it would be an endless

(a) *Hesychius*.

Undertaking, to enumerate all of them, every Day's Reading being able to furnish almost infinite numbers.

In the last place, I come to speak something of Ominous Words, which as they were Good, or Bad, were believed to presage accordingly. Such Words were call'd *κλιδόνες*, or *φῆμαι*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ φῆναι*, as the Latin Omen is so called, *q. Oremen, quia fit ab ore*, i. e. because it proceeds from the Mouth, saith *Festus*: You may render them *Voices*, for *Tully* hath call'd them by the Name of *Voces*: The *Pythagoreans* (saith he) used to observe the Voices of Men, as well as of the Gods. This sort of Divination, was most in use at *Smyrna* (as *Pausanias* reports) where they had *κλιδόνων ἱεῖον*, a Temple, in which Answers were returned this way; and *Apollo Spodius* gave Oracles in *Thebes*, after the same Manner, as I have already told you: But the first Invention of it is attributed to *Ceres*.

Words that boded Ill, were called *κακὰ ὄηαι*, or *δυσφημίαι* and he that spoke them, was said *βλασφημεῖν*, *φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν*, as *Enripides* terms it; where he speaks of certain Ominous Words let fall by a Servant, at a Feast, just as one of the Company was going to drink,

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐρδέσεται.

Unlucky Words one of the Servants spoke.

Plautus calleth it *obscenare*, or as some read, *obscenare*; for *scœva* signifieth Luck, either good, or bad; and the Words *Horace* calleth *Male omina Verba*,

—————*male ominatis*
Parcite verbis.

Ill-boding Words forbear to name.

Such Words as these, they had always a superstitious Care to avoid; so much that instead of *δεσμωτήριον*, i. e. a Prison, they would often say *οἶκον*, i. e. an House; for *πίδνηκε*, *καλλιῶς* for *μύσος*, *ἀγόν* for *Εὐρύς*, *Εὐρύμειδης*, or *Σειμναὶ δαί*, and such like: For there were great many Words, which they made almost as great a Scruple to speak, as the Jews their *Nomen Tetragrammaton*. And therefore in Time of Divine Worship, as I have observ'd before, nothing was more strictly commanded, than that they should *εὐφημεῖν*, or avoid all Ominous Expressions; Which, if they were spoken by a Brother, or any other nearly related to the Person, whose Business was in hand, they took the greater notice of them, and accounted them so much the worse. *Mr. Dryden* hath excellently expressed this Custom in his *Oedipus*, where after the Heroe has been thundering a great many dreadful Imprecations upon the Murderers of *Laim*, *Jocasta* is introduced, speaking thus,

Jocasta.

Jocasta. At your Devotions? Heaven succeed your Wishes;
And bring th' effect of these your pious Pray'rs
On You, on Me, and All.

Priest. Avert this Omen, Heaven!

Oedipus. O fatal sound! Unfortunate Jocasta!
What hast thou said? an ill hour hast thou chosen
For these fore-boding Words; why, we were cursing.

Jocasta. Then may that Curse fall only where You laid it.

Oedipus. Speak no more!
For all thou say'st is ominous: We were cursing;
And that dire Imprecation hast thou fasten'd
On Thebes, and Thee, and Me, and All of us.

Jocasta. Are then my Blessings turn'd into a Curse?
O unkind Oedipus! My former Lord
Thought Me his Blessing: be thou like my Laius.

Oedipus. What yet again! the third time hast thou curs'd Me?
This Imprecation was for Laius's Death,
And thou hast wish'd Me like Him.

Mr. Dryden.

Which Verses I have here transcribed, because they do fully represent the ancient Custom of catching at Ominous Expressions.

Some Words, and Proper Names there were, which imported Success, answerably to their Natural Signification; of which take this Instance: *Leotychides* desiring of a *Samian* his Assistance against the *Persians*, asked him his Name; and being told it was *Ηγναισπάρτης*, i. e. the Leader of an Army; reply'd, *Ηγναισπάρτης δέχομαι τὸν οἶωνόν*, I embrace the Omen in the Name; *δέχεται οἶωνόν*, amongst the *Greeks*, importing the same with *accipere Omen* amongst the *Latins*, which signifies the accepting of an Omen, and applying it to the Business in hand: For it was thought to lye very much in the Power of the Hearer, whether he would receive the Omen, or not; *Ostentoribus res in eorum erant potestate, quibus ostendebantur*, saith *Pliny*, i. e. The Force and Efficacy of Omens depended upon the Persons, to whom they appear'd. For if the Omen was immediately caught by the Hearer, or struck upon his Imagination, it was Efficacious; but if it was neglected, or not taken notice of, it was Invalid, and of no Force. And therefore *Virgil* introduces *Aeneas*, as it were, snatching *Achilles's* Words from his Mouth; for the *Harpyes*, and *Andrius* also in another place, having foretold, that the *Trojans* should suffer so dreadful a Famine, that they should be forc'd to gnaw their very Tables, for want of better Provisions,

(a) *Sed non ante datam cingetis manibus Urbem,
Quam Vos dira fames, nostraeque injuria cedis,
Ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas.*

(a) *Aeneid. III. v. 255.*

With Walls the City shall not bulwark'd be,
'Ere Famine shall revenge our Injury;
Sad Famine, when the once luxurious Lord,
Instead of Food, shall gnaw the sapless Board.

Mr. Hutchin.

After this, they landed in *Italy*; and happening to dine upon the Grass, instead of Tables, or Trenchers, which their present Circumstances did not afford, they laid their Meat upon their Bread, which afterwards they Eat up also; at which in Jest

(a) *Hæus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.*

See, says *Iulus*, we our Tables eat,

Aeneas presently caught the Omen, as the Poet subjoyns,

—ea Vox audita laborum

*Prima tulit finem; primamque loquentis ab Ore
Eripuit Pater, ac stupefactus Numine pressit.*

The lucky sound no sooner reach'd their Ears,
But straight they quite dismiss'd their former cares.
His good old Sire with admiration struck
The boding Sentence when yet falling took,
And often roll'd it in his silent Breast.

Mr. Hutchin.

For Good Luck's sake, whenever they apply'd themselves to any Ominous Business, they took especial care to begin with such a preface as this, *Θεός, Δεός, or Ὁ πατριάρχης, or ἑσχατὸν εὖ*; like to *Perseus's* *the bene sit*; and that old thread-bare saying of the *Romans*, *Quod numen, felix, fortunatumque sit*. And all their Works, and Speeches were begun in the Name of some God; whence *Atrius*,

Εκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεθα —————

Let us with *Jove* begin.

Which *Theocritus* has borrowed from him, in his seventeenth *Eclogue*, and *Virgil* in his third. (b) *Xenophon* gives the Reason of this practice, That things undertaken in the Name of the Gods, were like to have the most prosperous Events.

It will not be improper to add in this place, that Certain Times also were Ominous, some Days being accounted Fortunate, and causes of Success; others Unfortunate, and causes of the miscarriage of things undertaken upon them, as *Hesiod* in his *Days* observes,

(a) *Aeneid. VII. ver. 116.* (b) *Lib. de Ration. reddit.*

R r

ANOT

ἄλλοτε μητρὶ πέλῃ ἡμέρα, ἄλλοτε μήτηρ.

Some Days, like rigid Step-Dames, adverse prove,
Thwart our Intentions, cross what e're we love;
Others more Fortunate, and lucky shine,
And, as a tender Mother, blest what we design.

Mr. Hutchin.

Some Days were proper for one Business, others for another, and some for none at all, as my Author relates in the fore-mentioned Poem; where he runs through all the Days in the Month, declaring the Virtue and Efficacy of them.

The way to avert an Omen, was either to throw a Stone at the thing, or to kill it outright, if it was an Ominous Animal, that so the Evil portended by it, might fall upon its own Head: If it was an unlucky Speech, to retort it upon the Speaker with an *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι*, *Tibi in caput redeat*, i. e. Let it fall upon thy own Head: Which perhaps is an Expression borrowed from the *Ιεροσόφοι*, who, when they espy'd any thing in the Victim, that seemed to portend any Misfortune to themselves, or their Countrey, used to pray, that it might *εἰς κεφαλὴν τούτῳ πέσῃ*, be turned upon the Victim's Head. The like Expressions are sometimes made use of in Holy Scripture, as in the fifteenth Verse of Obadiah's Prophecy, *Τὸ ἀνταπέδομά σου ἀνταποδοθήσεται εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι*: Or, as our *English* Translators have rendered it, *Thy Reward shall return upon thine own Head*. And again in the third Chapter of *Kings* (a), *καὶ ἀνταπέδωκε Κύριος τὴν κακίαν σου εἰς κεφαλὴν σου*, in *English* thus; And the Lord hath return'd thy wickedness upon thine own Head. (b) *Herodotus* reports, that it was an *Egyptian* Custom, from which it's probable the *Græcians* derived theirs, "They curse (saith he) the Head of the Victim in this manner, That if any Misfortune impended over themselves, or the Country of *Egypt*, it might be turn'd upon that Head. Instead of these Imprecations, sometimes they us'd to say, *Ἐὶς ἀγαθὸν μοι*, or *Μὴ γένοιτο*, *Dii melius*, i. e. God forbid. Sometimes they us'd to spit three times into their Bosoms, at the sight of a Mad-man, or one troubled with an Epilepsie; of which Custom *Theocritus* hath taken Notice,

——— *τρεῖς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπλυσεν κόλπον.*

Into my Bosom thrice I spit.

This they did in Defiance, as it were, of the Omen; for Spitting upon any Man was always reckon'd a Sign of the greatest Contempt and

(a) Lib. III. Ver. 44. (b) *Euterpe* cap. XXXIX.

Aversion: whence *πύειν*, i. e. to spit, is put for *καταφρονεῖν*, *ἐν ἑδνῇ λογίζειν*, i. e. to contemn, as the Scholiast of *Sophocles* observes upon these words in *Antigone*,

——— *πύσσει ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸν.*

Spit on him as an Enemy.

Lastly, upon the Meeting of an unlucky Omen, they often desisted from what they were doing, and began it afresh, as appears from *Euripides*, in whom a Person, upon the Hearing of an Ominous Word as he was drinking, immediately threw the Drink upon the Ground, and call'd for another Cup.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of Magick, and Incantations.

BESIDES the Methods of Foretelling future Events already mentioned, and that Divination which is commonly called *Physical*, because it makes Predictions without any Supernatural Assistance, by the mere Knowledge of *Physical*, or Natural Causes; there are several others, most of which are comprehended under the Names of *Μαγείαι*, and *Επωδαί*, i. e. Magick, and Incantations; between which tho' some make a nice Distinction, yet they bear a near Relation to each other, and therefore I shall treat of them conjunctly in this place. And tho' some of the Species of these Divinations might be invented in later Ages, and never practis'd in Old Greece, whose Customs alone it is my chief Design to describe, not meddling with those Innovations, that were introduc'd in later Times, after the *Græcians* were subjected to the Roman Empire; yet since it is very difficult to determine exactly of all, which were truly Ancient, and which purely Modern; since also there is frequent mention of them in Writers of the middle Ages, especially those that lived towards the Declination of the Roman Greatness, I shall beg the Reader's Leave to give a brief Account of the most remarkable of them: For to enumerate all, would be an Endless, as well as Unreasonable Undertaking; and a great many of them (such as those wherein the *Incubi*, and *Succubi* were concern'd) contain in them too much of Profaneness and Horror, to be endured by any civilized Ear.

Magical Arts are said by the *Græcians* to have been invented in *Persia*, where at the first they were had in great Honour, and Reputation;

for the Μάγοι were those, that apply'd themselves to the Study of Philosophy, and the strict Search after the most Curious Works, and hidden Mysteries of Nature: They were usually chosen to superintend the Divine Worship, and all Religious Rites and Ceremonies; they continually attended upon the Kings, to advise them in all Affairs of moment, and were preferred to the highest Honours, and Places of greatest Trust. But afterwards the Case was altered, for when they left off the Contemplation of Nature, and betook themselves to the Invocation of *Dæmons*, and other mean Arts, their former Credit and Esteem was, in a manner, quite lost, or, at least, very much diminished.

This Art is said to have been introduced among the *Græcians* by one *Oeibanes*, that came into Greece with *Xerxes*, and dispersed the Rudiments of it here and there, as he had opportunity. It was afterwards much improved, and almost brought to Perfection by *Democritus*, who is said to have learned it out of the Writings of certain *Phanicians*. But I shall not trouble you with any more Stories concerning it's Original, or Progress, it being more pertinent to my Design, to give you a short Account of the various Species thereof.

First then, *Νεκρομαντεία*, was a Divination, in which Answers were given by deceased Persons. It was sometimes performed by the Magical use of a Bone, or Vein of a dead Body, after the manner of the *Thesſalians*: Or by pouring warm Blood into a Carcase, it were to renew Life in it, as *Eriſtho* doth in *Lucian*; or by some other Inchantments, to restore dead Men to Life; with which the Poet was very well acquainted, when he said,

—Dum vocem defuncto in corpore querit;
Protinus adstrictus caluit cruor, atraque fovit
Vulnera.

While he seeks Answers from the lifeless Load,
The congeal'd Gore grows warm with reeking Blood,
And cheers each ghastly Wound.

Sometimes they used to raise the Ghost of deceased Persons, by various Invocations, and Ceremonies; which I will give you in the words of Mr. *Dryden*, who, in his *Oedipus*, introduces *Tiresias* raising *Laius's* Ghost to discover his own Murderers;

Tiresias. Choose the darkest part o' th' Grove;
Such as Ghosts at Noon-day love.
Dig a Trench, and dig it nigh,
Where the Bones of *Laius* lie.
Altars rais'd of Turf, or Stone,

Will th' Infernal Powers have none.

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. 'Tis done.

Tiresias. Is the Sacrifice made fit?

Draw her backward to the Pit:

Draw the barren Heifer back,

Barren let her be, and black.

Cut the curled Hair that grows

Full bewixt her Horns, and Brows:

And turn your Faces from the Sun:

Answer me, if this be done.

Priest. 'Tis done.

Tiresias. Pour in Blood, and Blood-like Wine,

To Mother Earth, and *Proserpine*;

Mingle Milk into the Stream;

Feast the Ghosts that love the Steam.

Snatch a Brand from Fun'ral Pile;

Toſt it in to make it boyl;

And turn your Faces from the Sun;

Answer me, if this be done.

These Verses I have chosen, because they contain so Elegant a Description of these Infernal Rites: after this he makes *Tiresias's* Daughter sing, to charm the Ghosts from their Retirements. Some other Ceremonies also were practised by them, but differ'd not much from those used in Parentations, of which I shall give a more full and exact Account afterwards.

This Divination, if the Dead appeared only in Aiery Forms, like Shades, was called *Σκιομαντεία*, and *Ψυχομαντεία*. It might, I suppose, be performed in any Place; but some Places were appropriated to this use, and called *Νεκρομαντεία*, several of which are mentioned by the Ancient Poets; but two of them were most remarkable: The first of which was in *Thesſprotia*, where *Orpheus* is said to have restor'd to Life his Wife *Eurydice*; the other in *Campania*, at the Lake *Avernus*, celebrated by *Homer*, and *Virgil*, in their Stories of *Ulyſſes*, and *Æneas*.

Τροπομαντεία, or Divination by Water, sometimes called *Πηγομαντεία*, when it was done by Fountain-water: In this they observed the various Impressions, Changes, Fluxes, Refluxes, Swellings, Diminutions, Colours, Images, &c. in the Water. Sometimes they dipp'd a Looking-glass into the Water, when they had a desire to know what would become of a Sick Person; for as he looked well or ill in the Glass, accordingly they presumed of his future Condition. Sometimes they fill'd a Bowl with Water, and let down into it a Ring, equally poised on each side, and hanging by a Thread tied to one of their Fingers: then in a Form of Prayer requested of the Gods to declare, or confirm the Question in dispute; whereupon, if the

the thing proposed was true, the Ring of its own accord would strike against the side of the Bowl a set number of Times. Sometimes they threw three Stones into the Water, and observed the Turns they made in sinking. Instead of Water, sometimes use they made of Oyl, and Wine, and then the Liquor was called *χρῆμα* and instead of Stones, they sometimes used Wedges of Gold, or Silver. This Divination was sometimes performed in a Basin; and thence called

Λεκανομαντεία: which also was sometimes practised in a different manner, thus; They distinguish'd the Stones, or Wedges with certain Characters, and then, having invoked the *Dæmon* in a set Form, proposed the Question they had a mind to be satisfied about; to which an Answer was returned in a small Voice, not unlike an Hiss, proceeding out of the Water. The *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron* is of Opinion, that this Method of Divination was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, and practised by *Ulysses*; which he thinks gave occasion to all the Poetical Fictions about his Descent into the Infernal Regions, to consult *Tiresias*'s Ghost (a). Sometimes Divination by Water was performed with a Looking-glass, and was called

Κατοπτρομαντεία. Sometimes also Glasses were used, and the Images of what should happen, represented without Water. Sometimes it was performed in a Vessel of Water, the middle part of which was called *ζάστη*, and then the Divination termed

Γαρομαντεία, the manner of which was thus: They filled certain round Glasses with fair Water, about which they placed lighted Torches; then invoked a *Dæmon*, praying in a low, murmuring Voice, and propos'd the Question to be solved: A chaste and unpolluted Boy, or a Woman big with Child, was appointed to observe with greatest Care, and Exactness, all the Alterations in the Glass, at the same desiring time, beseeching, and also commanding an Answer, which at length the *Dæmon* used to return, by Images in the Glasses, which by Reflexion from the Water represented what should come to pass.

Κρυσταλλομαντεία, was performed by polished, and enchanted Crystals, in which future Events were signified by certain Marks, and Figures.

Δακτυλομαντεία, was a Divination by Rings enchanted, or marked according to some position of the Celestial Bodies. A Ring of this sort, they say, *Gyges* the King of *Lydia* had, which when he turned to the Palm of his Hand, he became invincible to others, but could not hurt every Body: and by the help of this, he enjoy'd his Mistress, the Queen, and slew his Master *Candaules*, whom afterward he succeeded.

Ονυχομαντεία, was performed by the Nails of an unpolluted Boy, cover'd with Oyl and Soot, which they turn'd to the Sun, the Reflexion

whose Rays was believed to represent by certain Images, the things they had a mind to be satisfied about.

Αεθρομαντεία, foretold future Events from certain Spectres, or other Appearances in the Air: And sometimes thus; They folded their Heads in a Napkin, and having placed a Bowl full of Water in the open Air, proposed their Question, in a small, whispering Voice; at which time if the Water boyled, or fermented, they thought what they had spoken was approved of, and confirmed.

Λιδομαντεία, was sometimes performed by a Precious Stone, called *Idolites*: which they washed in Spring-water in the Night by Candle-light; the Person that consulted it, was to be purified from all manner of pollution, and to have his Face covered: this done, he repeated divers Prayers, and placed certain Characters in an appointed Order; and then the Stone moved of its self, and in a soft, gentle murmur, or (as some say) in a Voice like that of a Child, returned an Answer. By a Stone of this Nature, *Helenus* is reported to have foretold the Destruction of *Troy*.

(a) *Theocritus* has given us an Account of two sorts of Divination practised by a Country Swain, to try what share he had in his Mistress's Affections; his Words are these,

Εγνων πρῶτον, ὅκα μὲν μεμνημένος εἰ φιλέεις με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλεφίλον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατάγημα,
ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ πᾶχί ἐξεμαράνθη.
Εἶπε καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ τάλαντιά, κοσμινόμαντις,
Ἄ πρῶτον ποιολογῶσαι, παρειαῖπτις, ἔνικ' ἐγὼ μὲν
Τὴν ὅλῃ ἐσκεῖμαι· τὸ δὲ μεν λόγον ἔδνα ποιῆ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,
Whether I shou'd be happy in my Love;
I prest the *Long-live*, but in vain did prest,
It gave no lucky sound of good Success:
To *Agrio* too I made the same Demand,
A cunning Woman she, I crost her Hand:
She turn'd the *Sieve*, and *Sheers*, and told me true,
That I shou'd love, but not be lov'd by You.

Mr. Creech.

Where the Shepherd complains he had found his Suit was rejected these two ways: First, by the Herb *Telephium*, which being crushed in his Hand, upon his Arm, returned no sound; for it was usual to strike that, or some other Herb against their Arms, and if they crackled in breaking, Good; if not, it was an unlucky Omen. Not much unlike this, was the Divination by Laurel-leaves, which they threw into the Fire, and observed

how they crackled in burning; from which Noise, some say, Laurel was called *δάφνη*, *q. δα φωνή*. The other way of Divining, mentioned by *Theocritus*, was by a Sieve, which an old *Gypse* used in telling poor, silly People their Fortunes. This they call'd *κοκινωμαντεία*, it was generally practised to discover Theeves, or others that were suspected of any Crime, in this manner: They tied a Thread to the Sieve, by which it was upheld, or else placed a pair of Sheers, which they held up by two Fingers; then prayed to the Gods to direct, and assist them; after that, they repeated the Names of the Persons under suspicion, and he, at whose Name the Sieve whirled round, or moved, was thought to have committed the Fact. Another sort of Divination was commonly practised upon the same account, which was called

Αξινωμαντεία, from *Αξίον*, i. e. an Ax, or Hatchet, which they fixed so exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might outpoise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the Hatchet made any the least motion, was found guilty.

Κεφαλονομαντεία, was by the Head of an Ass, (as the Name imports) which they broyl'd on Coals; and after having muttered a few Prayers, they repeated the Persons Names as before; or the Crime, in case one was only suspected; at which, if the Jaws made any motion, and the Teeth chattered against one another, they thought the Villain sufficiently discovered.

Αλεξίγνωμαντεία, was a very Mysteious Divination, in which they made use of a Cock, in discovering secret, and unknown Transactions, or future Events. It was effected after this manner: Having wrote in the Dust the twenty-four Letters of the Alphabet, and laid a grain of Wheat, or Barley upon every one of them, a Cock magically prepared was let loose amongst them, & those Letters, out of which he picked the Corns, being joyn'd together, were thought to declare whatever they were desirous to be certified of. This Divination the famous Magician *Jamblichus*, *Proclus's* Master, is said to have made use of, with a Design to find out the Person, that was to succeed *Valens Caesar* in the Empire; but the Cock picking up only four of the Grains, viz. those that lay upon the Letters *θ. σ. ο. δ.* left it uncertain, whether *Theodotus*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodestes*, was the Person designed by the Fates to be Emperour. However, *Valens* being informed of the Matter, was enraged at it, put to death several Persons, for no other reason, than that their Names began with those Letters; and made diligent search after the Magicians themselves; whereupon *Jamblichus* to prevent the Emperour's cruelty, ended his Life by a Draught of Poison.

Σιδνεομαντεία, was performed by a Red-hot Iron, upon which they laid an odd number of Straws, and observed what Figures, Benings, Sparklings, &c. they made in burning.

Μολυβδομαντεία, was by observing the Motions, Figures, &c. of melted

Lead. The three following Methods of Divination are by some reckon'd amongst the various sorts of Incantations.

Τεφερωμαντεία, or Divination by Ashes; which was performed in this manner: They wrote the Things they had a mind to be resolved about, in Ashes upon a Plank, or any such thing; this they exposed to the open Air, where it was to continue for some Time; and those Letters, that remained whole, and no ways defaced by the Winds, or other Accidents, were thought to contain in them a Solution of the Question.

Βτανωμαντεία, or Divination by Herbs, especially *Ελελίσφακος*, or *Salvia*; or by *Fig-leaves*, and then called *Συκομαντεία*, was practised thus: The Persons that consulted, wrote their own Names, and their Questions upon Leaves, which they expos'd to the Wind, and as many of the Letters as remained in their own Places, were taken up, and being joyned together, contained an Answer to the Question.

Κηρωμαντεία, or Divination by Wax, which they melted over a Vessel of Water, letting it drop within three definite spaces, and observed the Figure, Situation, Distance, and Concretion of the Drops. Besides these, there were infinite other sorts of Divination; as *Χερμαντεία*, *Φυτοζωμμία*, which was practised in *Socrates's* Time, *Ονομαδομαντεία*, *λεθμομαντεία*, *Γωμαντεία*, *Λυχωμαντεία*, mentioned, with several others, by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*, and *Pliny* in his *Natural History*; but these I shall pass by, and only trouble you with one more, which is so remarkable, that it cannot be omitted, viz.

Φαρμακεία, which was usually performed by certain medicated, and enchanted Compositions of Herbs, Minerals, &c. which they called *φάρμακα*. By these, strange and wonderful things were effected: Some of them taken inwardly, caused Blindness, Madness, Love, &c. such were the Medicaments, by which *Circe* transformed *Ulysses's* Soldiers. Others infected by a touch; such was the Garment which *Medea* sent to *Creüsa*. Others spread their Venom afar off, and operated upon Persons at a great Distance. There were also *Φάρμακα σωτήρια*, which were Amulets against the former; such was the Herb *Moly*, which preserved *Ulysses* from *Circe's* Incantments; the Laurel, the Sallow-tree, the Rhamn, or Christ-thorn, Flea-bane, the Jasper-stone, and innumerable others mentioned by *Albertus Magnus*, and *Orpheus* in his Book *De Lapillis*; Likewise certain Rings, which *Aristophanes*, in his *Plautus*, calls *δακτυλίοις φαρμακίταις*. At this Art the *Theffalians* were most famous of all the *Græcians*; *Democritus*, and *Pythagoras* are also said to have been skilled in it. Every Story is full of the prodigious Operations wrought by it, some of which I shall give You from a Witch's own Mouth in *Ovid*; (a)

— Cum volui, ripis mirantibus, annes
In fontes rediere suos, concussaque sisto,

(a) Met. l. VII. Fab. 2.

SC

Stantia

*Stantia concutio cantu freta; nubila pello
Nubilaque induco; ventos abigoque vocoque;
Vipereas rumpo verbis & carmine fauces;
Vivæque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terræ,
Et sylvas moveo, jubeoque tremiscere montes;
Te quoque, Luna, traho.*

When e're I please, the wondring Banks behold
Their Waters backwards to their Fountains rowl'd;
The Seas, if rough, and in vast ridges rise,
As tho' their angry Waves wou'd dash the Skies,
I give the word, and they no longer roam,
But break, and glide away in silent Foam.
If plain, and calm, the Ocean's surface lye,
Smooth, like some well-spread Azure Canopy,
I rouse th' unruly Waves with hid'ous Roar,
And bid their swelling heaps insult the Shore;
Then straight the watry Mountains heave their Heads,
O're-leap their bounds, and drown th' enamell'd Meads.
Clouds Me obey, and at my Summons sent,
Insest, or quit th' Etherial Firmament.
Winds too, on downy Wings attend my Will,
And as I bid, or boist'rous are, or still.
I burst the Vipers by my Magick Verse,
And from their Basis rend both Rocks and Trees.
The thronging Woods I move; at my Command
The Moon shrinks back, and Mountains trembling stand.

Mr. Hutchin.

Where you may observe the last Verse, wherein the Inchantress boasts that she was able to draw the Moon from her Orb; for the Ancients really believ'd, that Incantations had power to charm the Moon from Heaven; according to that saying of *Virgil*,

Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam (a).

The Moon my Verses from her Orb can draw.

And whenever the Moon was eclipsed, they thought it was done by the Power of Magick; for which reason it was usual to beat Drums and Kettles, to sound Trumpets, and Haut-boys, to drown, if it was possible, the Voices of the Magicians, that their Charms might not reach her. The Moon also was thought to preside over this, and therefore was invoked together with *Hecate*, to whom the invention of it was ascribed; and therefore *Medea* in *Euripides* saith, of all the Gods, she paid the greatest Veneration to *Hecate*;

*Οὐ γὰρ μὰ Πλὺ Διῶνιναν, λὺ ἐγὼ σέβω
Μάστιχα πάντων, καὶ συνεργὸν εἰλόμην,
Εὐχέτω.*

(a) Eclog. VIII.

For by the Goddess, whom I most adore,
Infernal *Hecate*, whom now I chuse
Co-partner of my Black Designs.

The Rites used at the Invocation of this Goddess, are given us by (a) *Apollonius* in these words;

*Δὴ τότε μέσσω νύκτι Διχμοιομένην φυλάξας
Αχμαῖταιο ξοῆσι λυσσάμεναι παλαμῶτο,
Οἷον ἄνδ' ἄλλων ἐνὶ φάρεσι κυανέοισι
Βόθρον οὐρύξαντες πεινῆα, πρὶ δ' ἐνὶ θῆλυι
Ἀρνειὸν σφάζειν, καὶ ἀδαίετον ὠμοδετήσαι,
Αὐτὰ πυρκαῖαν εὖ νήσας ὅππ' ἴδωρ.
Μενοειμένη δ' Ἐχέτιω Περσηΐδα μελίσσοιο,
Λείβων ἐκ δέπαιον συμβλήια, ἔργα μελίσσων.
Εὐδα δ' ἔπειτα θεῶν μεμνημένην ἱλάσσομαι.
Αἶψ' ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς ἀναχάξω, μηδ' ἐσθ' ὀδύπος
Ἡὲ ποδῶν ὄρησι μελίσσῃν ὁπίσσω,
Ἡὲ κυνῶν ὑλαῶν, μήπως τὰ ἔκαστα κολεῶμαι.*

When lab'ring Night has half her journey run,
Wash'd in some purling Stream, repair alone,
Clad in a dusky Robe, and dig a Pit,
Round let it be, and raise a Pile in it.
Then kill a tender Ewe; when this is done,
O' th' new-raisd Pile, unquarter'd lay her on.
And if you *Perse's* Daughter wou'd appease,
Pour a Libation, which the painful Bees
Have first wrought up within their waxen Hives.
Next pray the Goddess wou'd propitious prove,
Then backwards from the flaming Altar move;
But let no Yels of Dogs, or seeming noise
Of Feet behind, turn back thy steady Eyes,
And frustrate all thy former Sacrifice.

Mr. Hutchin.

To this sort of Divination are to be referr'd Charms, and Amulets against Poison, Venom, and Diseases. *Suidas* reports, that the Curing of Distempers by Sacrifices, and the repetition of certain Words, was practis'd ever since the time of *Minos* King of *Crete*; and (b) *Homer* relates, how *Achilles's* Sons stanch'd *Ulysses's* Blood, flowing from a wound he receiv'd in hunting a Wild Boar, by a Charm;

(a) *Argon.* III. v. 1028. (b) *Odys.* i. v. 456.

S f 2

Ωπειλὴν

Ωπειλῶ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο
Δῖος ἀπισταμένης, ἐπασιδ' ἢ δ' αἶμα κελαιὸν
Εἶχεν.

With nicest care, the Skilful Artists bound
The Brave, Divine Ulysses's ghastly Wound;
And b' Incantations stanch'd the gushing Blood.

Hither are also to be reduced enchanted Girdles, and other Things worn about Men's Bodies, to excite Love, or any other Passion, in those with whom they conversed: such was the *Kisós* in *Homer's Iliads*, given by *Venus* to *Juno*, for the allurements of *Jupiter* to her Love, as *Eustathius* observes, upon the afore-mentioned Verses in the *Odyssey*. But as concerning these Practices, I shall have occasion to add something more, when I come to treat of Love-affairs.

CHAPTER XIX.

Of the Grecian Festivals in general.

FESTIVALS were instituted upon four Accounts; First, in honour of the Gods, to whom, besides the Worship every Day paid them, some more Solemn Times were set apart. Especially, if they had conferred any signal Favour upon the Publick, or upon Private Persons, had assisted them in Defending their Countrey, had given them Victory over their Enemies, had delivered them out of any apparent Danger, or blessed them with Success in any Undertaking, it was thought but reasonable to set a part some Time for offering Sacrifices, and Praises to them, as grateful Acknowledgments for the Benefits received at their Hands.

Secondly, in order to procure some especial Favour of the Gods for (as you may learn from the following Chapters) several of the Festivals were instituted with a Design to render the Gods propitious, and willing to grant some particular Blessings, as Health, Children, and such like. And in Times of Famine, Pestilence, or other publick Calamities, the Oracles usually advised their Consultants to institute Solemn Festivals, as the only Method to appease the angry Gods, and obtain of them Deliverance from the Evils they groan'd under.

Thirdly, in Memory of Deceased Friends, of those that had done any remarkable Service for their Countrey, or died valiantly in the Defence of it. This was no small Encouragement to Men of Gen-

rows

rons and Noble Dispositions to enter upon honourable Designs, when they saw that the Brave Actions of the Virtuous did not perish with them, but their Memories were ever held sacred by Succeeding Generations.

Fourthly, Festivals were instituted, as Times of Ease, and Rest to Labourers; that amidst all their Toil, and Sorrow, and as it were a Recompense thereof, some Days of Refreshment might be allowed them. And for some one, or more of these Ends, most Festivals seem to have been first instituted.

(a) *Aristotle* reports, that amongst the Ancients they had few, or no Festivals, besides those after Harvest, or Vintage; for then they used to meet, and make merry with the Fruits they had gathered, Eating, and Drinking plentifully; for they esteem'd this a sort of offering their First-fruits to the Gods, whom they thought honoured by so doing; and therefore Feasts were called *Θεῖναι*, q. *Θεῖναι*, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν οἶνον δεῖν καταλαμβάνον, i. e. because they thought they were obliged, in duty to the Gods, to be drunk. And *Silvius*, in the same Author, tells us, That the Words *δαλία*, and *μέση*, were derived from the same Original, *τὸν τε οἶνον ὅτι πλέον, καὶ πῶς ἄλλω ἡδυπάθειαν θεῶν ἔνεα κατασφύρειν, διὸ καὶ θεῖναι, καὶ δαλίας, καὶ μέσας ἀνομασιάζει* i. e. Banquets were called *θεῖναι*, *δαλίας*, and *μέσαι*, from *Θεός*, or God; because it was usual at those Times to consume great quantities of Wine, and other Provisions in honour of the Gods.

In later Ages, when the Gods were encreased almost to the number of Men, and the old frugal way of Living was laid aside, the number of Festivals was enlarged, and the manner of them quite altered: for whereas formerly the Solemnities consisted in little or nothing, besides offering a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after that making merry themselves; now a great many Games, Processions, and ten thousand Superstitious Observances, in imitation of the Fabulous Actions of the Gods, were introduced, and practised, to the vast charge of the Publick.

The *Athenians*, as they exceeded all other People in the number of their Gods, so they outdid them in the number of their Festivals; which, as (b) *Xenophon* reports, were twice as many, as any other City observed: Nor did the Number, and Frequency of them abate any thing of the Solemnity, Splendour, and Charges at their Observation. The Shops, and Courts of Judicature were shut up, on most of those Days; the Labourers rested from their Works, the Tradesmen from their Employments, the Mourners intermitted their Sorrows; it was unlawful for a Cry, a Groan, or a sorrowful Expression to be heard; and nothing but Ease and Pleasure, Mirth and Jollity were to be found amongst them.

(a) *Ethic. ad Nicomach. lib. VIII. c. IX.* (b) *De Repub. Atheniens.*

Most of them were celebrated at the Publick Charge; and left their Treasury should be exhausted by so frequent Evacuations, several means were contrived to supply and replenish them. For Instance, after *Tyrasylbulus* had deposed the *Tyrants*, their Estates were confiscated for this use, as *Harpocraton* observes out of *Philochorus*: And when the State was reduced to it's old *Democracy*, if any of the Citizens, through too much Wealth, became formidable to the poorer sort, and objects of their Envy, it was customary to compel them to contribute towards the defraying of the Expences at Publick Festivals; and so by conferring upon them a great (tho' chargeable, and dear-bought) Honour, at once sweeten the Imposition, (if not also oblige those on whom it was impos'd) and rid themselves of those Fears, and Jealousies, which the Immoderate Opulency of private Persons might reasonably give to a Popular State.

Thus much of Festivals in General: as to the Particulars, I have omitted very little that is material in the Tracts of *Mensius*, and *Castellanus*, upon this Subject; and some things not taken notice of by either of them, and perhaps not unworthy your Observation, I have added. Yet I do not pretend, that this is a complete, or entire Collection of the *Græcian* Festivals; for that would be endless, (seeing almost every Man of Repute, and that had done any Notable Service for the Publick, had his Anniversary Day) and impossible, since hundreds of them (especially those that were observed by the less considerable Cities) are not so much as mentioned in any Author at this Day extant; or but barely mentioned, without any Account of the Persons, to whom they belonged, or the Ceremonies used at their Celebration: However, as much as is necessary to the Understanding of the Ancient *Greek* Writers, the following Chapters will furnish.

CHAPTER XX.

Grecian Festivals.

ΑΗΤΟΠΕΙΟΝ, and ΑΗΤΟΠΙΑ,

Mentioned by *Hesychius*, without any Notice of the Deity, whose Honour they were observed. It is not improbable, they might belong to *Apollo*, and be (at least the latter of them) the same with the *Lacedæmonian* *Καρτεία*. This Conjecture is grounded upon the words of *Hesychius*; who tells us, that *Αητης* was the Name of the Person consecrated to the God at the *Καρτεία* and that the Festival

Festival it self was term'd *Αητεια*, which Name seems to have been deriv'd from *αηω*, that Festival being observ'd in Imitation of *παρωλην αηωην*, or, the Military way of Living, as *Athenæus* (a), and *Eustathius* (b) have observ'd. It is not unlikely, the former might belong to *Venus*, whose Priest (as *Grammarians* inform us) was call'd *Αητωρ*, in *Cyprus*.

ΑΡΠΑΝΙΑ,

Was celebrated at *Argos* (c), in Memory of one of *Prætus's* Daughters; being, in all probability, the same with

ΑΡΠΑΝΙΑ,

Which (as the same Author tells us) was observ'd at *Argos*, in Memory of a deceas'd Person. It was also celebrated at *Thebes* with *Solemn Sports*.

ΑΡΠΑΤΑΙΑ,

At *Athens*, in Honour of *Agræus*, or *Aglæus*, the Daughter of *Œrops* and the Nymph *Aglæus*, and Priestess of *Minerva*, to whom she gave the Surname of *Aglæus*, and was worshipp'd in a Temple dedicated to her. The *Cyprians* also (as *Porphyrus* (d) reports) honour'd her by the Celebration of an Annual Festival in the Month *Aphrodisias*, at which they offer'd Human Victims; and this Custom is said to have continu'd till the Time of *Diomedes*.

ΑΡΠΙΩΝΙΑ,

In Honour of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Αρεων*, from his Cruelty, as (e) *Plutarch* is of Opinion; or because he convers'd with, and was attended by Lions, Tygers, and other Savage Animals; which provok'd him the other Name of *Ωμωτης*, which properly denotes an Eater of raw Flesh, or any Barbarous Person. This Solemnity was observ'd in the Night, after this manner: The Women (f) being assembled, made a strict Search after *Bacchus*, as if he had fled from them; but after some time, finding their Labour to be in vain, said, that He had retir'd to the *Muses*, and conceal'd Himself amongst them. This being done, and the Ceremony ended, they regal'd themselves with an Entertainment; after which, the Time was pass'd away by proposing Riddles, and cramp Questions. Large quantities of Ivy was us'd at this Time (g), because that Plant was accounted sacred to *Bacchus*; and so great Excesses were sometimes committed, that once the Daughters of

(a) Lib. IV. (b) *Iliad*. α'. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) De Abstinencia lib. II. (e) *Anthol.* (f) *Plutarch* Sympos. lib. VIII. Quæst. I. (g) Idem Quæst. Roman.

with Vocal Musick, in Honour of *Erigone*, sometimes call'd *Aletis*, the Daughter of *Icarus*; who, out of an excess of Grief for the Misfortunes of her Father, hang'd her self: whence the Solemnity had the Name of *Aioëa*. At her Death, she requested the Gods, that if the *Athenians* did not revenge *Icarus's* Murder, their Virgins might end their Lives in the same manner, that she did. Her Petition was granted, and a great many of them, without any apparent cause of Discontent, became their own Executioners; Whereupon, to appease *Erigone*, they instituted this Festival, by the Advice of *Apollo*. Others report, (a) that it was observ'd in Honour of King *Temaleus*; or of *Ægisthus*, and *Clytemnestra*. And some are of Opinion, (b) that it was first observ'd by command of an Oracle, in Memory of the Daughter of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra*, who in company of her Grand-father *Tyndarus*, took a Journey to *Athens*; where she prosecuted *Orestes* in the Court of *Areopagus*; and losing her Cause, hang'd her self for Grief.

AKTIA,

A Triennial Festival, Solemniz'd at *Actium* in *Epirus*, with Wrestling, Horse-racing, and a Fight, or Race of Ships, in Honour of *Apollo*, who had the Surname of *Actius*, from that Place (c).

AAIA, or AAEAIA,

To *Minerva*, surnam'd *Alea*, at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where that Goddess was honour'd with a Temple of great Antiquity (d).

AAEKTPTONON ATON,

A Cock-fight at *Athens*, in memory of the Cocks, from which *Crowing Themistocles* receiv'd an Omen of his Success against the *Persians* (e).

AAIA,

Solemn Games (f) Celebrated at *Rhodes*, upon the Twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Γορμαία*, which answers to the *Athenian* *Βαδερμύων*, in Honour of the Sun, who is call'd in *Greek* *ΗΛΙΟΣ*, and *ΑΙΟΝ*, and is said to have been born in the Island of *Rhodes*; the Inhabitants of which were reputed his Posterity, and therefore call'd *Heliades*, as we learn from *Strabo* (g). The Combatants in these Games were not only Men, but Boys; and the Victors were rewarded with a Crown of Poplar.

(a) Hesychius. (b) Etymolog. Magnum. (c) Stephanus Byzantinus. Clemens Protrept. (d) Pausanias Arcadicis. (e) Pausanias lib. II. cap. XXVIII. (f) Pindari Scholiast. Olymp. Od. VIII. (g) Lib. XIV.

A Λ K A Θ O I A,

At *Megara* (a), in Memory of *Alcathoüs*, the Son of *Pelops*; who lying under a Suspicion of having murder'd his Brother *Chrysippus*, fled to *Megara*; where having overcome a terrible Lion, that wasted the Countrey, and had slain, beside many others, King *Megaraeus's* own Son; he so far ingratiated himself, that he had in Marriage the King's Daughter, and was declar'd his Successor.

A Λ Ω A,

At *Athens*, in the Month *Posideon*, in Honour of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, by whose Blessing the Husbandmen receiv'd the Recompence of their Toil, and Labour; and therefore (b) their Oblations consisted of nothing but the Fruits of the Earth. Others say, this Festival was instituted, as a Commemoration of the Primitive *Greeks*, who liv'd in *ῥῆλλον*, i. e. in Vine-yards, and Corn-fields (c).

A Λ Ω T I A,

To *Minerva*, by the *Arcadians*; in memory of a Victory, wherein they took a great many of the *Lacedæmonians* prisoners, which the *Greeks* call *ἄλωτοις* (d).

A M A P T N Θ I A, or A M A P T Σ I A,

A Festival celebrated with Games, in Honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Amarymbia*, and *Amarysia*, from a Town in *Eubæa*. It was observ'd by the *Eubæans*, *Eretrians*, *Carystians*, and *Athmonians*, who were Inhabitants of a Burrough in *Attica*.

A M B P O Σ I A,

To *Bacchus* (e) the God of Wine; in the Month *Leneon*, in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

A M M A Λ Ω,

A Festival, of which nothing more is recorded, than that it belong'd to *Jupiter* (f).

A M M Ω N,

An *Athenian* Festival (g).

A M Φ I A P A I A,

At *Oropus*, in Honour of *Amphiaraus* (h); of whom I have given a sufficient Account in another Place.

(a) Pindari Scholiaster Nem. V. (b) Demosthenes in *Nearam*. (c) Harpocration, Eustath. Iliad. ω'. (d) Pausanias Arcadicis. (e) Hesiodi Scholiast. Oper. & Dier. lib. II. (f) Hesychius. (g) Idem. (h) Pindar. Schol. Olymp. VII.

ΑΜΦΙΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by Private Families in *Athens*, upon the fifth Day after the Birth of every Child. It was so call'd, ἡ τῆς ἀμφοδραμείας, i. e. from Running round; because it was customary to run round the Fire, with the Infant in their Arms. Of this more hereafter.

ΑΝΑΓΩΓΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (a) to *Venus*, at *Eryx* in *Sicily*, where she was honour'd with a Magnificent Temple. The Name of this Solemnity was deriv'd ἡ τῆς ἀνάγωγος, i. e. from returning; because the Goddess was said to leave *Sicily*, and return to *Africa* at that Time.

ΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, in Honour of the *Dioscuri*, who were call'd *Anakes*, and honour'd with a Temple, call'd Ἀνάκειον. The Sacrifices offer'd at this Time, were nam'd *Ξενομοί*, because those Deities were ξένοι, or Strangers (b); and consisted of three Offerings (c), which were call'd *τετρίαι*. *Athenæus* (d) also makes mention of Plays, acted in Honour of these Deities.

ΑΝΑΚΛΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemnities observ'd at the ἀνάκλησις, or Proclamation, of Kings, and Princes, when they became of Age, to take the Government into their own Hands (e).

ΑΝΑΚΤΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ,

A Festival (f) at *Amphissa*, the Capital City of *Locris*; in Honour either of the *Dioscuri*, or *Curetes*, or *Cabiri*; for Authors are not agreed in this Matter.

ΑΝΔΡΟΓΕΩΝΙΑ, or Ἀγῶνες ἐπ' Εὐρυγύης,

Annual Games (g) celebrated in the *Ceramicus* at *Athens*, by the command of *Minos*, King of *Crete*, in memory of his Son *Androgeos*, otherwise call'd *Eurygius*, who was barbarously murder'd by some of the *Athenians*, and *Megarensians* (h).

(a) *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XV. (b) *Tindari Schol. Olymp. III.* (c) *Pausanias.* (d) *Dipnos.* lib. II. (e) *Polybi* Hist. XVIII. & *Legat. Eclog. LXXXVIII.* (f) *Taufanias Phociensis.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Plutarch. Theseo.*

ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, observ'd in Honour of *Bacchus*, upon the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Days of the Month *Antheſterion*. The first Day was nam'd Πιθουλία, ἡ τῆς πίθους ὄλεια, i. e. because they then tapp'd their Barrels. The same Day was by the *Chæroneans* call'd Ἀγᾶστος Δαίμωνος, i. e. The Day of Good Genius; because it was customary to make merry upon it.

The second Day was call'd Χόαις, from the Measure χοᾶ, because every Man drunk out of his own Vessel; in memory of an Accident that happened in the Reign of *Pandion*, or (as others say) of *Demophoon*, under whom *Orestes*, having slain his Mother, fled to *Athens*, before he had undergone the customary Purification for Murder. The *Athenians* were at that Time busy in Celebrating the Festival of *Bacchus*, surnam'd *Lenæus*, because he had the Care of *Wine-presses*, which are in *Greek* call'd Ἀίναυα. However, he was kindly receiv'd by *Demophoon*, who to prevent the Contamination, which might adhere to the Company, by Drinking with a polluted Person, and that *Orestes* might not take it unkindly to be forc'd to drink alone, order'd, that every Man should have a distinct Vessel of Wine, and drink out of his own Cup. On the fore-going Day, they only open'd their Vessels, and tasted the Wine; but now it was customary to drink lustily, and the longest Liver, in token of Victory, was rewarded with a Crown of Leaves, and a Vessel of Wine. It was usual also to ride in Chariots, out of which they jested upon all that pass'd by. The Professors of *Sophistry* feasted at home, with their friends upon this Day, and had Presents sent them from all Hands; to which Custom *Eubulides* alludes, in these Verses,

Σοφιστῆς, γέμισε, καὶ Χοᾶν δέη
Τῶν μισοδόξων, καὶ ἀδείπων ἐν πρῶτῳ.

Ah! subtle Knave, you now the Sophist play,
And wish that Bounteous Χοᾶ may approach,
Whose Presents fill your Belly, and your Purse.

From this Day it was, that *Bacchus* had the Surname of Χοοπότης.

The third Day was call'd Χύτροι, from χύτρα, i. e. a Pot, which was brought forth full of all sorts of Seeds, which they accounted sacred to *Mercury*, and therefore abstain'd from them. Upon this Day the *Comedians* us'd to act; and at *Sparta*, *Lycurgus* order'd, that such of them as obtain'd the Victory, should be enroll'd amongst the Free Denizens.

During these Days, the Slaves were allow'd to make merry, drink, and revel; and therefore, at the End of the Festival, it was usual to make proclamation in this manner; Θῆαζε. Κᾶες, ἔκ' ἐτ' Ἀνθίστηρα, i. e. Begone you *Carian* Slaves, the *Antheſteria* are ended.

ΑΝΘΕΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Sicilian Festival (a), so nam'd $\Sigma\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\ \phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon\upsilon\ \alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha$, i. e. from carrying Flowers; because it was Instituted in honour of *Proserpina*, whom *Pluto* is said to have stoln, as she was gathering Flowers.

Another Solemnity of this Name, seems to have been observ'd at *Argos*, in honour of *Juno*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in that place, under the Name of *Ανθεία* (b).

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus* (c).

ΑΝΤΙΝΟΕΙΑ,

Annual Sacrifices, and Quinquennial Games, in Memory of *Antinous*, the *Bithynian*: They were Instituted at the Command of *Adrian* the Roman Emperour, at *Maminea* in *Arcadia* (d), where *Antinous* was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship.

ΑΠΑΤΟΤΡΙΑ,

A Festival (e) first instituted at *Athens*, and from thence deriv'd to the rest of the *Ionians*, except those of *Ephesus*, and *Colophon*. It receiv'd its Name from $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\eta$, which signifies Deceit; because it was first instituted in memory of a *Stratagem*, by which *Melanthius*, the *Athenian* King, overcame *Xanthus*, King of *Boetia*. For a Controversy happening between the *Athenians*, and *Boetians*, about a piece of Ground situated upon the Confines of *Attica* and *Boetia*; *Xanthus* made a Proposal, that himself, and the *Athenian* King should end the Quarrel by a single Combat. *Thymares* reign'd at that Time in *Athens*; but declining the Fight, was depos'd: his Successor was *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, Son of *Nelus* and *Periclymene*, who having accepted the Challenge, met his Enemy at the appointed Place; where, as they were just going to begin the Fight, *Melanthius* thinking, or pretending that he saw at *Xanthus's* Back, a Person habited in a black Goat-skin, cry'd out, that the Articles were violated; upon this, *Xanthus* looking back, was treacherously slain by *Melanthius*. In Memory of this Success, *Jupiter* was firnam'd *Απατηνωρ*, i. e. Deceiver; and *Bacchus*, *Μελαγαις*, i. e. cloath'd in a black Goat-skin, and was further honour'd with a new Temple, and the Institution of this Festival. Others are of opinion, that *Απατεύεια* are so call'd, q. $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha$,

(a) *Pollux* Onom. lib. 1. cap. 1. (b) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Agid. & Cleomen*. (d) *Pausanias* *Arcadicis*. (e) *Aristophanis* *Scholias*. *Achana*. *Hesychius*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*, *Etymologici* *Auctor*. *Idem* *Auctores* *ubique* *sunt* *hoc* *toto* *capite* *citati*.

i. e. $\delta\mu\omicron\pi\alpha\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, because upon this Festival, Children accompany'd their Fathers, to have their Names enter'd into the Publick Register: in the same manner, $\alpha\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron$ is equivalent to $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, and $\alpha\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ to $\delta\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$. Others will have *Απατεύεια* to be so nam'd, because the Children were till that Time $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, i. e. without Fathers, in a Civil sence; for that it was not till then publicly recorded, whose they were. For a like reason, *Melchisedec* is by some thought to be call'd $\alpha\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\omega\rho$, $\alpha\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\omega\rho$ (a), i. e. without Father, without Mother; viz. because his Parentage was omitted in the Publick Genealogies. To return: This Festival was celebrated in the Month *Pyaneffion*, and lasted three Days.

The first Day was call'd *Δορπία*, from $\delta\omicron\rho\pi\omicron$, i. e. a Supper; because on that Day at Evening, each Tribe had a separate Meeting, thereat a sumptuous Entertainment was provided.

The second Day was nam'd *Ανάξουσις*, $\Sigma\pi\omicron\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\upsilon\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, because in this Day Victims were offer'd to *Jupiter* $\phi\epsilon\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and *Apatuwor*, and *Minerva*; in whose Sacrifices (as in all that were offer'd to Celestial Gods) it was usual $\alpha\upsilon\omega\ \epsilon\gamma\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon\ \tau\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, i. e. to turn the Head of the Victims upwards, towards Heaven. At this Sacrifice, the Children enroll'd amongst the Citizens, were plac'd close to the Altar. It was usual also, for Persons richly apparell'd, to take lighted torches out of the Fire, and run about, singing Hymns in praise of *Vulcan*, who was the first that taught Men the use of that Element: Which Custom is by *Meursius* refer'd to this Day, tho' *Harpocration*, to whom we are indebted for the Mention of it, has left it in the Dark as to it's Time.

The third Day was nam'd *Κερίωσις*, from $\kappa\omicron\delta\epsilon\omicron$, i. e. a Youth; or $\kappa\epsilon\rho\iota$, i. e. Shaving; because the young Men, who till that Time remain'd unshaved, had their Hair cut off, before they were presented to be registred. Their Fathers at this Time were oblig'd to swear, that both Themselves, and the Mothers of the young Men, were Free-born *Athenians*. It was also usual to offer a Sheep in Sacrifice to *Diana*, which they call'd $\Theta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\ \phi\epsilon\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha\omega$. this Victim was to be of a certain Weight; and because it once happen'd, that the Standers-by cry'd out in jest, $\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$, $\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$, i. e. Too little, too little, it was ever after call'd $\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$, and the Persons that offer'd it *Μεταγωγοί*.

To these *Hesychius* adds a fourth Day, which he tells us was call'd $\epsilon\pi\iota\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$, but that Name is not peculiar to this Festival, but generally apply'd to any Day, celebrated after the End of another Solemnity; being deriv'd $\Sigma\pi\omicron\ \tau\eta\ \delta\eta\lambda\alpha\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, i. e. from following; because it was a sort of Appendage to the Great Festival.

(a) *Epistola* ad *Hebraeos*.

ΑΠΑΥΔΙΑ,

The second Day in Marriages, of which I shall have Opportunity to speak in another place.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ,

To *Apollo*, at *Aegialea*; upon this Account: *Apollo*, having obtain'd the Victory over *Python*, went to *Aegialea*, accompanied with his Sister *Diana*; but being frighted from thence, fled into *Crete*. After this, the *Aegialeans* were infected with an Epidemical Distemper; and being advis'd by the Prophets, to appease the two offended Deities, sent seven Boys, and as many Virgins, to entreat them to return. *Apollo* and *Diana* accepted their Piety, and came with them to the Citadel of *Aegialea*; in Memory of which, a Temple was dedicated to *Pala*, the Goddess of Persuasion; and it became a Custom, to appoint chosen Boys and Virgins, to make a solemn Procession, in shew as if they design'd to bring back *Apollo* and *Diana*; which Solemnity was continued till *Pausanias's* Time (a).

ΑΠΟΠΟΜΠΑΙ,

Certain Days (b), in which Sacrifices were offer'd to the Gods, call'd *Πομπᾶι*. Who these were, I am not resolv'd: Certain it is, that *πομπᾶι* denotes any Person that conducts another in his way; and therefore was apply'd to *Mercury*, who was believ'd to be *Pluto's* Gentleman-usher, and to conduct the Souls of deceas'd Persons to the Shades below: whence *Ajax*, in *Sophocles*, before he stabb'd himself, pray'd thus,

————— χαλῶ δ' ἄμα
Πομπᾶιον Ερμῶν χθόνιον εὖ με κομίσου.

————— Infernal *Mercury* I call
Safe to conduct me to the Shades below.

But I am rather inclin'd to think, these Days belong'd to the Gods call'd *Αποπομπᾶι*, i. e. *ἀποπομπῆ*, (for *ἀποπομπῆ*, is by *Phavorinus* expounded *ἀποπομπῆ*) otherwise nam'd *Λύσοι*, *ἀλεξίεργοι*, and *αὐεργίται*, because they were thought to avert Evils; such were *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and others: and therefore for *πομπᾶις* in *Hesychius*, I would read *ἀποπομπᾶις*, except they may be us'd as synonymous Terms.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiaci*. (b) *Hesychius*.

ΑΠΑΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sicyon* (a), upon the Birth-day of *Aratus*, whom they honour'd with a Priest; who, for Distinction's sake, wore a Ribband bespangl'd with white and purple spots. It was celebrated with Musick; and the Choristers of *Bacchus* assisted at the Solemnity with their Harps. There was also a Solemn Procession, in which the Publick School-master, accompany'd with his Scholars, went first, and the Senators adorn'd with Garlands, with as many of the other Citizens as had a mind, follow'd after.

ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Festivals at *Argos*, the Names of which are lost. One we find mention'd in *Parthenius* (b), upon which he tells us, there was a Publick Entertainment.

Another is taken notice of in *Plutarch* (c), upon which the Boys kill'd one another in Jest *βαλλόμενοι ἀχράδαι*, i. e. *βάλλοντες ἀχράδαι*, by which words are signify'd Persons, that throw wild Figs. Which Custom perhaps was instituted in Memory of their ancient Diet in *Inachus's* Time, when they liv'd upon wild Figs.

A third we read of in *Aeneas* (d), in which great numbers of the Citizens made a Solemn Procession out of the City in Armour.

ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕΙΑ,

Two Festivals (e) at *Naxos*, in Honour of two Women, who had the common Name of *Ariadne*. The former of them was thought to be of a Gay and Pleasant Temper, and therefore her Festival was observ'd with Musick, and a great many Expressions of Joy, and Mirth.

The latter, being the same that was expos'd big with Child upon that Coast by *Theseus*, was suppos'd to be of a Melancholy Disposition, and therefore the Solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of Sorrow, and Mourning; and in Memory of her being left by *Theseus* near the Time of Child-birth, it was usual for a Young Man to lie down, and counterfeit all the Agonies of Women in Labour. This Festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus*, as a recompence of his Ingratitude to her.

ΑΡΡΗΦΟΡΙΑ,

At *Athens* (f), in the Month *Scirophorion*, in Honour of *Minerva*, and *Ersa*, one of *Cecrops's* Daughters, upon which account, it is

(a) *Plutarchus Arato*. (b) *Erotic*. XIII. (c) *Grac. Quæst*. (d) *Poliocret. cap.* XVII. (e) *Plutarchus Theseo*. (f) *Harpocrat. Suidas, Erymolog.*

sometimes call'd Ερηφεία, or Εἰρηφεία. But the former Name is deriv'd *ἐκ τῆς ἀρετῆς φέρειν*, i. e. because there were some Myste-
rious Things carry'd by four select noble Virgins, not under seven,
nor above eleven Years of Age; who were for that reason call'd
Ἀρεφῆροι. Their Apparel was white, and set off with Ornaments of
Gold. And out of them were chosen two, to weave (as the Custom
was) a Πέπλος, or Garment, for *Minerva*; which work they began
upon the thirtieth of *Pyanestion*.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ,

A Festival, in Honour of *Artemis*, or *Diana*. It was celebrated
in several places of *Greece*, particularly at *Delphi*; where they of-
fer'd a Mullet to the Goddess, as being thought to bear some sort
of Relation to her; because (a) it is said to hunt, and kill the Sea-
hare.

Another Solemnity of this Name was observ'd three Days to-
gether, with Banquets, and Sports, at *Syracuse* (b).

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival of *Æsculapius*, observ'd in several Parts of *Greece*; but no
where with so much Solemnity, as by the *Epidaurians* (c), whom this God
honour'd with his more immediate Presence, giving Answers to them in
an Oracular way: wherefore it was call'd *Μεγαλασκληπεία*, i. e. The
great Festival of *Æsculapius* (d). One great part of the Solemnity
consisted in a Musical Entertainment, wherein the Poets, and Musicians
contended for Victory, and therefore was call'd *ἱερὸς ἀγών*, or the
Sacred Contention.

ΑΣΚΩΛΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Athenian* Husbandmen, in Honour of
Bacchus (e), to whom they sacrific'd a He-goat; because that Animal de-
stroys the Vines, and therefore was suppos'd to be hated by *Bacchus*.
Out of the Victim's Skin, it was customary to make a Bottle, which
being fill'd with Oyl and Wine, they endeavour'd to leap upon it
with one Foot, and He that first fix'd himself upon it, was declar'd
Victor, and receiv'd the Bottle as a Reward. The Doing this they call'd
ἀσκολιάζειν, *ὅθεν τὸ ὄντι τὸν ἀσκὸν ἀλλοῦς*, i. e. from Leaping upon
a Bottle; whence this Festival hath it's Name.

(a) *Athenæus* lib. VII. (b) *Livius* lib. XXIII. *Hesychius*. (c) *Plato* *Jm.*
(d) *Inscript. vet.* (e) *Thurnutus de Baccho*, *Aristophan. Scholiast.* *Pluto*, *Hesychius*.

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ,

Festivals in Honour of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*; several of which were
observ'd in divers Parts of *Greece*: The most remarkable of them
was that at *Cyprus* (a), first instituted by *Cinyras*; out of whose Fa-
mily certain Priests of *Venus* were Elested, and for that reason nam'd
Κινυράδαι. At this Solemnity several Myste-
rious Rites were practis'd; all that were initiated into them, offer'd a Piece of Money, and re-
ceiv'd, as a token of the Goddess's Favour, a Measure of Salt, and a
φάλλος: the former, because Salt is a Concretion of Sea-water, to
which *Venus* was thought to owe her Birth: The latter, because she
was the Goddess of Wantonness.

At *Amathus*, a City of *Cyprus*, Solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Ve-*
nus, and call'd *Καρπώσεις* (b); which word is deriv'd from *καρπός*, i. e.
fruit; perhaps because this Goddess presided over Generation.

At both the *Paphi Venus's* Festival was observ'd, being celebrated
not only by the Inhabitants of those Places, but multitudes that
throng'd to it out of other Cities (c).

At *Corinth* it was celebrated by Harlots (d).

ΑΧΙΛΛΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Festival at *Sparta*, in honour of *Achilles* (e).

Β

ΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

To *Bacchus* (f). See *Διονύσια*.

ΒΑΛΛΗΤΤΣ,

At *Eleusis* in *Attica*, to *Demophoon*, the Son of *Celeus* (g).

ΒΑΡΑΤΡΟΝ,

Solemn Games in *Thessprotia*, wherein the strongest obtain'd the Vi-
ctory (h).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lebadea*, in *Boeotia* (i).

ΒΕΝΔΙΑΒΙΑ,

A *Thracian* Festival (k), in honour of *Diana*, who was by the

(a) *Clemens* *Protrept.* *Arnobius* lib. V. *Hesychius*, *Pindari Scholiastes*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Strabo* lib. XIV. (d) *Athenæus* lib. XIII. (e) *Pausanias* *Laconicis*.
(f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Athenæus* lib. IX. *Hesychius*. (h) *Hesychius*. (i) *Pindari* *Scho-*
liastes *Olymp.* VII. (k) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Proclus* in *Timæum*, *Hesychius*.

Thracians call'd *Béydis*. From *Thrace* it was carry'd to *Athens*, where it was celebrated in the *Piræus*, upon the nineteenth, or twentieth of *Thargelion*.

ΒΟΗΔΡΟΜΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (a), so call'd ἀπὸ τοῦ βοήδρου, i. e. from coming to help; because it was instituted in memory of *Ion*, the Son of *Xuthus*, who came to the Assistance of the *Athenians*, in the Reign of King *Ereëtheus*, when they were invaded by *Eumolpus*, the Son of *Neptune*. But *Plutarch* (b) reports, that it was observ'd in memory of a Victory obtain'd by *Theseus* against the *Amazons*, in the Month *Bodromion*.

ΒΟΡΕΑΣΜΟΙ,

Another *Athenian* Festival (c) in honour of *Boreas*; who had an Altar in *Attica*, and was thought to bear some relation to the *Athenians*, having marry'd *Orithyia*, the Daughter of *Ereëtheus*: for which reason, when in a Sea-fight a great many of their Enemies Ships were destroy'd by a North-wind, the *Athenians* imputed it to the kindness *Boreas* had for his Wife's native Countrey, as *Pausanias* reports (d).

We are inform'd by the same Author (e), that Solemn Sacrifices were offer'd to *Boreas* at *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*, where he had a Temple, and Divine honours.

ΒΟΤΤΙΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

The *Botteians* were an *Athenian* Colony; wherefore in memory of their Original, they observ'd this Solemnity, in which the Virgins used to say, *ἰσθμὸν εἰς Ἀθῆνας*, i. e. Let us go *Athens* (f).

ΒΡΑΣΙΔΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at *Sparta*, in memory of *Brasidas*, a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, famous for his Atchievements at *Melione*, *Pylor*, and *Amphipolis*. It was celebrated with Sacrifices, and Games, wherein none were permitted to contend, but Free-born Spartans (g).

ΒΡΑΤΡΩΝΙΑ,

To *Diana*, surnam'd *Brannonia*, from the place in which this Festival was observ'd, viz. *Brannon*, an *Athenian* Burrough, in which the famous Statue of this Goddess, brought from *Scythia Taurica* by *Iphigenia*, remain'd till the second *Persian* War, in which *Xerxes* took it away (h). It was celebrated once in five Years, being manag'd by ten Men,

(a) Harpocration, Suidas. (b) Theseo. (c) Plato in Phædro, Hesychius. (d) Athenic. (e) Arcadicus. (f) Plutarchus Theseo, & Quest. Græc. (g) Pausanias Lacedæmonic, Thucyd. lib. V. Suidas. (h) Pausanias Atticus, & Arcadicus, Pollux lib. VIII. cap. IX. Harpocration, Suidas.

call'd,

call'd, from their Office, *ἱεργαστοί*. The Victim offer'd in Sacrifice was a Goat; and it was customary for certain Men to sing one of *Homer's Iliads*. The most remarkable Persons at this Solemnity, were young Virgins habited in yellow Gowns, and consecrated to *Diana*. These were usually about ten Years of Age (it being unlawful for any of them to be above ten, or under five) and therefore to consecrate them was call'd *Δεκατεύειν*, from *δέκα*, i. e. ten: It was also call'd *ἀρκιδόν*, and the Virgins themselves were nam'd *Ἀρκίαι*, i. e. Bears, upon this account: Amongst the *Phlauride*, Inhabitants of a Burrough in *Attica*, there was a Bear, which was so far divested of it's natural fierceness, and become so tame and tractable, that they usually admitted it to eat, and play with them, and receiv'd no harm thereby: But a young Maid once unluckily happening to be too familiar with it, the Beast tore her to pieces, and was afterwards kill'd by the Virgin's Brethren: Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Pestilence, which prov'd very fatal to a great many of the Inhabitants of *Attica*; as a remedy of which, they were advis'd by an Oracle, to appease the anger of *Diana* for the Bear, by consecrating Virgins to her in memory of it: The *Athenians* punctually executed the Divine Command, and enacted a Law, that no Virgin should be marry'd, that had not undergone this Ceremony.

Γ

ΓΑΛΑΞΙΑ,

A Festival, in which they boyl'd *τὴν γαλαξίαν*, i. e. a mixture of whey-pulse and Milk (a). *Meursius* is opinion that it belong'd to *Apollo*, who, from a place in *Boeotia*, was surnam'd *Galaxius* (b).

ΓΑΛΙΝΘΙΑΔΙΑ,

A Solemn Sacrifice at *Thebes*, offer'd to *Galinthias*, one of *Prætus's* Daughters, before the Festival of *Hercules*, by whose order it was first instituted.

ΓΑΜΗΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΑ, ΓΕΝΕΣΙΑ,

Three Private Solemnities, the first whereof was observ'd at Marriages; the second in memory of the Birth; the last, of the Death of any Person. But of all these, I shall give you a more full account in one of the following Books.

ΓΕΝΕΤΤΑΛΙΣ,

This Solemnity was celebrated by Women, in honour of *Genetyllis*, the Goddess of that Sex (c), to whom they offer'd Dogs.

(a) Hesychius. (b) Proclus Chrestomath. (c) Hesychius.

ΓΕΡΑ-

ΓΕΡΑΙΣΤΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune*, at *Geræstis*, a Village of *Eubœa*, where was honour'd with a Temple (a).

ΓΕΡΟΝΘΡΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

An Anniversary Festival in honour of *Mars*, at *Geronthra*, where there was a Temple dedicated to him. He had also a Grove in the same place, into which it was unlawful for any Woman to enter, during the time of this Solemnity (b).

ΓΕΦΤΡΙΣΜΟΙ,

A Solemnity mention'd by *Ælian* (c); and perhaps the same with the *γεφυρισμοί* at the Festival of *Ceres Eleusinia*, of which afterwards.

ΓΗΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

At *Athens*, in honour of Mother *Earth*, to whom a Temple was dedicated in the Cittadel of that place (d). Solemn Games also were celebrated to her, as we learn from *Pindar*,

Εν Ολυμπίοις τε, καὶ βαθυκόλπῃ
Γᾶς δέδοται.

At the *Olympick Games*, and sacred Sports
Of the capacious *Earth*.

ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΙΑ, or ΓΥΜΝΟΠΑΙΔΕΙΑ,

A Solemn Dance (f), perform'd by *Spartan Boys*.

Δ

ΔΑΙΔΙΣ,

A Solemnity, which lasted three Days, during all which Torches (call'd in *Greek* δᾶδες) were burn'd, which gave occasion to the Name (g).

Upon the first Day they commemorated *Latona's Labour*, and Birth.

The second was in memory of *Glycon's*, and the God's Nativity.

The third, of the Marriage of *Podalirius*, and the Mother of *Alexander*.

ΔΑΙΑΔΑ,

Two Festivals in *Bœotia* (h), one of which was observ'd by the

(a) *Stephanus*, *Pindari Schol.* *Olymp.* XIII. (b) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (c) *Hell. An. lib. IV. cap. XLIII.* (d) *Thucydides lib. II.* (e) *Pythion. lib. IX.* (f) *Thucydides*. (g) *Lucianus Pseudomantis.* (h) *Pausanias Bœoticus.*

at *Alalcomenos*, where was the largest Grove of any in *Bœotia*; in this they assembl'd, and exposing to the open Air pieces of sodden flesh, carefully observ'd whither the Crows, that came to prey upon them, directed their Flight; and then hew'd down all those Trees, upon which any of them alighted, and form'd them into Statues, which were by the ancient *Greeks* call'd *Δαίδαλα*, from the ingenious Artificer *Daedalus*.

The other Solemnity was by far the greatest, and most remarkable, being celebrated not only by *Plataea*, but all the Cities of *Bœotia*, once in sixty Years; in memory, and, as it were, in Recompence for the Intermision of the lesser Festival the same number of Years, during which time the *Plataeans* liv'd in exile. In order to this Solemnity, there were always prepar'd fourteen *Δαίδαλα* at the other Festivals, to be distributed by Lots amongst the *Plataeans*, *Coroneans*, *Thespians*, *Tanagraeans*, *Cheroneans*, *Orchomenians*, *Lebadeans*, and *Thebans*; because they promoted a Reconciliation with the *Plataeans*, and were desirous to have them recall'd from Banishment, and contributed Offerings towards the Celebration of the Festival, about the time that *Thebes* was restored by *Cassander* the Son of *Antipater*. Nor did the afore-mention'd Cities only, but others also of lesser Note, joyn in this Solemnity; the manner of which was thus:

A Statue being adorn'd in Woman's Apparel upon the Banks of *Asopus*, a Woman in the Habit of a Bride-maid, was appointed to accompany it, being follow'd by a long Train of *Bœotians*, who had been assign'd them by Lots, to the top of Mount *Cithæron*; upon which an Altar of square pieces of Timber cemented together in the manner of Stones, was erected. Upon this large quantities of combustible matter being lay'd, each of the Cities, and such Men as were possess'd of plentiful Estates, offer'd a Bull to *Jupiter*, and an Ox, or Heifer to *Juno*, with plenty of Wine, and Incense; the poorer sort, and such as were not of Ability to purchase more costly Oblations, contributed small things; all which, together with the *Δαίδαλα*, being thrown into one common Heap, were set on fire, and not extinguish'd, till the whole Fabrick, of which the Altar it self made a part, was consum'd to Ashes. The first occasion of these Customs was this: On a time it happen'd that *Juno* had a Quarrel with *Jupiter*, whereby the Goddess was exasperated to such a degree, that she departed from him, and retir'd into *Eubœa*: The God was very much troubled at this Desertion, and endeavour'd by all the Arts of Perswasion, to gain upon her to return; but finding her obstinate in her Resolution, went to wife with *Cithæron*, who reign'd at that time over the *Plataeans*, and had the greatest Reputation for Wisdom of any Man in that Age: The Expedient he advis'd to, was this; That *Jupiter* should dress a Statue in Woman's Apparel, and place it in a Chariot, giving out that it was *Plataea*, the Daughter of *Asopus*, and that she was consigned to him in Marriage: The God approv'd his Counsel, and put

put it in practice; and the Report had no sooner reach'd *Juno*, but she posted with all haste to meet the Chariot; where having discover'd the Cheat, she was wonderfully taken with the Contrivance, and return'd into Favour with her Husband.

An entire Treatise was compos'd by *Plutarch* upon this Festival, some Fragments of which are still preserv'd in *Eusebius* (a), and confirm the Substance of the Relation now given out of *Pausanias*; from whom they differ only in this, that in them *Cithæron* is call'd *Alcalmenes*, and *Platea*, *Dadala*.

Δ Α Ρ Ο Ν,

A Festival, of which nothing remains, besides the Name, which is preserv'd by *Hesychius*. If the Conjecture of *Meursius* deserve any Credit, it will not be improbable that it belong'd to one *Danaë*, who, as the same Grammarian informs us, was worshipp'd by the *Macedonians*, and thought to restore Health to sick Persons.

Δ Α Τ Α Ι Σ,

A Solemnity at *Argos*, in which was represented the Combat of *Præus* and *Acrisius*.

Δ Α Φ Ν Η Φ Ο Ρ Ι Α,

A Novennial Festival (b), celebrated by the *Bæotians*, in honour of *Apollo*. The chief Solemnity was thus: They adorn'd an Olive-bough with Garlands of Lawrel, and various sorts of Flowers: Upon the top of it was plac'd a Globe of Brass, from which hung other lesser Globes; About the middle were fix'd to it Purple Crowns, and a Globe of smaller size than that at the top: The bottom was cover'd with a Garment of Saffron-colour. The uppermost Globe was an Emblem of the Sun, by whom they meant *Apollo*; the plac'd diametrically under it, signify'd the Moon; the lesser Globes represented the Stars; and the Crowns, being sixty five in number, were Types of the Sun's Annual Revolution, which is complete in about the same number of Days. The Bough thus adorn'd, was carry'd in Procession; the chief in which was a Boy of a beautiful countenance, and good Parentage, whose Father and Mother were both living: He was apparell'd in a sumptuous Garment, reaching down to his Ancles; his Hair hung loose and dishevell'd; on his Head was a Crown of Gold; and upon his Feet Shoes, call'd *Iphicrates*, from *Iphicrates* an *Athenian*, the first Inventor of them: It was his Duty to execute at that time the Priest's Office, and he was honour'd with the Title of *Δαφνιφεγς*, i. e. The Lawrel-bearer. Before him went one of his nearest Relations, bearing a Rod adorn'd with Garlands:

After the Boy follow'd a Choir of Virgins, with Branches in their Hands: And in this order they proceeded as far as the Temple of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Ismenius*, and *Galaxius*, where they sung Supplicatory Hymns to the God. These Ceremonies were first practis'd upon this account: The *Æolians* that inhabited *Arne*, and the adjacent Territory, being advis'd by an Oracle to relinquish their old Seats, and seek their Fortunes, made an Invasion upon the *Thebans*, who at the same Time were belieg'd by the *Pelasgians*: It happen'd to be near the Time of *Apollo's* Festival, which was religiously observ'd by both Nations; wherefore a Cessation of Arms being granted on both sides, one Party cut down Lawrel-boughs in *Helicon*; the other near the River *Melas*; and, as the Custom was, carry'd them in their Hands, in honour of *Apollo*. On the same Day there appear'd in a Dream to *Polemæus*, General of the *Bæotian* Forces, a young Man, who presented him with a complete Suit of Armour, and commanded that every ninth Year the *Bæotians* should make Solemn Voyages to *Apollo*, with Lawrel in their Hands: About three Days after this Vision, he made a Sally upon the Besiegers with such Success, that they were forc'd to retire, and quit their Enterprize: whereupon he caus'd this Festival to be instituted.

Δ Ε Λ Φ Ι Ν Ι Α,

A Festival at *Ægina* (a), in honour of *Delphinian Apollo*.

Δ Η Λ Ι Α,

A Quinquennial Festival in the Isle of *Delos* (b), instituted by *Theseus*, at his return from *Crete*, in honour of *Venus*, whose Statue was set up to him by *Ariadne*, he erected in that place, having by her Assistance met with Success in his Expedition. The chief Ceremonies were these: They crown'd the Goddess's Statue with Garlands; appointed a Choir of Musick, and Horse-races; and perform'd a remarkable Dance, call'd *Γερανός*, i. e. a Crane, wherein they imitated their Motions, the various Windings of the *Cretan Labyrinth*, out of which *Theseus*, who was the first Inventor of this Dance, made his Escape.

Another Solemnity was every Year celebrated in this Island, in honour of *Apollo*, by the *Athenians*; but of this I have already given you an Account in one of the foregoing Chapters.

Δ Η Μ Η Τ Ρ Ι Α,

A Solemnity in honour of *Ceres*, call'd by the *Greeks* *Δημητήρ* (c), in which it was customary for the Worshippers to lash themselves with Whips, made of the Bark of Trees, and call'd *μώεσθαι*.

(a) *Pindari Schol. Olymp. VIII.* (b) *Thucydides lib. III. Callimachus Hymn. in Delum. Plutarchus Theseus.* (c) *Pollux Onom. lib. I. cap. I. Hesychius.*

(a) *De Præpar. Evangel. lib. III.* (b) *Pausanias Bæoticæ, Proclus Chrestomathia.*

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Athenians* (a) in honour of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, being the same with that which was before call'd *Dionysia*, and celebrated upon the thirteenth of *Metachion*, whose Name was chang'd into *Demetrium*, as also the Day of this Solemnity was nam'd *Demetrias*.

ΔΙΑΜΑΣΤΙΓΩΣΙΣ,

A Solemnity at *Sparta* (b), in honour of *Diana Orthia*, so nam'd *ὑπὸ τῇ μαστιγῇ*, i. e. from whipping, because it was usual to whip Boys upon the Goddess's Altar. These Boys were, at the first, Free-born *Spartans*, but, in more delicate Ages, of meaner Birth, being frequently the Off-spring of Slaves; they were call'd *βαμονεῖται*, from the Exercise they underwent at the Altar, which was very severe and cruel, and lest the Officer should out of Compassion remit any thing of the rigour of it, *Diana's* Priestess stood by all the Time, holding in her Hand the Goddess's Image, which of it's self was very light and easy to be born, but if the Boys were spar'd, became so ponderous, that the Priestess was scarce able to support it's weight. And lest the Boys should faint under Correction, or do any thing unworthy of *Laconian* Education, their Parents were usually present, to exhort them to bear whatever was inflicted upon them with Patience and Constancy. And so great was the Bravery and Resolution of the Boys, that, tho' they were lash'd till the Blood gush'd out, and sometimes to Death, yet a Cry, or Groan was seldom, or never heard to proceed from any of them. Those of them that dy'd by these Means, were bury'd with Garlands upon their Heads, in token of Joy, or Victory, and had the Honour of a Publick Funeral.

Whence this Custom had it's Original, is not agree'd by Ancient Writers. By some it is said to have been one of *Lycurgus's* Institutions, and design'd for no other End, than to accustom the Youth to endure Pain; thereby to render them fearless and insensible of Wounds. Others will have it to have been done, as a Mitigation of an Oracle, whereby it was commanded that Human Blood should be shed upon *Diana's* Altar. By some it is reported to have been as ancient as *Orestes*, who (they say) transplanted out of *Scythia* into *Laconia* the Image of *Diana Taurica*, to whom the *Scythians* us'd to offer Human Victims: this Barbarous piece of Cruelty the *Lacedaemonians* detested, but withall fearing the Anger of the Goddess, made an Order, that every Year a Boy should be whipp'd upon her Altar, till the Blood gush'd out; that so, if nothing could satisfy Her for Human Blood, She might not be altogether destitute of it. Lastly, some assign this Cause for it; *Pausanias*, the *Spartan* General, as he was

(a) *Plutarchus Demetrio*, *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XVIII. *Eustathius* II. s. (b) *Plutarchus Lacon. Instit.* & *Aristide*, *Pausanias Laconich.* *Themistius Orat.* *Cicero Tuscul. Quæst.* II. *Hyginus Fab.* CCLXI.

bring Sacrifices and Prayers, before the Fight with *Mardonius*, was upon by a company of *Lydians*, who plunder'd and squander'd abroad the Sacrifice; but were at length repell'd with Whips and Staves, which were the only Arms the *Lacedaemonians* were at that time furnish'd with: In memory of this Victory, the Whipping of Boys at the Altar in *Sparta*; and after that, the *Lydian* Procession, *Plutarch* tells us, was perform'd till his Days.

ΔΙΑΝΤΙΝΙΑ,

A Festival at *Sparta*.

ΔΙΑΣΙΑ,

At *Athens* (a), in honour of *Jupiter* firmam'd *Μερίχθ*, i. e. the Propitious. It was so call'd *ὑπὸ τῇ Διὸς, καὶ τῇ Ἄσπης*, i. e. from *Jupiter*, and Misfortune; because by making Supplications to *Jupiter*, they obtain'd Protection, and Deliverance from Dangers, and Evils. It was celebrated about the latter end of *Amphesterion*, without the City, where was a great concourse of all the *Athenians*, feasting and offering Sacrifices. At the same Time there is said to have been a publick Mart, in which all sorts of Vendibles were expos'd to Sale; and therefore *Sirepsides* in *Aristophanes* (b) saith, he bought his Son *Phidippus* a little Chariot at this Festival,

Ὅν παρ' ἄνδρα ὄλοδον ἔλαβον Ἡλιαστικόν,
Τὲτόν περὶ αὐτῷ σοὶ Διασίῳις ἀμαξίδα.

Plutarch (c) maketh mention of another Festival, that belong'd to *Jupiter*, wherein a solemn Procession was made by Men on Horseback.

ΔΙΙΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (d), celebrated upon the fourteenth of *Scirophorion*; so nam'd, because it was sacred τῷ Διὶ Πολιεῖ, i. e. to *Jupiter* firmam'd *Polieus*, or Protectour of the City. Sometimes it was call'd *Ἰπποπία*, from killing an Ox: For it was customary upon this Day to place certain Cakes, of the same sort with those us'd at Sacrifices, upon a Table of Brass; round this they drove a select number of Oxen, of which he that eat any of the Cakes, was presently slaughter'd. The Person that kill'd the Ox, was call'd *βέτης*, or *βυφόνος*. *Porphyry* reports, that no less than three Families were employ'd in this Ceremony, and receiv'd different Names from their Offices therein: The Family, whose Duty it was to drive the Oxen, were

(a) *Thucydides* lib. I. *Aristophanis Scholiast.* *Nub. Suidas.* (b) *Nubibus.* (c) *Phonime.* (d) *Pausanias Atticis.* *Ælianus Var. Hist.* lib. VIII. cap. III. *Porphyrius* de Abstin. ab Animal. *Hygellus, Suidas.*

call'd *Κεντεάδαι*, from *κέντρον*, i. e. a Spur: Those that knock'd him down, *Βεπύπτοι*, being descended from *Thaulon*: Those that slaughter'd, and cut him up, *Δαιτέες*, i. e. Butchers, or Cooks. The Original of the Custom was thus: On one of *Jupiter's* Festivals, it happen'd that a hungry Ox eat one of the consecrated Cakes; whereupon the Priest (some call him *Thaulon*, others *Diomus*, or *Sopater*) mov'd with pious Zeal, kill'd the profane Beast. In those Days, it was look'd upon as a capital Crime to kill an Ox; wherefore the guilty Priest was forc'd to secure himself by a timely Flight, and the *Athenians* in his stead, took the bloody Ax, arraign'd it, and, according to *Pausanias*, brought it in not guilty: But *Ælian* is of another Opinion, and reports, that the Priest, and People present at the Solemnity (for they all were accus'd, as being accessory to the Fact) were acquitted, but the Ax condemn'd; which seems to be most probable. In memory of these Actions, it became ever after customary, for the Priest to fly, and Judgment to be given about the Slaughter of the Ox.

ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival (a), in honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Dictynna*, from a City of *Crete*; or from a *Cretan* Nymph, one of her Companions in Hunting, who was call'd *Dictynna*; being the first invented Hunting-nets, which are in *Greek* call'd *Δίκτυα*.

ΔΙΟΚΛΕΙΑ,

At *Megara*, in memory of the Hero *Diocles* (b).

ΔΙΟΜΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Jupiter Diomus*; or of *Dionus* (c), an *Athenian* Hero, the Son of *Colytus*, from whom the Inhabitants of one of the *Athenian* Burroughs were nam'd *Διομεῖς*.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ,

Solemnities in honour of *Διόνυσος*, or *Bacchus*, sometimes call'd by the general Name of *Ορμα*, which word, tho' sometimes apply'd to the Mysteries of other Gods, does more peculiarly belong to those of *Bacchus*. The Festivals of this God are said to have been instituted in *Egypt*, and afterwards taught the *Græcians* by one *Amalampus* (d); and by *Plutarch* (e) we are inform'd, that the *Egyptian* *Isis* was the same with *Ceres*, and *Osiris* with *Bacchus*; and that the *Græcian* *Dionysia* were the same with the *Egyptian* *Pamyliæ*.

They were observ'd at *Athens* with greater Splendor, and more Ce-

remonious Superstition, than in any other part of *Greece*; for the Years were number'd by them (a), as the chief *Archon* had a part in the management of them (b), and the Priests that officiated therein, were honour'd with the first Seats at Publick Shows (c). But at first they (d) were without Splendor, and Ornaments, being Days set apart for Publick Mirth, and observ'd only with these Ceremonies; First a Vessel of Wine, adorn'd with a Vine-branch, was brought forth, after that follow'd a Goat, then was carry'd a Basket of Figs, and after all, the *Phalli*.

At some of them it was usual for the Worshippers, in their Garments and Actions, to imitate the Poetical Fictions concerning *Bacchus*: They put on Fawn-skins, fine Linnen, and Mitres; carry'd *Thyrse*, Drums, Pipes, Flutes, and Rattles; and crown'd themselves with Garlands of Trees sacred to *Bacchus*, such were the Ivy, Vine, Fir, &c. Some imitated *Silenus*, *Pan*, and the *Satyrs*, exposing themselves in Comical Dresses, and Antick Motions; some rode upon Asses, others drove Goats to the Slaughter. In this manner Persons of both Sexes ran about the Hills, Deserts, and other Places, wagging their Heads, dancing in ridiculous Postures, filling the Air with hideous Noises, and Yellings, personating Men distracted, and crying aloud *Εδοῖ σῖβοι*, *Εδοῖ βάνχε*, or *ᾠ λανχε*, or *Ιβανχε*, or *Ιω βανχε*.

Such were the Rites us'd in most of *Bacchus's* Festivals throughout *Greece*, and particularly at *Athens*, where this frantick Rout was, upon one of the Solemnities of this God, follow'd by Persons carrying certain Sacred Vessels; the first of which was fill'd with Water; after these went a select number of Honourable Virgins, call'd *Καρπώεσι*, because they carry'd little Baskets of Gold, fill'd with all sorts of Fruit: In these consisted the most Mystrious part of the Solemnity; and therefore to amuse the Common People, Serpents were put into them, which sometimes crawling out of their places, astonish'd the Beholders. Next was the *Πειραλλία*, being a company of Men carrying *τὰς φαλλούς*, which were Poles, to the Ends of which were fix'd things in the form of a Man's Privities: these Persons were crown'd with Violets, and Ivy, and had their Faces cover'd with other Herbs; they were call'd *Φαλλοφόροι*, and the Songs repeated by them, *Φαλλικά ᾠματα*. After these follow'd the *Ισχυραλλοί*, in Women's Apparel, with Garments strip'd with white, and reaching to their Ancles, Garlands on their Heads, Gloves compos'd of Flowers on their Hands, and in their Gestures imitating drunken Men. There were also certain Persons call'd *Λικνεφόροι*, whose Office it was to carry the *Λίκνον*,

(a) *Pausanias* *Laconicis*. (b) *Pindari* *Schol.* *Pythion*. *Od.* XIII. (c) *Etymolog. Eustath.* II. 8°. (d) *Herodotus* lib. II. (e) *De Iside & Osiride*.

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Pollux* lib. VIII. (c) *Aristophan.* *Schol.* *Ran.* (d) *Plutarchus* *De φιλosoph.*

or Mystical Van of *Bacchus*, a thing so essential to this, and other Solemnities, and Sacrifices of this God, that few of them could be duly celebrated without it; whence He is sometimes call'd *Δικνίτης*. At this Time also Publick Shows, Plays, and Sports were frequented, and the whole City was fill'd with Revelling, and Licentiousness.

The Festivals of *Bacchus* were almost innumerable; the Names of some of the most remarkable of them are, as follow.

Διονύσια ἀρχαῖότερα (a), celebrated upon the Twelfth of *Anihestion*, at *Limnae* in *Attica*, where was a Temple of *Bacchus*. The chief Persons that officiated, were fourteen Women, appointed by the *Βασιλῆς*, who was one of the *Archons*, and provided necessaries for the Solemnity: They were call'd *Γεγευραῖ*, i. e. Venerable, and could not enter upon their Office, till they had taken an Oath in presence of the *Βασιλίσσα*, or Wife of the *Βασιλῆς*, that they were free from all manner of Pollution.

Διονύσια νεώτερα, are mention'd by *Thucydides* (b), but perhaps are not distinct from some of the following.

Διονύσια μεγάλᾳ (c), or the Greater, sometimes call'd *Ἀσκή*, or *τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, as being celebrated within the City, in the Month *Anihestion*: It is sometimes by way of Eminence call'd *Διονύσια*, without any distinguishing Epithet, because it was the most celebrated of all *Bacchus's* Festivals at *Athens*.

Διονύσια μικρά, or the Less, sometimes call'd *τὰ κατ' ἀγέρας*, because it was observ'd in the Countrey. It was a sort of Preparation to the former and Greater Festival, and was celebrated in Autumn (d). Some place it in the Month *Posideon*, others in *Gamelion*, others will have it to be the same with *Διονύσια λεωαῖα*, so nam'd from *λεω*, i. e. a Wine-press; and agreeably to this Opinion *Hesychius* telleth us, it was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon*.

Διονύσια Βραυρωνία (e), observ'd at *Brauron*, a Burrough of *Attica*, where the Votaries gave themselves over to all manner of Excess, and Lewdness.

Διονύσια νυκτελῆα, (f), Mysteries unlawful to be reveal'd, and observ'd by the *Athenians*, in honour of *Bacchus Nyctelius*, to whom also they erected a Temple.

Θεοίνια, to *Bacchus*, firnam'd *Θέοιν*, i. e. the God of Wine.

Ὠμοφάγια, to *Bacchus* firnam'd *Ὠμοφάγ*, and *Ὠμνήσις*, because Human Sacrifices were offer'd to him at that Time (g); or from *Eating raw Flesh*, which Action the Priests us'd to imitate upon this

(a) *Thucyd.* lib. II. *Hesychius*, *Demosthen.* Orat. in *Nearam*, *Pollux* lib. VIII. (b) Loc. citat. (c) *Demosthen.* Orat. in *Leptin.* (d) *Aristophanis* Scholiast. *Achar.* (e) *Idem* in *Pace.* (f) *Pausanias* *Atticis.* (g) *Plutarchus* *Themistocle.*

Solemnity: It was also customary for them to put Serpents in their Hair, and in all their Behaviour to counterfeit Madness, and Distraction.

Several other Festivals were observ'd in honour of this God, as the Triennial Solemnity, call'd from the Time of it's Celebration *Διονύσια τριετηνῆα* (a), which is said to have been first instituted by *Bacchus* himself, in memory of his Expedition into *India*, in which he spent three Years. Another also is mention'd by the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (b), and said to be observ'd every fifth Year. And beside these we find frequent mention of *Bacchus's* Festivals in most of the Ancient Authors, some of which are describ'd in their own places.

ΔΙΟΣΚΟΤΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Δίοσκηρι*, or *Castor and Pollux*, who were reputed to be the Sons of *Jupiter*. It was observ'd by the *Cyreneans* (c); but more especially by the *Spartans* (d), whose Countrey was honour'd by the Birth of those Heroes. The Solemnity was full of Mirth, being a Time wherein they shar'd plentifully of the Gifts of *Bacchus*, and diverted themselves with Sports, of which Wrestling-matches always made a part.

ΔΙΟΣΒΟΤΣ,

A *Milesian* Festival, wherein an Ox was offer'd to *Jupiter* (e), as the Name imports.

ΔΡΥΟΠΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Day, observ'd in memory of *Dryops*, one of *Apollo's* Sons, at *Asine*, which was a Maritime Town of *Argos*, and inhabited by the *Dryopians* (f).

ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΗ,

A Festival so call'd, because it was celebrated upon the Twelfth Day of *Anihestion* (g). See *Ανδρῆα*.

Ε

ΕΒΔΟΜΗ,

On the Seventh Day (h) of every Lunar Month, in honour of *Apollo*, to whom all Seventh Days were sacred; because one of them was his Birth-day; whence he was sometimes call'd *Εβδομαγενής* (i); the Story we have in *Hesiod* (k),

(a) *Virgil.* *Aeneid.* IV. (b) *In Pace.* (c) *Tindari Schol.* *Pythion.* Od. V. (d) *Pausanias* *Messenicis.* *Sidonius* *Carm.* IX. (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Pausanias* *Messenicis.* (g) *Hesychius.* (h) *Suidas.* *Proclus* in *Hesiodi Dies.* (i) *Plutarchus* *Sympos.* lib. VIII. *Quæst.* I. (k) *Diebus.*

ὡς ἐβόηκε, ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,
τῇ δ' Ἀπέλλωνος χροιάσσει γενναῖο Λητώ.

The seventh Day is sacred,
Cause Phœbus then was of Latona was born.

At this Solemnity the Athenians sung Hymns to Apollo, and carry'd in their Hands Branches of Lawrel, with which also they adorn'd their Dishes.

Another Festival there was of this Name, which Private Families observ'd upon the Seventh Day after the Birth of a Child; but of this I shall give account in it's own place.

ΕΙΣΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

The Day in which the Magistrates at Athens entered upon their Offices (a); upon which it was customary for them to offer a Solemn Sacrifice, praying for the Preservation, and Prosperity of the Common-wealth, in the Temple, or Hall of Jupiter Βελῶν, and Μινέρυα Βελῶν, i. e. the Counsellors (b).

ΕΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

To Jupiter, surnam'd Hecalus, or Hecalesius, from Hecale, one of the Burrough-towns of the Leontian Tribe in Attica (c); or from an old Woman call'd Hecale, by whom he had a Statue erected. This Hecale, (as Plutarch (d) reports), when Theseus was upon his Expedition against the Marathonian Bull, entertain'd him with all possible expressions of Kindness, and Respect, making Prayers and Vows to the Gods for his safe Return. Theseus came off with Victory, and Honour; but at his Return, finding old Hecale dead, and being thereby prevented from expressing his Thankfulness to her, he order'd that her Memory should be held Sacred, and honour'd at this Solemnity, in which she was call'd, by a diminution of her Name, Hecalene; because she had costed Theseus after that manner, calling him ὀνοείδον, which is a very usual Mode of Speech, when Aged Persons design to express their Love and Tenderness to the Younger sort: So Strepades in Aristophanes (e) calls his Son Phidippides, by the diminutive Name of φιδιπίδον.

ΕΚΑΤΗΣΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd in honour of Hecate, by the Loconians, who were wont to assemble at this Time in great numbers (f).

(a) Suidas, aliiq. Lexicographi. (b) Antiphon Orat. pro Chorcuto. (c) Pausanias Byzantinus. (d) Theseus. (e) Nubibus. (f) Strabo lib. XIV.

The Athenians also had a great Veneration for this Goddess, believing that she was the Over-seeer of their Families, and protected their Children; whence it was customary to erect Statues to her before the Doors of their Houses, which from the Goddess's Name were call'd Εκαταῖα (a). Every New-moon there was a Publick Entertainment provided at the Charge of the Richer sort, which was no sooner brought to the accustomed place, but the poor People carry'd all off, giving out that Hecate had devour'd it (b); whence it was call'd Εκατὴς δείπνον, or Hecate's Supper. This was done in a place where three Ways met, because this Goddess was suppos'd to have a threefold Nature, or three Offices, in allusion to which she was known by three Names, being call'd in the Infernal Regions, Hecate; in Heaven Σελήνη, or the Moon; and upon Earth, Ἀρτεμις, or Diana: whence it is, that we find a great many Names attributed to her, deriv'd from the number Three, or bearing some Relation to it; as Τετράκνητος, Τετράκωτος, Τετράδων, Τετοδίτη, Trivia, Tergemina, Tritonia, with several others.

ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΟΙΑ,

A Festival (c) celebrated in honour of Juno, by the Argians, and Egynensians, who were a Colony from Argos. It was so call'd from ἑκατόμβη, which signifies a Sacrifice, consisting of an hundred Oxen; being usual upon the first Day of this Solemnity to offer so many in Juno, the Reliques of all which were distributed amongst the Citizens. There were also at this Time Publick Sports, first instituted by Archinus, one of the Kings of Argos; the Prize was a Brazen Shield, and a Crown of Myrtle.

There was also an Anniversary Sacrifice call'd by this name in Laconia, and offer'd for the Preservation of the hundred Cities, which flourish'd at one time in that Country (d).

ΕΚΑΤΟΜΦΟΝΙΑ,

A Solemn Sacrifice to Jupiter, offer'd by the Messenians, when any of them kill'd an hundred Enemies (e).

ΕΚΑΤΣΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd by the Phœstians, in honour of Latona, upon this account, as it is deliver'd by Amotimus Liberalis (f): Galatæa, the Daughter of Eurymus, was marry'd to Lamprus, the Son of Pandion, a Citizen of Phœstus in Crete; who being of an honourable Family, but wanting an Estate answerable to his Birth, and being un-

(a) Aristophanes, ejusque Scholiast. in Vespis. (b) Idem in Pluto. (c) Pindarus Scholiast. Olymp. VII, VIII. (d) Eusebius Iliad. c. (e) Pausanias Messeniacis. (f) Metamorph. XVII.

able to provide competent Fortunes for Daughters, gave order to his Wife, that if she was brought to bed of a Daughter, she should immediately put her to Death. This done, he went to look after his Flock, and before his Return *Galatea* was deliver'd of a Daughter, but being overcome by Maternal Affection, resolv'd to disobey her Husband's cruel Command; wherefore to secure the Infant, she call'd it *Lencippus*, telling her Husband it was a Boy: At length, being no longer able to conceal the Artifice, she fled for succour to *Lato's* Temple, where with abundance of earnestness she entreated the Goddess, that, if it was possible, her Virgin might be transform'd into a Boy; *Lato* mov'd with Compassion, granted her Request; whence she was by the *Phæstians* call'd *Φοτία*, ἀφ' τοῦ φέρειν μῆδεα τῇ κβερῇ, i. e. because the Maid chang'd her Sex; and *Εκδυσία*, ἀφ' τοῦ τιλῶ πῦδα ἐκδύειν τὸ πέπλον, i. e. because she put off her Woman's Apparel.

ΕΛΑΦΒΟΛΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Ελαφβόλος*, i. e. the Huntress, for which reason a Cake made in the form of a Deer, and upon that account call'd *ἐλαφός*, was offer'd to her (a). This Festival was instituted upon this Occasion: The *Phocensians* being reduc'd to the last extremity by the *Thessalians*, and disdaining to submit to them, *Daiphantus* propos'd that a vast pile of combustible matter should be erected, upon which they should place their Wives, Children, and their whole Substance; and in case they were defeated, set all on fire together, that nothing might come into the hands of their Enemies. But it being judg'd by no means reasonable so to dispose of the Women without their consent, they summon'd them to the Public Assembly; where being met in a full Body, the Proposal was no sooner offer'd to them, than with unanimous consent they gave their Approbation of it, applauding *Daiphantus*, and decreeing him a Crown, in Reward of so generous and noble a Contrivance; the Boys also are said to have met, and consented to it: Things being in this posture, they went to meet their Enemies, whom they met gag'd with such Fury, and Resolution, that those, by whom they had just before been reduc'd to extream Despair, were routed, and entirely defeated by them (b). In memory of which Victory, this Festival was instituted, and observ'd with more Solemnity, and frequented by greater numbers of Worshippers, than any other in the Country. Here you may take notice of the Proverb *Φοκίων Σοφία*, i. e. *Phocensian Despair*, which is apply'd to Persons lost beyond all hopes of Recovery, and is said to have taken it's original from this Story.

(a) *Atheniensis* Διποτοφ. lib. XIV. (b) *Plutarchus* de Virtute Mulierum.

ΕΛΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival instituted by the *Laconians*, in memory of *Helena* (a), to whom they gave the honour of a Temple, and Divine Worship. It was celebrated by Virgins riding upon Mules, or in certain Chariots compos'd of Reeds, or Bull-rushes, and call'd *Καβάδραι*.

ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ,

At *Plataea* (b), to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, or the Assertor of Liberty, by Delegates from almost all the Cities of Greece. It was instituted upon this account: *Mardonius*, the Persian General, being defeated in the Territories of *Plataea*, by the Grecians under the conduct of *Pausanias* the Spartan; the *Plataeans* erected an Altar, and a Statue of white Marble to *Jupiter Eleutherius*, by whose Assistance they suppos'd the Grecians had asserted the Liberties of Greece, against the Forces of the *Barbarians*: and a general Assembly being summon'd from all parts of Greece, *Aristides* the Athenian propos'd, that Deputies might be sent every fifth Year from the Cities of Greece, to celebrate *Ελευθερία*, i. e. the Games of Liberty; which was agree'd upon, and great Prizes appointed to be contended for.

The *Plataeans* also kept an Anniversary Solemnity, in memory of those that had valiantly lost their Lives in Defence of their Country's Liberty; of which the manner was thus: On the sixteenth of the Month *Memastherion*, which with the *Boeotians* is *Alalcomenius*, a Procession was made, beginning about Break of Day; it was led by a Trumpeter, sounding a Point of War; then follow'd certain Chariots loaden with Myrrh, Garlands, and a black Bull; after these came young Men Free-born, it not being permitted any Person of Servile Condition to assist at any part of this Solemnity, because the Men, in whose memory it was instituted, dy'd in Defence of the Liberty of Greece; these carry'd Libations of Wine, and Milk, in large two-ear'd Vessels, and Jars of Oyl, and precious Ointments: Last of all came the Chief Magistrate, for whom tho' it was unlawful at other times to touch any thing of Iron, or wear Garments of any Colour but White, yet he was then clad in a Purple Robe, and taking a Water-pot out of the City-Chamber, proceeded with a Sword in his Hand through the middle of the Town, to the Sepulchres: Then he drew Water out of a neighbouring Spring, and wash'd, and anointed the Monuments; then sacrific'd the Bull upon a pile of Wood, making Supplication to *Infernal Mercury*, and *Jupiter*, and invited the Souls of those Valiant Heroes, that lost their Lives in the Defence of their Country, to the Entertainment; then filling a Bowl with Wine, said, *I drink to those, that lost their Lives for the Liberty of Greece*. These Solemnities, *Plutarch* telleth us, were observ'd till his Days.

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Pausanias* Boeotia, *Plutarchus* *Aristides*.

Another Festival of this Name was observ'd by the *Samians*, in honour of the God of Love (a).

It was also customary for Slaves to keep a Holy-day call'd by this Name, when they obtain'd Liberty. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Plautus* (b), who introduces a Slave nam'd *Toxilus*, rejoicing that his Master was gone from Home, and promising himself as much Pleasure, as if he had obtain'd Freedom; whence he makes him to say,

Basilice aguo Eleutheria

ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ.

This Solemnity was observ'd by the *Celeans*, and *Phliasians* every fourth Year; by the *Pheneate* also, the *Lacedæmonians*, *Parrhasians*, and *Cretans*; but more especially by the *Athenians* every fifth Year, at *Eleusis* a Burrough-Town of *Attica*, from whence it was translated to *Rome* by *Adrian* the Emperour, and never totally abolish'd till the Reign of the Elder *Theodosius*. It was the most celebrated, and Mystrious Solemnity of any in *Greece*, whence it is often call'd, by way of Eminence, *Musheta*, i. e. the Mysteries, without any other Note of Distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal the Sacred Rites, that if any Person divulg'd any part of them, he was thought to have call'd down some Divine Judgment upon his Head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same House with him; wherefore he was apprehended as a publick offender, and suffered Death. Every thing contain'd some hidden Mystery, on her self (to whom with her Daughter *Proserpina* this Solemnity was sacred) was not call'd by her own Name, but by the unusual Title *Αχθεια*, which seems to be deriv'd from *αχθος*, i. e. Grief, or Heaviness, because of her Sorrow for the loss of her Daughter, when she was stoln by *Pluto*. This Secrecy was strictly enjoy'd not only in *Attica*, but all other places of *Greece*, where this Festival was observ'd, except *Crete*; insomuch that if any Person, who was not lawfully Initiated, did but out of Ignorance, or Mistake chance to be present at the Mystrious Rites, he was put to Death. It is said by some to have been first instituted by *Ceres* her self, when she had supply'd the *Athenians* with Corn, in a Time of grievous Famine. Others attribute both those Facts to King *Erechthon*: Some will have it to have been instituted by *Museus*, the Father of *Eumolpus*; others by *Eumolpus* himself.

Persons of both Sexes, and all Ages were Initiated at this Solemnity; nor was it a thing indifferent whether they would be, or no; for the Neglect of it was look'd upon as a Crime of a very

heinous Nature; insomuch that it was one part of the Accusation, for which *Socrates* was condemn'd to Death. All Persons Initiated were thought to live in a state of greater Happiness and Security than other Men, being under the more immediate Care, and Protection of the Goddesses: Nor did the Benefit of it extend only to this Life, but after Death too they enjoy'd (as was believ'd) far greater degrees of Felicity than others, and were honour'd with the first Places in the *Elysian* Shades; whereas others (poor Souls!) were forc'd to lye, and wallow in perpetual Dirt, Stink, and Nastiness.

But since the Benefits of Initiation were so vastly great, no wonder if they were very cautious what Persons they admitted to it: Therefore such, as were convicted of Witchcraft, or any other heinous Crime, or had committed Murder, tho' against their Wills, were debarr'd from these Mysteries; and tho' in later Ages all Persons, *Barbarians* excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the Primitive Times the *Athenians* excluded all Strangers, that is, all that were not Members of their own Common-wealth, some Eminent and Extraordinary Persons excepted; such were *Hercules*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Æsculapius*, and some others. Nor were these admitted to the *Μυσηια μαζαλα*, or Greater Mysteries, but only to the *μικρα*, or Less, which were sacred to *Proserpina*, and first instituted on this Account: On a Time, when the *Athenians* were celebrating the accustomed Solemnity, *Hercules* happening to go that way, desir'd he might be Initiated; but it being unlawful for any Stranger to enjoy that Privilege, and yet *Hercules* being a Person that by reason of his great Power, and the extraordinary Services he had done for them, could not be deny'd; *Eumolpus* thought of an Expedient, whereby to satisfy the Heroe's Request, without violating the Laws; which he did, by instituting another Solemnity, which was call'd *Μικρα μυσηια*, or the Lesser Mysteries; which were afterwards solemnly observ'd in the Month *Anthesterion*, at *Agræ*, a Place near the River *Ilissus*; whereas the Greater were celebrated in the Month *Boedromion* at *Eleusis*, an *Attick* Burrough, from which *Ceres* was call'd *Eleusinia*. In later Times the Lesser Festival was us'd as a Preparative to the Greater; for no Persons were Initiated in the Greater, unless they had been purify'd at the Lesser; the manner of which Purification was thus: Having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine Days, they came and offer'd Sacrifices, and Prayers, wearing Crowns and Garlands of Flowers, which were call'd *Ιουρεα*, or *Ιμερα*; they had also under their Feet *Διὸς κώδιον*, i. e. *Jupiter's* Skin, which was the Skin of a Victim offer'd to that God. The Person that assisted them herein, was call'd *Τσπαρὸς*, from *Τσπ*, i. e. Water, which was us'd at most Purifications, but they were nam'd *Μυσται*, i. e. Persons Initiated.

About a Year after, having sacrific'd a Sow to *Ceres*, they were admitted to the Greater Mysteries, the Secret Rites of which (some few excepted, to which none but Priests were conscious) were frankly reveal'd

(a) *Atheniensis* Δεφισσος. lib III. (b) *Terf. Act. I. Scen. I.*

reveal'd to them; whence they were call'd ἐφεστί, and ἐπέπαι, i. e. Inspectors. The manner of Initiation was thus: The Candidates being crown'd with Myrtle, had admittance by Night into a place call'd Μυστικὸς οἶκος, i. e. the Mystical Temple, which was an Edifice so vast and capacious, that the most ample Theater did scarce exceed it. At their entrance, they purify'd themselves by washing their Hands in Holy-water, and at the same time were admonished, to present themselves with Minds pure and undefil'd, without which the external Cleanness of the Body would by no means be accepted. After this the Holy Mysteries were read to them out of a Book, call'd Πέτραμα, which word is deriv'd from πέτρα, i. e. a Stone, because the Book was nothing else but two Stones fitly cemented together. Then the Priest that Initiated them, call'd ἱεροφάντης, propos'd certain Questions, as, Whether they were fasting, &c. to which they return'd Answers in a set Form, as may be seen in Meursius's Treatise on this Festival, to which I refer the Reader. This done, strange and amazing Objects presented themselves, sometimes the place they were in, seem'd to shake round them, sometimes appear'd bright and resplendent with Light, and radiant Fire, and then again cover'd with black Darkness, and Horror; sometimes Thunder, and Lightning, sometimes frightful Noises, and Bellowings, sometimes terrible Apparitions astonish'd the trembling Spectators: The being present at these Signs was call'd αὐτοψία, i. e. Intuition. After this, they were dismiss'd in these Words, Κόγχ, Ομπαξ. The Garments in which they were Initiated, were accounted sacred, and of no less efficacy to avert Evils, than Charms, and Incantations: wherefore they never cast them off, till they were torn and tatter'd Rags; nor was it then usual to throw them away, but they made Swadling-cloths of them for their Children, or consecrated them to Ceres, and Proserpina.

The chief Person that attended at the Initiation, was call'd ἱεροφάντης, i. e. a Revealer of holy Things: He was always a Citizen of Athens, and held his Office during Life (tho' amongst the Ceteans, and Phliasiens it was customary for him to resign his Place every fourth Year, which was the Time of this Festival) he was farther oblig'd to devote himself wholly to Divine Service, and to live a chaste and single Life; to which end, it was usual for him to anoint himself with the Juice of Hemlock, which by it's extreme Coldness is said to extinguish, in a great measure, the Natural Heat. The Hierophantes had three Assistants, the first of which was call'd from his Office ἀσδύχος, i. e. Torch-bearer, and to him it was permitted to marry. The second was call'd κήρυξ, of whose Office I have already given an Account. The third ministr'd at the Altar, and was for that reason nam'd ὁ ἐπὶ βωμῷ. Hierophantes is said to have been a Type of the Great Creatour of all Things; ἀσδύχος, of the Sun; κήρυξ, of Mercury; and ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ, of the Moon.

There

There were also certain publick Officers, whose business it was to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom. First, βασιλεύς, i. e. The King, who was one of the Archons, and was oblig'd at this Solemnity to offer Prayers, and Sacrifices, to see that no Indecency, or Irregularity was committed, and the Day following the Mysteries, to assemble the Senate, and take cognizance of all Offenders in that kind. Beside the King, there were four ἐπιμεληταί, i. e. Curators, elected by the People; one of them was appointed out of the Sacred Family of the Eumolpidae, another out of the Ceryces, and the remaining two out of the other Citizens. There were also ten Persons, that assist'd at this, and some other Solemnities, and were call'd ἱεροποιοί, because it was their Business to offer Sacrifices.

This Festival was celebrated in Boedromion, and continu'd nine Days, beginning upon the fifteenth, and ending upon the twenty-third Day of that Month; during which Time, it was unlawful to arrest any Man, or present any Petition; and such as were found guilty of these Practises, were fin'd a thousand Drachms, or (as others report) put to Death. It was also unlawful for those that were Initiated, to sit upon the Covering of a Well, or to eat Beans, Mullets, or Weazles. And if any Woman rode in a Chariot to Eleusis, she was by an Edict of Lycurgus oblig'd to pay six thousand Drachms.

1. The first Day was call'd Ἀγυρμός, i. e. an Assembly; because, it may be, then the Worshippers first met together.

2. The second was nam'd Ἀλαδὲ Μύσαι, i. e. to the Sea, you that are Initiated; because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the Sea.

3. Upon the third they offer'd Sacrifices, which consisted chiefly of an Æonian Mullet, in Greek τεύλη, and Barley out of Rharium, a Field of Eleusis, in which that sort of Corn was first sown. These Oblations were call'd Θύα, and accounted so Sacred, that the Priests themselves were not (as was usual in other Offerings) allow'd to partake of them.

4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn Procession, wherein the καλάθον, or Holy Basket of Ceres, was carry'd in a consecrated Cart; Crowds of People shouting as they went along, Χαίρε Δημήτερ, i. e. All Happiness to Ceres. After these follow'd certain Women call'd κισσόβρεγί, who (as the Name implies) carry'd certain Baskets: In these were contain'd Sesamin, carded Wooll, some grains of Salt, a Serpent, Pomegranates, Reeds, Ivy-boughs, a sort of Cakes call'd φούε, Poppys, &c.

5. The fifth was call'd Ἡ τῶν λαμπάδων ἡμέρα, i. e. the Torch-day; because the Night following it, the Men, and Women ran about with Torches in their Hands. It was also customary to dedicate Torches

to *Ceres*, and contend who should present the biggest; which was done in memory of *Ceres's* Journey, wherein she sought *Proserpina*, being conducted by the light of a Torch, kindled in the Flames of *Aëna*.

6. The sixth Day was call'd *Ιαρχος*, from *Jacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Ceres*, that accompany'd the Goddess in her Search after *Proserpina*, with a Torch in his Hand; whence it is, that his Statue held a Torch. This Statue was carry'd from the *Ceramicus* to *Eleusis* in a solemn Procession, call'd, after the Heroe's Name, *Ιαρχος*. The Persons that accompany'd it, had their Heads crown'd with Myrtle, as also had the Statue, and were nam'd *Ιαρχαγωγοί*, and all the way danc'd, and sung, and beat brazen Kettles. The Way by which they issu'd out of the City, was call'd *Ιερά ὁδός*, i. e. the Sacred Way. The Resting-place *Ιερά σκῆ*, from a *Fig-tree*, which grew there, and was (like all other things concern'd in this Solemnity) accounted Sacred. It was also customary to rest upon a Bridge built over the River *Cephissus*, and make themselves merry by jesting upon those that pass'd by; whence *γεροεῖς*, being deriv'd from *γέρω*, i. e. a Bridge, is by *Suidas* expounded *χαδάλων*, i. e. mocking, or jeering; and *γεροεῖται* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *σῶπται*, i. e. Scoffer. Having pass'd this Bridge, they went to *Eleusis*, the way into which was call'd *Μυστικὴ εἰσοδος*, i. e. the Mystical Entrance.

7. Upon the seventh Day were Sports, in which the Victors were rewarded with a Measure of Barley, that Grain being first sown in *Eleusis*.

8. The eighth was call'd *Επιδαυρίων ἡμέρα*, because it once happen'd that *Æsculapius*, coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens*, and desirous to be Initiated, had the Lesser Mysteries repeated: Whence it became customary to celebrate them a second time upon this Day, and admit to Initiation such Persons as had not before enjoy'd that Privilege.

9. The ninth, and last Day of the Festival was call'd *Πλημωχία*, i. e. Earthen Vessels: because it was usual to fill two such Vessels with Wine, one of which being plac'd towards the East, and the other towards the West; after the Repetition of certain Mystical Words, they were both thrown down, and the Wine being spilt upon the Ground, was offer'd as a Libation.

ΕΛΕΝΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (a), so call'd from *Ελέναι*, i. e. Vessels made of Bull-rushes, with Ears of Willow, in which certain Mystical things were carry'd upon this Day.

(a) *Tellus* Onom. lib. X cap. LIII. *Hesychius*.

ΕΛΛΩΤΙΑ,

Two Festivals (a), one of which was celebrated in *Crete*, in honour of *Europa*, call'd *Ελλωτία*, which was either a *Phœnician* Name, or deriv'd *ἔπει τὴν ἑλῶσαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ ταύρου*, i. e. from *Europa's* ravishment by *Jupiter* in the form of a Bull. At this time *Europa's* Bones were carry'd in Procession, with a Myrtle Garland call'd *Ελλωτίς*, or *Εἰλώτης*, which was no less than twenty Cubits in Circumference.

The other Festival was celebrated by the *Corinthians* with solemn Games, and Races, wherein young Men contended, running with lighted Torches in their hands. It was instituted in honour of *Minerva*, surnam'd *Ελλωτίς*, *ἔπει τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλαι*, i. e. from a certain Pond in *Marathon*, where one of her Statues was erected: Or *ἔπει τὴν εἶν τὸν ἵππον τὸν Πήλασον*, i. e. because by her assistance *Bellerophon* caught *Pegasus*, the winged Horse, and brought him under command, which some take to be the first reason of the Celebration of this Festival; others are of opinion, that this Name was given to the Goddess from one *Hellotis*, a *Corinthian* Woman; the Story runs thus: The *Dorians*, being assisted by the posterity of *Hercules*, made an Invasion upon *Peroponneseus*, where they took, and burn'd *Corinth*; most of the Women took care to secure themselves by an early Flight, only some few, amongst whom were *Hellotis*, and *Eurytion*, betook themselves to *Minerva's* Temple, hoping, that the sanctity of the Place would be sufficient protection for them: No sooner had this reach'd the *Dorians* Ears, but they set Fire to the Temple, and all the rest making a shift to escape, *Hellotis*, and *Eurytion* perish'd in the Flames. Upon this ensu'd a dreadful Plague, which prov'd very fatal to the *Dorians*; and the remedy prescrib'd by the Goddess, was, to appease the Ghosts of the two deceas'd Sisters; whereupon they instituted this Festival in memory of them, and erected a Temple to *Minerva*, surnam'd, from one of them, *Hellotis*.

ΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

Games in *Sicily*, near the River *Helorus* (b).

ΕΜΠΛΟΚΙΑ,

At *Athens* (c).

ΕΝΗΛΙΑΞΙΣ,

Or rather (according to *Meursius's* conjecture) *Εγναλίαξίς*, was a Fe-

(a) *Hesychius*, *Etymologicæ* Αὐτορ. *Athensius* Διηγοροφ. lib. XV. *Tindari Scholæ* *æstæ Olympion.* Od. XIII. (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Idem.*

stival in honour of *Enyalios* (a), whom some will have to be the same with *Mars*; Others, only one of his Ministers.

ΕΠΑΧΘΗΣ,

To *Ceres* nam'd *Αχθεις* (b), from *ἄχθος*, i. e. grief, in memory of her sorrow, when she had lost her Daughter *Proserpina*.

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ,

Private Festivals, and Times of rejoycing, when a Friend, or Relation was return'd from a Journey (c).

ΕΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ,

A Delphian Festival, in memory of a Journey of *Apollo* (d).

ΕΠΙΘΡΙΚΑΔΙΑ,

In honour of *Apollo* (e).

ΕΠΙΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival, in honour of *Ceres* (f).

ΕΠΙΚΡΗΝΑΙ,

Another of *Ceres's* Festivals, observ'd by the *Laconians* (g).

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑ, ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Day of rejoycing after Victory.

ΕΠΙΣΚΑΦΙΑ,

A Rhodian Festival (h).

ΕΠΙΣΚΗΝΑ,

A Spartan Festival (i).

ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΑ, ΕΠΙΣΚΙΡΩΣΙΣ,

At *Scira* in *Anica*, in honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina* (k).

ΕΡΩΤΙΑΙΑ,

By the *Thespians*, in honour of *Eros*, i. e. *Cupid*, the God of Love (l).

(a) Idem. (b) *Plutarchus* de *Iside* & *Osiride*. (c) *Himerius* in *Proemio*. *Flavianus*. (d) *Procopius* in *Epistola* ad *Zachariam*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) Idem. (g) Idem. (h) Idem. (i) Idem. (k) *Strabo* Geogr. lib. IX. *Stephanus* v. *Σκίρα*. (l) *Erastrius* sub fine *Iliad.* ω.

ΕΡΩΤΙΑΙΑ,

This Festival seems to be the same with the former, for it was observ'd by the *Thespians* in honour of *Cupid* (a); being celebrated every fifth year with Sports, and Games, wherein Musicians, and others contended. If any Quarrels had happen'd amongst the People, it was usual at this time to offer Sacrifices, and Prayers to the God, that he would put an end to them.

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival, in honour of *Hercules* (b); being (I suppose) instituted in memory of his Labours, for Labour is by the *Greeks* call'd *Εργον*.

ΕΡΚΗΝΙΑ,

I would rather call it *Ερκύννια*, for this Festival belong'd to *Ceryneia* (c), whom we find firnam'd *Hercynna* in *Lycophron* (d); which Title was given her from *Hercynna*, the Daughter of *Trophonius*, and Play-fellow of *Proserpina* (e).

ΕΡΜΑΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd in honour of *Ερμης*, i. e. *Mercury*, by the *Phoenicians* in *Arcadia* (f), and the *Cyllenians* in *Elis* (g).

Another we find observ'd by the *Tangraeans* in *Boetia* (h), where *Mercury* was call'd *Κεκορβης*, i. e. the Ram-bearer, and represented with a Ram upon his Shoulder, because he is said in a time of Plague to have walk'd about the City in that Posture, and cur'd the Sick; in memory of which Action, it was customary for one of the most beautiful Youths in the City to walk round the City-walls with a Lamb, or Ram upon his Shoulders.

A Festival of the same Name was also observ'd in *Crete*, where it was usual for the servants to sit down at Table, whilst their Masters stood by, and waited (i); which custom was also practis'd at the *Roman Saturnalia*.

Another of *Mercury's* Festivals was observ'd by Boys in the Schools of Exercise at *Athens* (k); at which no adult Persons were allow'd to be present, beside the *Gymnasiarch*; who, if convicted of having admitted any, underwent the same punishment with those that corrupted free-born Youth: The occasion of which Law seems to have been the foul and not to be nam'd Lust, and Wantonness, that were practis'd in former Times at this Solemnity.

(a) *Plutarchus* *Erotic*. *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) Idem. (d) *Cassandra* v. 153. (e) *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (f) Idem *Arcadicis*. (g) Idem *Eliacis*. (h) Idem *Boeoticis*. (i) *Athenaeus* *Deipnosoph.* XIV. (k) *Aeschines* in *Timarchum*.

ΕΣΤΙΑΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices to *Vesta* (a), call'd in *Greek* *Εστία*, of which it was unlawful to carry away, or communicate any part to any beside the Worshippers: whence *Εστία δύνει*, i. e. to sacrifice to *Vesta*, is Proverbially apply'd to such as do any thing in private without Spectators (b); or rather to covetous Misers, that will not part with any thing they are once possess'd of (c).

ΕΥΜΕΝΙΑΕΙΑ, or ΣΕΜΝΩΝΕΟΡΘΗ,

To the *Favours* (d), who were by the *Athenians* call'd *Σεμναι Σταί*, i. e. Venerable Goddesses; by the *Sicyonians*, and others, *Εὐμενίδες*, i. e. Favourable, or Propitious; out of an Opinion that their true Names were unlucky Omens. This Festival was observ'd once every Year with Sacrifices, wherein pregnant Ewes, Cakes made by the most Eminent of the Young Men, and a Libation of Honey and Wine were offer'd to the Goddesses, the Worshippers being deck'd with Flowers. At *Athens* none had Admission to these Solemnities but Free-born Denizens; and of them, those only that were of known Virtue and Integrity, for such alone could be acceptable to these Deities, whose peculiar Office it was to revenge and punish all sorts of Impiety.

ΕΤΡΥΘΙΩΝΙΟΝ,

To *Ceres* (e).

ΕΤΡΥΚΛΕΙΑ,

A *Spartan* Festival, mentioned in an old Inscription.

ΕΤΡΥΝΟΜΕΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Phigaleans* in *Arcadia* (f), who offer'd Sacrifices, both in Publick, and Private, to *Eurynome*, who had in this place a Temple, that was never open, but upon this Day. This *Eurynome* was (as some are of Opinion) the same with *Diana*; or (according to others) one of *Oceanus's* Daughters, mention'd in *Homer*, where she is said to have assisted in entertaining *Vulcan*.

ΕΦΙΠΠΟΣ,

Horse-races in *Laconia* (g).

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Diogenianus*. (c) *Tarrheus*. (d) *Thilo*, *Pausanias* *Βασιλική*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Pausanias* *Arcadicā*. (g) *Hesychius*, & *Phavorinus*.

Η

ΗΛΑΚΑΤΑΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival, in honour of *Helacanus* (a), who was a Boy belov'd by *Hercules*.

ΗΡΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in honour of *Juno*, who was the Protectress of that City, and call'd in *Greek* *Ηρα*. There were two Processions to the Goddess's Temple without the City; One by the Men in Armour: Another, in which *Juno's* Priestess, who was always a Matron of the first Quality, was drawn in a Chariot by white Oxen: From her Priesthood the *Argians* accounted their Years, as the *Athenians* did by the Government of their *Archons*: Being arriv'd at the Temple, they offer'd an *Hecatomb* of Oxen, whence this Festival is nam'd *Εκατόμβεια*, that Sacrifice is also sometimes call'd *Λέχερα* which Name may, perhaps, be deriv'd from *λέχος*, i. e. a Bed, because it was *Juno's* Care to preside over Marriages, Births, &c. There were also certain Games, wherein the Victory consisted in pulling down a Shield, that was strongly fix'd upon the Theater: The reward was a Crown of Myrtle, and a brazen Shield; whence the Game was sometimes call'd *Χάλκειος ἀγών*, i. e. the Brazen Contention. See *Εκατόμβεια*.

Another Festival of this Name we find celebrated every fifth Year in *Elis*, where sixteen Matrons were appointed to weave a Garment for the Goddess. There were Games also, which are said to have been first instituted by *Hippodamia*, in honour of *Juno*, by whose Assistance she was marry'd to *Pelops*. The Presidents were sixteen Matrons, every one of which was attended by a Maid: The Contenders were Virgins, who being distinguish'd into several Classes, according to their Ages, ran Races in their Orders, beginning from the youngest. The habit of all was the same; their Hair was dishevell'd, their right Shoulders bare to their Breasts, and their Coats reach'd no lower than their Knees. They had a second Race in the *Olympick Stadium*, which was at that time shorten'd about a sixth part. Such as obtain'd Victory, were rewarded with Crowns of Olive, and a share of the Ox that was offer'd in Sacrifice, and were permitted to dedicate their own Pictures to the Goddess.

This Name was also given to a Solemn Day of Mourning at Corinth for *Medea's* Children, who were buried in the Temple of *Juno* at *Acraea* in that place, and, as some say, slain by the *Corinthians*, who to remove the Scandal of so barbarous a Murder from themselves, are said to have given *Euripides* a large Sum to invent the Fable, wherein

(a) *Hesychius*.

it is attributed to *Medea*, which before that time no Man ever dream'd of (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated by the *Pellenæans* with Games, wherein the Victor was rewarded with a rich Garment, call'd from the place's Name Πελλωνικὴ χλαίνα.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival, celebrated every fifth Year in honour of *Hercules* (b).

The *Thisbians* also, and *Thebans* in *Boeotia*, observ'd a Solemn Festival in honour of *Hercules*, firnam'd Μήλων, because τὰ μῦλα, i. e. Apples, were offer'd to him (c): The Original of which Custom was thus: It being usual in former Times to offer a Sheep at this Solemnity, it happen'd once that the River *Asopus* had so far overflow'd it's Banks, that it could not be forded, whereby the coming of the Victims was hindred: The word μῦλον is ambiguous in *Greek*, signifying sometimes a Sheep, sometimes an Apple; which some of the Boys being aware of, for want of other Employment, perform'd the holy Rites in Sport, offering, instead of the Ram, an Apple, which they supported with four Sticks, in imitation of Feet, placing two more upon the Top of it, to branch out like Horns: *Hercules* was mightily taken with the Jest, and the Custom was continu'd from that Time to my Author's Age, who flourish'd under *Commodus*, the Roman Emperour.

At *Sicyon* *Hercules* was honour'd with a Festival, which lasted two Days, the former of which was call'd Ονομαίαις; the latter Ηράκλεια.

At *Lindus* there was a Solemnity in honour of *Hercules*, at which nothing was heard, but Execrations, and Ill-boding Words; insomuch that if any Person happen'd to let fall a Lucky Speech, he was thought to have profan'd the holy Rites; the Original of which Custom is accounted for by *Lactantius*.

ΗΡΟΣΑΝΘΕΙΑ,

A *Peloponnesian* Festival, wherein the Women met together, and gather'd Flowers (d), as the Name imports, being deriv'd from ἱάρι, i. e. the Spring, and ἄνθος, i. e. a Flower.

ΗΡΟΧΙΑ,

A Festival mentioned by *Hesychius*.

(a) *Lycophronis Scholiastes*. (b) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. IX.* (c) *Idem lib. I. cap. I.* (d) *Hesychius*.

ΗΡΩΙΣ,

A Festival celebrated every ninth Year, by the *Delphians*, in honour of some *Heroine*, as may be learn'd from the Name. We are told by *Plutarch* (a), that there were in it a great many Mysterious Rites, wherein was a Representation of something like *Semele's* Resurrection.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Hephaistos*, i. e. *Vulcan*. At this Time there was a Race with Torches, call'd Ἀγών λαμπάδουχος, in the *Academy*; the manner of which was thus (b): The Antagonists were three Young Men, one of which being appointed by Lots to take his turn first, took a lighted Torch in his Hand, and began his Course; if the Torch happen'd to be extinguish'd before he arriv'd to his Journey's end, he deliver'd it to the second, and he in like manner to the third: The Victory was his, that carry'd the Torch lighted to the Race's end, who was call'd λαμπάδηνόρος; but if none could perform that, the Victory was left undetermin'd, and not adjudg'd to any of them. If any of the Contenders, for fear of extinguishing the Torch by too violent a Motion, slacken'd their Course, the Spectators us'd to strike them with the Palms of their Hands; for which reason those Blows were call'd Πλαταίνειν, or broad Stripes; as also Κεραμεινῆν, because they were inflicted in the *Ceramicus* (c), of which the *Academy* was a part. To the successive Delivering of the Torches from one to another, there are frequent Allusions in Authors, who usually compare to it the Turns and Vicissitudes of Human Affairs, and the various Changes and Successions, that happen in the World; of which I will only give you one Instance out of *Lucretius* (d);

Inque brevi spatio mutantur secla animantium,
Et quasi Cursores vitæ Lampada tradunt.

So things by turns increase, by turns decay,
Like Racers, bear the Lamp of Life, and live,
And their Race done, their Lamps to others give.

Mr. Creech.

Θ

ΘΑΛΤΣΙΑ,

A Sacrifice offer'd by the Husbandmen after Harvest Τὰς τῆς θεῶν χάριτος τῶν καρπῶν, i. e. in Gratitude to the Gods, by whose Blessing

(a) *Quæst. Græc.* (b) *Pausanias, Persii vetus Scholiastes, Hesychius.* (c) *Aristophanes, ejusque Scholiastes in Ranis.* (d) *Lib. II.*

they enjoy'd the Fruits of the Ground. The whole Festival was call'd *Ἀλῶα*, of which in another place; as also *Συγκομιδήα*, *ὑπὸ τῆς συκομιδῆς τῶν καρπῶν*, i. e. from the Gathering of Fruits. Some will have it to be observ'd in honour of *Ceres*, and *Bacchus* (a), those being the two Deities, who had a peculiar Care of the Fruits of the Earth. But *Eustathius* (b) telleth us, that there was also a Solemn Procession at this Time in honour of *Neptune*; and addeth farther, that all the Gods had a share in the Offerings at this Festival; as appears also from *Homer's* own Words, who tells us, that *Diana's* Anger against *Oeneus* was caus'd by his neglect of Sacrificing to her at this Festival, wherein all the rest of the Gods had been feasted by him;

Καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἀρτεμις ὄρεσ,
Χωπαμένη ὅτ' οἱ ἔπ' ἐπὶ θαλύσια γυνὴ Ἀλῶα
Οἰνῶς ἔξ' ἄλλοι δ' ἐπὶ δῖοι δένυνον ἔχοντο μῆλα,
Οἷον δ' ἔξ' ἐξέειπε Διὸς κόρυς μέγαλοιο.

Diana, much incens'd, that *Oeneus* had
To all the other Gods Oblations made,
And not to Her his grateful First-fruits pay'd,
Sent down this Evil to revenge his Crime.

Mr. Hudon.

Hence comes *Θαλύσιος ἄρτος*, sometimes call'd *Θάερηλος* (c), which was the first Bread made of the New Corn. Some there are, that will have *θαλύσια* to be a general Name for all the Festivals, wherein they carry'd τὰς θαλάσας, i. e. green Boughs.

Θ Α Ρ Η Α Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival, in honour of the *Sun*, and his Attendants the *Horns*; or, as others think, of *Delian Apollo*, and *Diana*. It was celebrated upon the sixth, and seventh Days of *Thargelion*; and receiv'd it's Name from *Θαργήλια*, which is a General Word for all the Fruits of the Earth; because one of the chief Ceremonies was the carrying about their First-fruits in Pots call'd *Θαργήλοι*, which Name was also apply'd to the *Εἰρεσιῶναι*, which were carry'd about the City at this Time, and shall be describ'd in the Festival, call'd *Πυανέψια*. The chief Solemnity was upon the latter Day, the former being wholly taken up in making Preparations for it; at which time it was customary to lustrate the City, which was done by two Persons, call'd by the general Name of *Φαρμακοί*, which is apply'd to all that purify'd Cities; or the more peculiar one of *Σύμβαρχοι*.

They were both Men; or, according to others, a Man and Woman; one of which represented the Male, the other the Female Sex, and offer'd a Sacrifice for each of them: It was usual for the Man to bear about his Neck Figs, call'd *ἰχάδες*, of a blackish Colour; and the Woman, white. The ordinary Rites in purifying Cities are thus describ'd by *John Tzetzes* (a);

Ο φαρμακός, τὸ κάρμα, τοιοῦτον ὡς τὸ πάλαι
Ἀν συμφορὰ κατέλασε πόλιν θεομυνία,
Εἶταν λοιμός, εἴ τε λιμός, εἴτε καὶ βλάβος ἄλλο
Τῶν πάντων ἀμορφότερον, ἦγον ὡς πρὸς θυσίαν,
Εἰς κάρμα καὶ φαρμακὸν πόλεως ἢ νοσοῦσης,
Εἰς τόπον δ' ἢ πρὸς σφοδρὴν σήσαντες ἢ θυσίαν,
Τυρόν τε δόντες τῇ χειρὶ καὶ μάζαν, καὶ ἰχάδας,
Ἐπ' ἄκας καὶ ῥαπίσαντες ἐκείνον εἰς τὸ ἴοτε
Σκίλλαις, συκῆς ἀγείαις τε, καὶ ἄλλοις σφ' ἀγρίων,
Τέλος πνεῖ κατέχον ἐν ξύλοις τοῖς ἀλείοις,
Καὶ τὸν σποδὸν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρξανον εἰς ἀνέμους,
Εἰς κάρμα καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς νοσοῦσης.

Thus was in Ancient Times Lustration made;
When any City groan'd beneath the weight
Of Famine, Plague, or worse Calamity,
Forthwith a grateful Victim is prepar'd,
Which at the holy Altar when they've plac'd,
They cast upon the Pile Cheese, Cakes, and Figs;
Then striking seven times it's Privities
With Sea-leeks, and wild Figs, and other Fruits,
Rude Nature's product without help of Art,
Burn it with Wood cut from unplanted Trees,
Then tow'rd the Wind the sportive Ashes cast
Upon the Sea: Thus they the dreadful Ills,
With which the City labour'd, drive away.

Mr. Hutchin.

Poetical Fictions tell us, that the *Φαρμακός* was so call'd from one *Pharmacus*, that stole some of the consecrated Vessels of *Apollo*, and being apprehended in the Fact by some of *Achilles's* Souldiers, suffer'd Death; of which Crime, and Punishment the *Athenians* had always a Representation at this Festival. The *Φαρμακός* was call'd *Κραδιστής*, from a sort of Figs, call'd *κράδα*, and us'd in Lustra-

(a) Menander Rhetor cap. περὶ λαλίας. (b) *Iliad*. i. (c) *Athenaeus* lib. III.

(a) *Chiliad*. Histor. V. cap. XXIII.
A a a

tions; whence also *κράδης νόμος* was a Tune upon the Flute; which was play'd as he went to perform his Office. It was farther customary for a Choir of Singing-Men to contend for Victory, and the Conquerour to dedicate a *Tripus* in the *Pytheum*, a Temple of *Apollo*, built by *Pisistratus*. At this Festival the *Athenians* enroll'd their Adopted Sons in the Publick Register, as also they did their Natural at the *Apaturia*. During the Solemnity, it was unlawful to give, or receive Pledges, and the Offenders in this kind were arraign'd at an *Assembly*, held in *Bacchus's* Theater.

The *Milesians* had a Festival of the same Name, which they celebrated with a great many Expressions of Mirth and Jollity, feasting and entertaining one another.

ΘΕΟΓΑΜΙΑ,

I.e. The Marriage of the Gods. It was a *Sicilian* Festival, in honour of *Proserpina* (a); and seems to have been instituted in memory of her Marriage with *Pluto*; the chief part of the Solemnity being nothing else, but an imitation of the Nuptial Rites.

ΘΕΟΙΝΙΑ,

See *Διονύσια*.

ΘΕΟΞΕΝΙΑ,

A Festival common to all the Gods (b), and celebrated in a great many Cities of *Greece*, but especially at *Athens*.

The *Pelleneans* instituted Solemn Games, call'd by this Name, in honour of *Apollo* *Θιξένιος*, i.e. the God of Hospitality, according to *Pausanias* (c), or, as the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* reports (d), of *Apollo* and *Mercury*: The Victors, according to *Pausanias*, were rewarded with a piece of Plate; according to the foremention'd *Scholiast*, with a Garment call'd *Χλαίνα*.

The same *Scholiast* (e) reports, that the *Dioscuri* instituted a Festival of this Name, in memory of an honour the Gods did them, by coming to one of their Entertainments.

ΘΕΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ, or ΘΕΟΦΑΝΙΑ,

I.e. The Appearance of God. It was a Festival observ'd by the *Delphians* (f), upon the Day, whereon *Apollo* first manifested himself to them.

ΘΕΡΑΠΝΑΤΙΑΙΑ,

A *Laconian* Festival (g).

ΘΕΡΜΙΩΝΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Publick Festival, Mart, and Assembly of the *Ætolians*, held at a Town in that Countrey, call'd *Thermi* (h).

(a) *Pellux* lib. I. cap. I. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Achaicus*. (d) *Olympion*. XI. (e) *Olympion*. III. (f) *Herodotus* lib. I. *Suidas*. (g) *Hesychius*. (h) *Polybius* lib. V.

ΘΕΡΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd *Θεσμοφόρος*, i.e. *Legifera* (a), or the Law-giver; because she was the first that taught Mankind the use of Laws. The first Institution of it is by some attributed to *Triptolemus*, by others to *Orpheus*, and by others to the Daughters of *Danaus*. It was celebrated in a great many of the *Grecian* Cities; By the *Spartans*, and *Milesians*, amongst whom the Solemnity lasted three Days: By the *Drymeans* in *Phocis*, the *Thebans* in *Boeotia*, the *Megarians*: By the *Syracusians*, where towards the end of the Solemnity, they carry'd in Procession the Secrets of a Woman, compos'd of Sesamin and Honey, and call'd in *Sicily* *μύλλοι*: By the *Evetrians* in *Eubaea*, where it was customary to roast their Meat by the Heat of the Sun: By the *Delians*, who us'd to bake Loaves of a large size, call'd *Αχρίναι*, which they usher'd in with great Solemnity, the Bearers of them crying,

Αχρίναι, σία! ἔμπλεον πάγον,

Hence the Festival is sometimes call'd *Μεγαλάρπια*.

But the *Athenians* observ'd this Festival with greatest Show of Devotion: The Worshipers were Free-born Women, (it being unlawful for any of Servile Condition to be present.) whose Husbands were wont to defray the Charges of the Solemnity; and were oblig'd to do so, if their Wives Portion amounted to three Talents. These Women were assisted by a Priest, call'd *Στεφανοφόρος*, because his Head was adorn'd with a Crown, whilst he executed his Office: as also by certain Virgins, who were straitly confin'd, and kept under severe Discipline, being maintain'd at the Publick Charge, in a place call'd *Θεσμοφορεῖον*. The Women were clad in white Apparel, to intimate their spotless Innocence; and were oblig'd to the strictest Chastity for five, or three Days before, and during the whole Time of the Solemnity, which lasted four Days: for which end, they us'd to strow upon their Beds such Herbs, as were thought to destroy all Appetite to Venereal Pleasures: such were *Agnus castus*, *Flea-bane*, and (which were made use of by the *Milesian* Women) Vine-branches, &c. It was held unlawful to eat the Kernels of Pomegranates, or adorn themselves with Garlands; for every thing was carry'd on with the greatest appearance of Seriousness, and Gravity; and nothing tolerated, that bore the least shew of Wantonness, or Immodesty; or even of Mirth,

(a) *Virgilius Aeneid*. IV.

or Jollity, the custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done, in memory of *Jambe*, that by a taunting Jest extorted a Smile from *Ceres*, when she was in a pensive and melancholy Humour. Three Days, at least, were spent in making Preparations for the Festival: Upon the eleventh of *Pyanepsion*, the Women carrying Books upon their Heads, wherein the Laws were contain'd, in memory of *Ceres's* Invention, went to *Eleusis*, where the Solemnity was kept; whence this Day was call'd *Avodos*, i. e. the Ascent. Upon the fourteenth the Festival began, and lasted till the seventeenth: Upon the sixteenth they kept a Fast, sitting upon the Ground, in token of Humiliation; whence the Day was call'd *Nuseia*, i. e. a Fast. It was usual at this Solemnity to pray to *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, and *Calligenia*: this *Calligenia* some will have to have been *Ceres's* Nurse, others her Priestess, others her Waiting-maid; and some there are, who make her the same with *Ceres*; but these seem to be sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of *Aristophanes*, who mentions her as distinct from that Goddess (a);

Εὐχεσθε τῶν Θεομορφῶν,
τῇ Δῆμντι, καὶ τῇ Κόρηι,
τῷ Πλούτῳ, καὶ τῇ Καλλιγυνείᾳ.

To the two Legislators make your Prayers,
To *Ceres*, and to Goddess *Proserpine*;
To *Plutus* too, and *Calligenia*.

And this Custom was omitted by the *Eretrians* alone of all the *Grecians*. There was likewise a Mystrious Sacrifice, call'd *Δίωγμα*, or *Αποδίωγμα*, ὅτ' ὅτι δῶκεδ' ἐκείθεν τὸς ἄνδρας, i. e. because all Men were excluded, and banish'd from it; or, ὅτ' ὅτι διωχθῆναι τὸς ἀνδρας, i. e. because in a dangerous War, the Women's Prayers were so prevalent with the Gods, that their Enemies were defeated, and put to Flight as far as *Chalcis*; whence it is sometimes call'd *Χελκιδικὸν δίωγμα*. There was another Sacrifice, call'd *Ζυμία*, i. e. a Mule, which was offer'd as an Expiation of any Irregularities that happen'd to be committed during the Solemnity. At this Festival, all Prisoners committed to Gaol for smaller Faults, were releas'd; and upon the third Day all Courts of Justice were shut up.

Θ Η Σ Ε Ι Α,

An *Athenian* Festival, in memory of *Theseus*: It was celebrated upon the eighth Day of every Month, because he was the Reputed Son of *Ne-*

(a) *Thesmochor.*

ptune, to whom those Days were held Sacred; or because in his first Journey from *Træzen*, he arriv'd at *Athens* upon the eighth of *He-
catombeon*; or in memory of his safe Return from *Crete* (a), which happen'd upon the eighth of *Pyanepsion*, for which reason the Festival was observ'd with greater Solemnity upon that Day, than at other Times. Some also there are, that will have it to have been first instituted in memory of *Theseus's* uniting the *Athenians* into one Body, that before lay dispers'd in little Hamlets up and down in *Attica*. It was celebrated with Sports and Games, with Mirth and Banquets, and such as were poor, and unable to contribute to them, were entertain'd upon free cost at the Publick Tables, as we learn from *Aristophanes* (b). The Sacrifices were call'd *Οἰσθία*, from *Οἶσθ*, i. e. the Eighth, because they were offer'd upon the eighth Day of the Month (c).

Θ Π Ι Ω,

A Festival in honour of *Apollo* (d). The Name seems to be deriv'd from *Apollo's* three Nurses, who were call'd *Thriae*.

Θ Τ Ι Α,

A Festival in honour of *Bacchus* (e), observ'd by the *Eleans*, in a place distant about eight *Stadia* from *Elis*, where it was confidently reported, that the God himself was present in Person; the Ground of which Story was this: There was a certain Chappel, into which the Priests convey'd three empty Vessels, in presence of the whole Assembly, which consisted as well of Forreigners, as Natives; this done, they retir'd, and the Doors being shut, themselves, and as many others as pleas'd, seal'd them with their own Signets: On the Morrow the Company return'd, and after every Man had look'd upon his own Seal, and seen that it was unbroken, the Doors being open'd, the Vessels were found full of Wine.

Θ Τ Λ Λ Α.

In honour of *Venus* (f).

Θ Τ Ν Ν Α Ι Α,

A Sacrifice so call'd from *Θύννος*, i. e. a Tunny, which Fishermen offer'd to *Neptune*, after a plentiful Draught (g).

I

Ι Ε Ρ Ο Σ Γ Α Μ Ο Σ,

I. e. the Sacred Marriage. It was a Festival in honour of *Jupiter*.

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes Pluto*. (b) *Pluto*. (c) *Hesychius*.
(d) *Idem*. (e) *Pausanias Eliac. 6*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Athenaeus lib. VII.*

and *Juno* (a), being (I suppose) a Commemoration of the Marriage of those two Deities.

ΙΘΩΜΑΙΑ,

A Festival, wherein Musicians contended: It was celebrated in honour of *Jupiter* (b), surnam'd *Ιθωμίτης*, from *Ithome*, a City in *Thessaly*, or *Messene*, where that God is said to have been nurs'd by the two Nymphs *Ithome*, and *Neda*; who gave Nanes, the former to a Town, the latter to a River.

ΙΝΑΧΙΑ,

One of *Leucothea's* Festivals in *Crete*, being deriv'd from *Inachus*, according to *Hesychius*; or rather from *Ino*, who is the same with *Leucothea*, and ἄχος, i. e. Grief; being, perhaps, a Commemoration of *Ino's* Misfortunes.

ΙΝΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in *Lemnos* (g).

ΙΝΩΑ,

Festivals in memory of *Ino*, one of which was celebrated every Year with Sports, and Sacrifices at *Corinth*, being instituted by King *Sisyphus* (c).

An Anniversary Sacrifice was offer'd to *Ino* by the *Megarians*, when she was first call'd *Leucothea*, being cast upon that Coast by the Wave, and inter'd by *Clefo*, and *Taurropolis* (d).

Ino had another Festival in *Laconia*, where there was a Pond consecrated to her: Into this it was usual, at this Solemnity, to cast Cakes of Flower, which, if they sunk, were Presages of Prosperity; but if they stay'd upon the surface of the Water, were Ill-boding Omens (e).

ΙΟΒΑΚΧΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Bacchus* surnam'd *Iobacchus*, from the Exclamations us'd in some of his Festivals, where they cry'd *Ιὼ Βάκχε*, &c. See *Διονυσια*.

ΙΟΛΑΙΑ,

A *Theban* Festival, the very same with *Ηρόκλεια*, (f); whence it appears, that it was instituted in honour of *Hercules*, and his Companion *Iolaus*, who assisted him against *Hydra*.

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Pausanias Messenicis*. (c) *Tzetzes in Lycophronem*. (d) *Pausanias Atticus*. (e) *Pausanias Laconicus*. (f) *Findari Scholiastes Olymp. VII*. (g) *Hesychius*.

ΙΣΕΙΑ

ΙΣΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity observ'd by several Cities, in honour of *Isis* (a), who is said by some to have been the first, that taught Men the use of Corn; in memory of which Benefit, it was customary, at some places, for the Worshipers at this Festival, to carry Vessels full of Wheat, and Barley.

ΙΣΧΕΝΙΑ,

Anniversary Sports, celebrated at *Olympia*, in memory of *Ischemus*, the Grand-son of *Mercury*, and *Hiereia*; who, in a Time of Famine, devoted himself to be a Sacrifice for his Countrey, and was honour'd with a Monument near the *Olympian Stadium* (b).

Κ

ΚΑΒΕΙΡΙΑ,

Mysterious Observances at *Thebes*, and *Lemnos*; but more especially at *Imbrius*, and *Samoshrace*, which Islands were consecrated to the *Cabiri*, whom some will have to be *Phœnician* Deities; others, the Sons of *Vulcan*; Others are of a different Opinion from both; for nothing can be certainly determin'd concerning the Original, Names, or Number of them: Such as desire farther Satisfaction, may consult *Calvus Indigenus*, *Lilius Gyraldus*, and other *Mythologists*. All that were Initiated into these Mysteries, were thought effectually secur'd from all Storms at Sea, and other Dangers (c): The chief Ceremony was thus: The Person that offer'd himself, being crown'd with Olive-branches, and girded about his Loyns with a Purple Ribband, was plac'd upon a Throne, around which the Priests, and Persons before Initiated staid, and sported: This was call'd *Σέβωσις*, or *Σεβισμός*, i. e. en-thronization (d).

ΚΑΛΑΟΙΔΙΑ,

Solemn Sports, celebrated by the *Laconians*, in honour of *Diana* (e).

ΚΑΛΑΙΣΤΕΙΑ,

I. e. Beauty's Rewards. It was a *Lesbian* Festival, wherein the Women presented themselves in *Juno's* Temple, and the Prize was assign'd to the Fairest (f).

Another of these Contentions there was at the Festival of *Ceres*

(a) *Diodorus Siculus lib. I*. (b) *Isacius Tzetzes in Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 42*. (c) *Diodorus Siculus Bibl. lib. V*. (d) *Plato Euthydemus, Hesychius*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. i'*.

Eleusinia amongst the *Parrhasians*, first instituted by *Cypselus*, whose Wife *Herodice* was honour'd with the first Prize (a).

Another of the same Nature we find amongst the *Eleans* (b), where the most Beautiful Man was presented with a complete Suit of Armour, which he consecrated to *Minerva*, to whose Temple he walk'd in Procession, being accompany'd with his Friends, who adorn'd him with Ribbands, and crown'd him with a Garland of Myrtle.

ΚΑΛΑΤΝΗΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival (c).

ΚΑΡΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival observ'd in almost all the Cities of Greece; but especially at *Sparta*, where it was first instituted about the Time of the XXVth Olympiad, in honour, not of *Jupiter*, as some are of Opinion, but of *Apollo*, surnam'd *Carnus*, either from one *Carnus*, a *Trojan* (d); or from a Beautiful Youth, call'd *Carnus*, who was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa* (e), and belov'd by *Apollo* (f): Or from *Carnus* an *Acanthian*, who was instructed by this God in the Art of Divination, but afterwards murder'd by the *Dorians*; This Fact *Apollo* reveng'd upon them by a dreadful Plague; to avert which, they instituted this Festival, as *Pausanias* reports: Or *ἐκ τῆς κρεμνίας*, i. e. from the Cornel-tree, transposing the Letter *π*, as the same Author intimates; For 'tis reported by some, that this Festival was first instituted by the *Grecians*, who had incur'd *Apollo*'s Displeasure, by cutting down a number of Cornel-trees in a Grove consecrated to him upon Mount *Ida*, which they us'd in building the *Wooden-horse*: Or *ἐκ τῆς κραινείας*, i. e. from accomplishing the Request of *Menelaus* (g), who, when he undertook his Expedition against *Troy*, made a Vow to *Apollo*, wherein he promis'd to pay him some signal Honour, if his Undertaking met with Success. This Festival lasted nine Days, beginning upon the thirteenth of the Month *Carnus*, which answer'd to the *Athenian Metagirnion* (h): It was an Imitation of the Method of living, and Discipline us'd in Camps; for nine *Συμάδες*, i. e. Tents, were erected, in every one of which nine Men of three different Tribes, three being chosen out of a Tribe, liv'd for the space of nine Days, during which Time they were obedient to a publick Cryer, and did nothing without express Order from him (i). *Hesychius* tells us, that the Priest, whose Office it was to attend at this Solemnity, was nam'd *Αγνής*, and adds in another place, that out of every Tribe five

other Ministers were elected, and call'd *Καρνιάται*, and oblig'd to continue in their Function four Years, during which Time they remain'd Batchelours. At this Festival the Musical Numbers, call'd *Καρνεῖοι νόμοι*, were sung by Musicians, who contended for Victory; the first Prize was won by *Terpander*.

ΚΑΡΥΑ, or ΚΑΡΥΑΤΙΣ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a), surnam'd *Caryatis*, from *Caryum* in *Laconia*, where this Solemnity was kept. It was usual for Virgins to meet at the Celebration, and joyn in a certain Dance, said to be invented by *Castor* and *Pollux*, which they call'd *καρυατίζειν* (b). In the Time of *Xerxes*'s Invasion, when the *Laconians* durst not shew their Heads for Fear of the Enemy, lest the Goddess's Anger should be incur'd by the Intermission of this Solemnity, the neighbouring Swains assembl'd in the accustom'd place, and sung Pastorals, which were call'd *Βυκολισμοί*, from *βέκολος*, i. e. a Neat-herd. Thus, as some are of Opinion, *Bucolicks* came first to be in use.

ΚΙΣΣΟΤΟΜΟΙ,

A Festival in honour of *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth (c).

ΚΛΑΔΕΥΤΗΡΙΑ, or ΒΙΣΒΑΙΑ,

This Festival is mention'd by *Hesychius*, and seems to have been solemniz'd at the time, when Vines were prun'd; for *κλαδευτήριον*, and *βίβλην*, signify Pruning-hooks.

ΚΝΑΚΑΛΗΣΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacalos*, by the *Ophyatæ*, in honour of *Diana*, who had from that place the Surname of *Cnacalesia* (d).

ΚΟΝΝΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Theseus*'s Festival, in which a Ram was sacrific'd to *Connidas*, *Theseus*'s Tutor (e).

ΚΟΡΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Proserpina*, nam'd *Kōen* (f), which in the *Molossian* Dialect, signifies a Beautiful Woman.

ΚΟΤΤΥΤΙΑ, or ΚΟΤΤΥΤΙΣ,

A Nocturnal Festival in honour of *Cotys*, or *Cotyto*, the Goddess of

(a) *Athenæus* Δειπνoσoφ. lib. XIII. (b) *Idem* ibid. (c) *Erymolog.* Auctor. (d) *Alaman.* (e) *Hesychius.* (f) *Theocriti* Scholiaster. (g) *Demetrius.* (h) *Plutarchus* Nicias. (i) *Athenæus* lib. IV. *Callimachi* Hymn. in *Apoll.* *Pindarus* Pythion.

(a) *Pausanias* Laconicus. (b) *Lucianus* Πρὸς ἀρχαίους. (c) *Pausanias* Corinthiacus. (d) *Idem* Arcadicus. (e) *Plutarchus* *Theseus*. (f) *Hesychius.*

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other

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An Anniversary Solemnity celebrated upon Mount *Cnacalos*, by the *Caphyates*, in honour of *Diana*, who had from that place the Surname of *Cnacalesia* (d).

ΚΟΝΝΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity upon the Day before *Theseus*'s Festival, in which a Ram was sacrific'd to *Comidas*, *Theseus*'s Tutor (e).

ΚΟΡΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Proserpina*, nam'd *Kōen* (f), which in the *Molestian* Dialect, signifies a Beautiful Woman.

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Bbb

War-

Wantonness (a): It was observ'd by the *Athenians*, *Corinthians*, *Chians*, *Thracians*, with others; and celebrated with such Rites as were most acceptable to the Goddesses, who was thought to be delighted with nothing so much, as Lewdness, and Debauchery. Her Priests were call'd *Βάπται*, which Name we find in *Juvenal*; It seems to have been deriv'd *ἐκ τῆς βάπτεως*, i. e. from Dying, or Painting themselves; for they were wont to practise all sorts of effeminate, and Meretricious Arts; whence *Κότυς* *Διοκότυς*, i. e. a Votary of *Cotys*, is Proverbially apply'd to *Beaux*, and all Men that spend their Time in Dressing, and Perfuming themselves.

Another Festival of this Name (b) was celebrated in *Sicily*, where the Worshipers carry'd Boughs hung about with Cakes, and Fruit, which it was lawful for any Person to pluck off; in memory (as *Gyraldus* was of Opinion) of *Proserpina's* Ravishment, who is by some thought to have been the same with *Cotys*.

ΚΡΟΝΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Saturn*, who is call'd in *Greek* *Κρόνος* (c). It was celebrated in the Month *Hecatombæon*, which was formerly call'd *Cronius*.

Another of *Saturn's* Festivals was celebrated (d) upon the sixteenth of *Metagitnion* at *Rhodos*; where they offer'd in Sacrifice a condemn'd Criminal.

ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΙΑ,

A Festival instituted by *Theseus*, in memory of *Nausithus*, and *Phæax*, who were his *κυβερνήται*, i. e. Pilots, in his Voyage to *Crete* (e).

ΚΥΝΟΦΟΝΤΙΣ,

A Festival observ'd in Dog-days at *Argos* (f), and so call'd *ἀπὸ τῶν κυνῶν φονεῖν*, i. e. from killing Dogs, because it was usual upon this Day to kill all the Dogs they met with.

Α

ΑΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Some Festivals there were at *Lacedæmon*, the Names whereof are forgotten: One of these is mention'd by *Plutarch* in his *Love-Stories*, at which the Marry'd Women, Maidens, Children, and Servants, feasted all together promiscuously; only the Ladies, whose Husbands were Magistrates, watch'd all Night in a large Room by themselves.

(a) *Synefius* in *Encomio calvitii*, *Suilar*, *Juvenalis* Satir. II. (b) *Plutarchus* Proverb. (c) *Aristophanis* Scholiastes *Nubibus*, *Hesychius*. (d) *Porphyrus* apud *Theodoretum* lib. VII. *Græc. affect.* (e) *Plutarchus* *Theseo*. (f) *Athenæus* lib. III. Another

Another we find in *Athenæus* (a), at which the Women took all the Old Batchelours, and dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists; to the end that if no other Motives would induce them to Marry, the Shame and Ignominy they were expos'd to at these Times, might compel them to it.

ΑΛΑΜΠΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at *Pellene* (b) in *Achaia*, in honour of *Bacchus* surnam'd *Λαμπήρ*, from *λάμπειν*, i. e. to shine; for this Solemnity being in the Night, the Worshipers went to *Bacchus's* Temple with lighted Torches in their Hands. It was customary at this time to place Vessels full of Wine here and there in every Street of the City.

ΑΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Games at *Larissa* (c), wherein the Combatants perform'd their Exercises singly, before the *Πένταθλον*, or Combat consisting of five Exercises, was invented.

ΑΛΑΡΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus*, celebrated at *Larysium*, a Mountain in *Lacedæmon*, about the beginning of Spring (d).

ΑΛΑΦΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival at *Patra* in *Achaia*, in honour of *Diana* (e) surnam'd *Laphria*, either *ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων*, i. e. from Spoils, which she took from wild Beasts, because she was the Goddess of Hunting, and her Statue, which was compos'd of Gold and Ivory, represented her in a Hunting posture: Or, because she desisted from her Anger, and became every year *ἐλαφροτέρα*, i. e. more favourable and propitious, to *Oeneus*, King of the *Calydonians*: Or, from one *Laphrius* a *Phocensian*, by whom her Statue was erected in *Calydonia*; for this Title was first given to *Diana* in *Calydonia*, and thence, together with her Statue, translated to *Patra*. The customs at this Festival are thus describ'd by *Pausanias*: At the approach of the Festival, they made an ascent to the Altar, heaping up soft Earth in the manner of Stairs; round the Altar they plac'd in order pieces of green Wood, every one of which was in length sixteen Cubits; upon it was laid the dryest Wood they could get. The Solemnity lasted two Days, on the former of which there was a solemn Procession, follow'd by *Diana's* Priests, who was a Virgin, and rode in a Chariot drawn by Bucks. On the Day

(a) *Διαιρησις* lib. XIII. (b) *Pausanias* *Achaicis*. (c) *Apollonii* Scholiastes lib. IV. (d) *Pausanias* *Laconicis*. (e) *Pausanias* *Achaicis*. Bbb 2 following,

following, they assembled to offer Sacrifices, which consisted of Birds, Bears, Bucks, Lyons, Wolves, with all sorts of Animals, and Garden-Fruits, which were cast upon the Altar, in part by private Persons, and partly at the publick Charge; then the fire being kindled, it sometimes happen'd, that the wild Beasts having their Fetters loos'd by the Flames, leap'd off the Altar, which happen'd when my Author was present; yet neither then, nor at any time before did any Person receive the least harm thereby.

ΑΕΟΝΙΑΕΙΑ,

An anniversary Day at *Sparta* (a), in memory of *Leonidas* King of that City, who with a small Number of Men put a stop to the whole Army of *Xerxes* at *Thermopylae*, and maintain'd the passage of those Straights two whole Days together. Upon this Day there was an Oration pronounc'd on the Heroe, and Sports, in which none were allow'd to contend, but Free-born *Spartans*.

ΑΕΟΝΤΙΚΑ,

Who was the Author, what the Occasion of this Festival, is not known; thus much however we find of it in *Porphyry* (b); That all that were admitted to it, wash'd their Hands with Honey, which was pour'd upon them instead of Water; in token that they were pure from all things hurtful, malicious, and detestable.

ΑΕΡΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Lerna*, instituted by *Philammon* (c) in honour of *Bacchus*, *Proserpine*, and *Ceres*. In the primitive Times the *Argives* us'd to carry Fire to this Solemnity from a Temple upon Mount *Crathis*, dedicated to *Diana*, surnam'd (perhaps from *πῦρ*, i. e. fire) *Πυρωνία*.

ΑΗΝΑΙΑ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d) surnam'd *Lenæus* from *ληνός*, i. e. a Wine-press. It was celebrated in the Month *Lenæon* with several Ceremonies usual at other Festivals of this God; but what more especially recommended it, were the Poetical contention, wherein Poets strove for Victory, and the Tragedies acted at this Time.

ΑΙΘΟΒΟΑΙΑ,

I. e. Lapidation. This Festival was celebrated by the *Træzenians* in

(a) Idem *Laconicis*. (b) De Antro *Nympharum*. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* *Arcad. Inscriptio Verus*. (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Equitibus*, *Diogenes Laertius Platone*.

memory

memory of *Lania* and *Auxesia*, who were two Virgins, that coming from *Crete* to *Træzen* in a Time of Tumult and Sedition, became a sacrifice to the Fury of the People, by whom they were ston'd to death (a).

ΛΙΜΝΑΤΙΑΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (b), surnam'd *Limnatis* from *Limna*, a School of Exercise at *Træzen*, in which she was worship'd; according to *Artemidorus*, from *λίμναι*, i. e. Ponds, because she had the care of Fisher-men.

ΑΥΚΑΙΑ,

An *Arcadian* (c) Festival something resembling the *Roman Lupercalia*: was celebrated with Games, in which the Conquerour was rewarded with a Suit of brazen Armour; and an Human Sacrifice was offer'd in it. The first Institutor of it was *Lycaon*, who observ'd it in honour of *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Lycæus*, either from *Lycaon*'s own Name, or the *Arcadian* Mountain *Lycæus*, which the *Arcadians* pretend is the true *lympus*, whence they call it *ἱερόν κορυφῶν*, i. e. the sacred Hill, because *Jupiter* was feign'd to have had his Education there; in memory of which there was an Altar, where certain Mysterious Worship was paid to that God, and a Plot of Ground consecrated to him, upon which it was unlawful for any Person so much as to set his Foot.

ΑΥΚΟΤΥΡΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Spartans* in memory of *Lycus* their Law-giver (d), whom they honour'd with a Temple, and an anniversary Sacrifice.

ΑΥΣΑΝΑΡΙΑ,

A *Samian* Festival celebrated (e) with Sacrifices and Games in honour of *Lysander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral. It was anciently call'd *Ἰσπία*, which name was abolish'd by a Decree of the *Samians*.

M

ΜΑΙΜΑΚΤΗΡΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices offer'd by the *Athenians* in *Memæsterion*, which is a Winter-month, to *Jupiter* *Μαιμακτής*, to induce him to send mild and temperate Weather, because He was usually taken for the

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (b) Idem *Achaicis*. (c) *Plutarchus Casare*, *Pausanias Arcadicis*, *Porphyrius* *Περὶ ἀποχρῆς ἐμψύχ.* *Hyginus* *Fab. CLXXIII*. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycei*, *Strabo* *lib. VIII*. (e) *Plutarchus* *Lysandro*, *Hesychius*.

Air,

Air, or Heavens, and therefore thought to preside over the Seasons. There are various reasons assign'd for this Surname, for *μαιμάκτις* is by *Harpocration* expounded ἐνθυσιᾶσις, καὶ παραπικρός, i. e. outrageous, and furious; being deriv'd from *μαιμάσκειν*, that is, according to *Suidas*, κλονεῖν, κυματίζειν, i. e. to trouble, or raise commotions. But *Hesychius* affixeth a quite different signification to it; for according to him, *μαιμάκτις* is the same with *μελίχτος*, i. e. favourable and propitious; and herein *Plutarch* agree's with him, who tells us (a), "That 'twas his Opinion, that by the Name of *Μαιμάκτις*, "which was given by the *Athenians* to the King of the Gods, was "meant *μελίχτος*." Neither of these significations are at all disagreeable to the design of this Festival; for since it was to procure good Weather, it might either be instituted as a means to appease the Deity, that was the cause of Storms, and intemperate Seasons; or to entreat the same Person, as being of a mild and gentle Disposition, and willing to grant the requests of his Votaries.

ΜΕΓΑΛΑΡΤΙΑ,

See Θρησκεία.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Menelaus* (b), at *Therapne* in *Laconia*, where a Temple was consecrated to him, in which he was worship'd, together with *Helena*, not as an Heroe, or petty Deity, but as one of the supreme Gods.

ΜΕΣΟΣΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ,

Certain Days upon which the *Lesbians* offer'd publick Sacrifices (c).

ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΙΑ,

A Festival in the Month *Metagitnion* (d), in honour of *Apollo Μεταγείτνιος*, being celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Melite*, that left their habitations, and settled among the *Diomeans* in *Attica*; whence these Names seem to have been deriv'd, for they import a removal from one Neighbourhood to another.

ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΕΙΑ,

Sacrifices, with Horse-races, and other Games celebrated by the *Chiosians* in memory of *Miltiades*, the *Athenian* General (e).

(a) Libro πρὸς Ὀργυρίαν. (b) *Isocrates* in *Helena* Encomio, *Pausanias* *Laconica*. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Plutarchus* de *Exilio*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas*. (e) *Herodotus* lib. VI.

ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ,

ΜΙΝΤΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Orchomenians* (a), who were call'd *Minya*, and the River, upon which the City was founded, *Minya*, from *Minyas*, King of that Place, in memory of whom, it may be, this solemnity was instituted.

ΜΙΤΤΑΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival celebrated by all the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, in a place without the City, in honour of *Apollo Μαντικός* (b), which surname we find mention'd also in *Hesychius*.

ΜΟΥΝΥΧΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (c) upon the sixteenth of *Munychion*, in honour of *Diana* surnam'd *Munychia* from King *Munychus*, the Son of *Pentacleus*; or from a part of the *Piræus*, call'd *Munychia*, where this Goddess had a Temple, to which the *Athenians* allow'd the Privilege of being a Sanctuary to such as fled to it for refuge. At this Solemnity they offer'd certain Cakes call'd ἀμφιπῶντες, which name is deriv'd ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμφιπᾶν, i. e. from shining on every side, either because lighted Torches hung round them, when they were carry'd into the Temple; or because they were offer'd at Full Moon; that being the Time of this Festival, for it was instituted in honour of *Diana*, who was reputed to be the same with the Moon, because it was Full Moon, when *Themistocles* overthrew the *Persian* Fleet at *Salamis*.

ΜΟΥΣΕΙΑ,

Festivals (d) in honour of the *Muses* at several places of Greece, especially amongst the *Thespians*, where Solemn Games were celebrated every Fifth year.

The *Macedonians* had also a Festival in honour of *Jupiter* and the *Muses*, which was first instituted by King *Archelaus*, was celebrated with Stage-Plays, and Games, and lasted nine Days, according to the Number of the *Muses*.

ΜΥΣΙΑ,

A Festival (e) in honour of *Ceres*, surnam'd *Mysia*, from *Mysius* an *Argian*, who dedicated a Temple to her in a place about X. Stadia distant from *Pellene* in *Achaia*; or, according to *Phanias*, from *μῦσιν*,

(a) *Pindari* Scholiastes *Isthm. Od. I.* (b) *Thucydides* initio lib. III. (c) *Plutarchus* de *Gloria Atheniens.* *Harpocration*, *Etymologicus* Auctor, *Suidas*, *Eustathius* II. c'. (d) *Tollux* lib. I. cap. I. *Æschines* in *Timarchum*, *Pausanias* *Boeotica*, *Diadorus Sic.* lib. XVII. *Plutarchus* *Erotico*. (e) *Pausanias* sine *Achaicorum*. i. e.

i. e. to cloy, to satisfy, or to be well fed, because *Ceres* was the first that taught Men how to use Corn. This Festival continu'd seven Days, upon the third of which all the Men and Dogs being shut out of the Temple, the Women, together with the Bitches, remain'd within, and having that Night perform'd the accustom'd Rites, on the Day following return'd to the Men, with whom they past away the Time in jesting, and laughing at one another.

Μ Ω Λ Ε Ι Α,

An *Arcadian* (a) Festival, so nam'd from *μᾶλ*, i. e. a fight; for it was instituted in memory of a Battle, wherein *Lycus* slew *Erethalion*.

Ν

Ν Ε Κ Τ Σ Ι Α,

In memory of deceas'd Persons. Of this, and the following Solemnities I shall give a more full account, when I come to treat of the Honours paid to the Dead.

Ν Ε Μ Ε Σ Ε Ι Α, or Ν Ε Μ Ε Σ Ι Α,

A Solemnity in memory of deceas'd Persons (b).

Ν Ε Ο Ι Ν Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated to *Bacchus* (c), when the new Wine was first tasted, as the Name signifies.

Ν Ε Ο Π Ι Τ Ο Λ Ε Μ Ε Ι Α,

A Festival celebrated by the *Delphians* (d) with a great deal of Pomp and Splendour, in memory of *Neoptolemus*, the Son of *Achilles*, who was slain in an Attempt to sack *Apollo's* Temple, which he undertook in revenge of his Father's Death, to which that God was accessory.

Ν Η Λ Η Ι Δ Ι Α,

A *Milesian* Festival (e) in honour of *Diana*, surnam'd *Nelis*, from *Nelus*, an inhabitant of *Mileus* (f).

Ν Ι Κ Η Η Ε Ν Μ Α Ρ Α Θ Ω Ν Ι,

An anniversary Solemnity observ'd by the *Athenians* upon the sixth

(a) *Apollonii Rhodii Scholia* lib. I. v. 164. (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Heliandorus Ethiopic*. initio lib. III. (e) *Plutarchus de Virtut. Mulierum*. (f) *Lycophron Cassandra*.

of *Boedromiori*, in memory of that famous Victory, which *Miliades* obtain'd against the *Persians* at *Marathon* (a).

Ν Ι Κ Η Τ Η Π Ι Α Α Θ Η Ν Α Σ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity in memory of *Minerva's* Victory over *Neme*, when they contended which of them should have the honour of giving a Name to the City afterwards call'd *Athens* (b).

Ν Ο Τ Μ Η Ν Ι Α, or Ν Ε Ο Μ Η Ν Ι Α,

A Festival observ'd at the beginning of every *Lunar* Month (c), which was (as the Name imports) upon the New Moon, in honour of all the Gods, but especially *Apollo*, who was call'd *Neoplūi*, because the Sun is the first Author of all Light, and whatever distinction of Times and Seasons may be taken from other Planets, yet they are all owing to him, as the Original and Fountain of all those borrow'd Rays, which the rest have only by participation from him. To observe this Festival was call'd *νεπλωιδεω*, certain Cakes offer'd therein *νεπλωιοι*, and the Worshippers *νεπλωιασται*. It was observ'd with Games, and Publick Entertainments, which were made by the richer Sort, to whose Tables the Poor flock'd in great Numbers. The *Athenians* at these times offer'd solemn Prayers, and Sacrifices for the prosperity of their Common-wealth the ensuing Month, in *Eretheus's* Temple in the Cittadel, which was kept by a Dragon, to which they gave (as was usual in *Trophonius's* Cave) a Honey-cake call'd *μελιτήστα*. These Sacrifices, because they were offer'd every Month, were call'd *μηνιαία ἑσθὰ*, or *ἐπιμηνιαία*, and those that perform'd them *ἐπιμηνιοι*, and *ἀργεμεῖνες*.

Ξ

Ξ Α Ν Θ Ι Κ Α,

A *Macedonian* Festival (d), so call'd because it was observ'd in the Month *Xanthus*, which, as *Suidas* tells us, was the same with *April*. At this Time the Army was purify'd by solemn Lustration, the manner of which was thus: They divided a Bitch into two halves, one of which, together with the Entrails, was plac'd upon the Right hand, the other upon the Left; between these the Army march'd in this Order: After the Arms of all the *Macedonian* Kings, came the first part of the Army, consisting (I suppose) of Horse; these were follow'd by the

(a) *Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniensium*. (b) *Proclus in Timaeum Comment*. I. (c) *Homeri Scholia* Od. v. *Eustathius* Od. v. & φ'. *Demosthenes in Aristogit. Theophrastus Ethic. Charact. Etymologici Auctor*, *Hesychius*, *Herodotus* lib. VIII. & Vir. *Homeri*. (d) *Hesychius*, *Livius* lib. XL. *Curtius* lib. X.

King, and his Children, after whom went the Life-Guards; then follow'd the rest of the Army: This done, the Army was divided into two parts, one of which being set in array against the other, there follow'd a short Encounter in imitation of a Fight.

ΕΤΝΟΙΚΙΑ, OR ΜΕΤΟΙΚΙΑ,

An anniversary Day observ'd by the *Athenians* (a) to *Minerva*, upon the sixteenth of *Hecatombæon*, in memory that by the persuasion of *Theseus* they left their Country-seats, in which they lay dispers'd here and there in *Attica*, and united together in one Body.

O

ΟΓΧΗΣΤΙΑ,

A *Bæotian* Festival (b) in honour of *Neptune*, firman'd *Onchestus* from *Onchestus*, a Town in *Bæotia*.

ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated in honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, by the *Athenians*, *Smyrneans*, *Macedonians*, but especially by the *Eleans*, of whose Solemnity I shall give an account afterwards.

ΟΜΟΛΩΙΑ,

A *Theban* Festival in honour of *Jupiter Homolœus*, or *Ceres Homolœia* (c), who were so call'd from *Homole* in *Bæotia*, or the Prophet's *Homolœia*, or from ὁμολῶ, which in the *Æolian* dialect signifies peaceable.

ΟΞΟΦΟΡΙΑ, OR ΩΞΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival so call'd ὅτι τὸ φέρειν τὰς ὄξας, i. e. from carrying Boughs hung with Grapes, &c. which were call'd ὄξας (d). The Institution, and Manner of it are describ'd at large by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Theseus*; his words run thus: "*Theseus* at his return from *Crete* forgot to hang out the white Sail, which should have been the token of their Safety to *Ægeus*, who knowing nothing of their Success, for grief threw himself headlong from a Rock, and perish'd in the Sea. But *Theseus* being arriv'd at the Port *Phalerus*, paid there the Sacrifices, which he had vow'd to the Gods at his setting out to Sea, and sent a Herald to the City to carry the news of his safe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the most

(a) *Thucydides* lib. II. *Plutarchus* *Theseo*. (b) *Pausanias* *Bæoticæ*. (c) *Theophrastus* *Scholastes* *Idyll*. VII. (d) *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*.

"part

"part full of grief for the loss of their King; others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Message that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him with Garlands for so acceptable News; these he indeed accepted of, but hung them upon his Herald's Staff, and thus returning to the Sea-side before *Theseus* had finish'd his Libation to the Gods, stay'd without for fear of disturbing the Holy Rites; but as soon as the Sacrifice was ended, he entered and related the whole Story of the King's Death; upon the hearing of which, with great lamentations, and a confus'd tumult of grief, they ran with all haste to the City: Whence, they say, it comes that at this Day in the Feast *Oschophoria*, not the Herald, but his Staff is crown'd; and that the People then present still break out at the Sacrifice into this Shout, ἔλεον, ἔλεον, of which confus'd sounds the first was wont to be us'd by Men in haste, or at a Triumph; the other is proper to those that are in great trouble, or consternation.

A little after my Author proceeds thus: "The Festival call'd *Oschophoria*, which to this Day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then first instituted by *Theseus*; for he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which were chosen by Lots to be carry'd away, but selected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and Womanish Faces, but of Manly and Courageous Spirits, and having by frequent Bathings, and avoiding the heat and scorching of the Sun, with a constant use of all the Ointments, Washes, and Dresses, that serve to adorn the Head, smooth the Skin, or improve the Complexion, chang'd them, in a manner, from what they were before; and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, Gesture, and Gate of Virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceiv'd; he, undiscover'd by any, put them into the number of the *Athenian* Maids design'd for *Crete*. At his return He and these two Youths led up a solemn Procession with Boughs and Vine-branches in their hands, in the same habit that is now worn at the celebration of the *Oschophoria*: These Branches they carry'd in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, in memory of the Fable related of them; or rather, because they happen'd to return in *Autumn*, the time of gathering Grapes. The Women call'd *Δεινοφόροι*, i. e. Supper-carriers, were taken into these Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins, upon whom the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children; and because the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the Danger they were going upon, it has therefore still continu'd a Custom, that at this Festival old Tales and Fables should be the chief Discourse. For all these particularities we are beholding to the history of *Demon*". Besides the Rites already describ'd out of *Plutarch*, there was always a Race at this Festival (a); the contenders were

(a) *Pausanias* *Atticæ*, *Athenæus* lib. XI. *Hesychius*, *Nicandri* *Schol.* *Alexipharmacis*.
Ccc 2 certain

certain Young Men elected out of every Tribe, whose Parents were both living; they ran from *Bacchus's* Temple, to that of *Minerva Sciras* in the *Phalerian* Haven; the place where the Race ended, was call'd *Ὠχρόρειον*, from the *ὄχραι*, or Boughs, which the Runners carry'd in their Hands, and deposited there. The Conqueror's Reward was a Cup call'd *Πενταπλόα*, or *Πενταπλῆ*, i. e. Five-fold, because it contain'd a mixture of five things, viz. Wine, Honey, Cheese, Meal, and a little Oyl.

Π

ΠΑΓΚΛΑΔΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd *ἐπὶ πάντων κλάδων*, i. e. from all sorts of Boughs: It was celebrated by the *Rhodians*, when they prun'd their Vines (a).

ΠΑΜΒΟΙΩΤΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by all the *Boeotians* (b), who assembl'd near *Coronea*, at the Temple of *Minerva*, firnam'd *Itonia*, from *Itonius*, the Son of *Amphietyon*.

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Festival in honour of *Minerva*, the Protectress of *Athens*. It was first instituted by *Eriethonius*, or *Orpheus*, and call'd *Ἀθηναία*, but afterwards renew'd and amplify'd by *Theseus*, when he had united into one City the whole *Athenian* Nation, and call'd *Παναθηναία*. Some are of Opinion, that it was much what the same with the *Roman* *Quinquatria*, whence it is usual to call it by that Name in *Latin*. At the first it continu'd only one Day, but afterwards was prolong'd several Days, and celebrated with greater Preparations, and Magnificence than was usual in the Primitive Times.

There were two Solemnities of this Name, one of which was call'd *Μεγάλη Παναθήναια*, i. e. the Great *Panathenaea*, which was celebrated once in five Years, beginning upon the XXII^d of *Hecatombæon*. The other was call'd *Μικρὰ Παναθήναια*, i. e. the Lesser *Panathenaea*, and was kept every third Year; or rather, as some think, every Year, beginning upon the XXIst, or XXth of *Thargelion*. In the latter of these, there were three Games, manag'd by ten Presidents, elected out of all the ten Tribes of *Athens*, who continu'd in Office four Years. On the first Day at Even, there was a Race with Torches, wherein first Footmen, and afterwards Horse-men contended: The same Custom was likewise observ'd in the Greater Festival. The second Contention was *Δανδελας ἀγών*, i. e. a Gymnical exercise, so call'd because the Combatants therein gave a proof of their Strength, or Manhood: the place of these Games

was near the River, and call'd from this Festival *Παναθηναϊκόν*, the Stadium being decay'd by Time, was rebuilt of white *Pentelick* Marble by *Herodes*, a Native of *Athens*, with such Splendour, and Magnificence, that the most stately Theaters could not compare with it. The last was a Musical Contention, first instituted by *Pericles*; in the Songs us'd at this Time, they rehears'd the generous Undertakings of *Harmodius*, and *Aristogiton*, who oppos'd the Tyranny of *Pisistratus's* Sons; as of *Thrasibulus* also, who deliver'd the *Athenians* from the Thirty Tyrants, impos'd on them by the *Lacedæmonians*. The first that obtain'd the Victory by playing upon the Harp, was *Phrynis* a *Mitylenean*: Other Musical Instruments were also made use of, especially Flutes, on which they play'd in Consort: There was also a Dance perform'd by a *Circular Chorus*, of which hereafter: And the Poets contended in four Plays, the last whereof was *Satyr*, and all together were nam'd from their number *τετραλογία*: Beside these, there was a Contention at *Sumium*, in imitation of a Sea-fight: The Conquerour in any of these Games was rewarded with a Vessel of Oyl, which he was permitted to dispose of, how, and whither he pleas'd, whereas it was unlawful for any other to transport that Commodity: Farther he receiv'd a Crown of those Olives, which grew in the *Academy*, and were sacred to *Minerva*, and call'd *μοεῖαι*, from *μῆερος*, i. e. Death, in remembrance of the Misfortune of *Halirrothius*, the Son of *Neptune*, who, in a rage at his Father's Defeat by *Minerva*, in their Contention about the Name of *Athens*, offering to cut down the Olive-tree, by the Production of which *Minerva* obtain'd the Victory, missing his Aim, gave himself a fatal Blow: Others derive the Name from *μῆερος*, i. e. a part, because, according to some, these Olives were given by Contribution, all Persons that possess'd Olive-trees being oblig'd to contribute their proportions towards the Celebration of this Festival. Beside these, there was a certain Dance call'd *Pyrhichia*, perform'd by young Boys in Armour, in imitation of *Minerva*, who, in Triumph over the Vanquish'd Sons of *Titan*, danc'd in that manner. It was usual also after that *Athens* was brought under the Dominion of the *Romans*, for Gladiators to contend after the *Roman* fashion. No Man was permitted to be present at any of these Games in dy'd Garments, and the Punishment of such Offenders was left to the Discretion of the *Ἀγωνοθέτης*, or President of the Games. Lastly, they offer'd a Sumptuous Sacrifice, towards which every one of the *Athenian* Burroughs contributed an Ox; and of the Flesh that remain'd, a publick Entertainment was made for the whole Assembly.

In the Greater Festival most of the same Rites, and Ceremonies were practis'd, but were (I suppose) perform'd with greater Splendour, and Magnificence, and the Addition of some others, not observ'd in the Lesser, as particularly the Procession, in which *Minerva's* Sacred *πέπλος*, or Garment, was carry'd: This *πέπλος* was woven by a select number of Virgins, call'd *Ἐργασίαι*, from *ἔργον*, i. e. Work; these

(a) Hesychius. (b) Strabo lib. IX. Pausanias Boeoticus.

these were superintended by two of the Ἀγροφόροι, (of whom I have spoken before) and enter'd upon their Employ at the Festival call'd Χαλκεία, which was upon the thirtieth Day of Pyanepsion: It was of a white colour, without Sleeves, and embroider'd with Gold: Upon it were describ'd the Achievements of Minerva, especially those against the Giants; Jupiter also, and the Heroes, with all such as were famous for Valiant and Noble Exploits, had their Effigies in it; whence Men of true Courage and Bravery are said to be ἀξιοὶ πέπλου, i. e. worthy to be pourtray'd in Minerva's Sacred Garment, as in Aristophanes (a),

Εὐλογῆσαι βεβήμεθα τὸς πατέρας ἡμεῖς, ὅτι
Ἄνδρες ἵσαν τῆς δὲ γῆς ἀξιοί, καὶ τῷ πέπλῳ.

We will our Fathers treat with high Esteem,
Whose brave Exploits are worthy *Aitica*,
Fit to be pourtray'd in Minerva's Vest.

With this πέπλος they made a solemn Procession, the Ceremonies of which were thus: In the Ceramicus without the City there was an Engine built in the form of a Ship, on purpose for this Solemnity; upon this the πέπλος was hung in the manner of a Sail, and the whole was convey'd, not by Beasts, as some have imagin'd, but by Subterraneous Machines, to the Temple of Ceres Eleusinia, and from thence to the Citadel, where the πέπλος was put upon Minerva's Statue, which seems to have been laid upon a Bed straw'd with, or rather compos'd of Flowers, and call'd πλαγίς. This Procession was made by Persons of all Ages, Sexes, and Qualities; It was led up by Old Men, together (as some say) with Old Women, carrying Olive-branches in their Hands; whence they are call'd Θαλασφόροι, i. e. Bearers of Green Boughs: After these came the Men of full Age with Shields and Spears, being attended by the Μέτοικοι, or Sojourners, who carry'd Spades, and were upon that account call'd Σπαροφόροι, i. e. Spade-bearers: Then follow'd the Women, attended by the Sojourners Wives, who were nam'd Υδριαφόροι, from bearing Water-pots: These were follow'd by young Men singing Hymns to the Goddess; they were crown'd with Millet, and habited in Mourning-cloaks, in memory of one of the Κήρυκες, who was slain as he attempted to force the Posterity of Hercules from the Altar: Next to these came select Virgins of the first Quality, call'd Κανηφόροι, i. e. Basket-bearers, because they carry'd certain Baskets, which contain'd some necessaries for the Celebration of the holy Rites, which (as also other Utensils requir'd at the Solemnity) were in the custody of one, who, because he was Chief manager of the publick Poms, Processions, or Embassies

(a) Equicibus.

to the Gods, was call'd Ἀρχιδέωρος, and were distributed by him as occasion requir'd; these Virgins were attended by the Sojourners Daughters, who carry'd Umbrella's, and little Seats, whence they were call'd Διφρηφόροι, i. e. Seat-carriers: Lastly, it is probable that the Boys bore up the Rear, walking in a peculiar sort of Coats worn at Processions, and call'd Πανδαμυκοί. The Necessaries for this, as for all other Processions, were prepar'd in a publick Hall erected for that use between the Piræean Gate, and Ceres's Temple; and the management and care of the whole Business belong'd to the Νομοφύλακες, which name denotes Officers appointed to see that the *Laws*, ancient *Rites*, and *Customs* be observ'd. It was farther usual at this Solemnity to make a Gaol-delivery, to present golden Crowns to such as had done any remarkable Service for the Common-wealth, and appoint Men to sing some of Homer's Poems, which Custom was first introduc'd by Hipparchus, the Son of Pisistratus. Lastly, in the Sacrifices at this, and other Quinquennial Solemnities, it was customary to pray for the prosperity of the Plateans, on the account of the signal Service they had done the Athenians at the Battle of Marathon, wherein they behav'd themselves with extraordinary Courage and Resolution.

ΠΑΝΑΚΕΙΑ,

In Honour of Panace (a).

ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ,

The same with Αἰθυσία, and Χαλκεία (b), and so call'd from the great concourse of People, that us'd to meet at the Solemnity.

ΠΑΝΔΙΑ,

An Athenian Festival (c), so call'd from Pandion, by whom it was first instituted; or because it was celebrated in honour of Jupiter, who does τὰ πάντα διγύειν, i. e. move and turn all things which way he pleaseth. Others are of Opinion, that it belong'd to the Moon, and receiv'd it's Name, because she does πάντοτε ἵεναι, i. e. move incessantly, for that the Moon appears both in the Night, and Day; whereas the Sun shows himself by Day only, and was suppos'd to rest all Night. It was celebrated after the Διονυσία, or Festival of Bacchus, because that God is sometimes put for the Sun, or Apollo, and was by some reputed to be the Brother, by others the Son of the Moon.

ΠΑΝΔΡΟΣΟΣ,

An Athenian (d) Festival in memory of Pandrosus, the Daughter of King Cecrops.

(a) Theodoretus VII. Therap. (b) Suidas. (c) Etymologici Auctor. Suidas. (d) Anagoras in Apologia, Hefychius.

ΠΑΝΔΤΣΙΑ,

Publick rejoycings (a) when the Season through it's coldness, & intemperance forc'd the Mariners to stay at Home.

ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ,

A publick Festival celebrated (as the Name imports) by an Assembly of People from all the parts of Greece (b).

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated (as the Name signifies) by a concourse of People from all the Cities of Ionia (c). The Place, or Temple, in which it was kept, was call'd Πανιώνιον. It was instituted in honour of Neptune, firnam'd Heliconius from Helice, a City of Achaia, which afterwards perish'd by an Earth-quake. One thing there was remarkable in this Festival, viz. That, if the Bull offer'd in Sacrifice happen'd to below, it was accounted an Omen of Divine Favour, because that sound was thought to be acceptable to Neptune: To this Homer is thought to allude in these Verses (d),

Αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν αἶδε, καὶ ἥρπυγεν, ὥς ὅτε τοῦρ' ὅ
 ἥρπυγεν ἐλκόμεν' ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ Ἀγακλῆα.

Dying he roar'd, as when a Bull is drawn
 About the King of sacred Helice.

ΠΑΝΟΣ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

An anniversary Solemnity (e) in honour of Pan at Athens, where he had a Temple near the Acropolis, the Dedication of which, and the Institution of this Festival were upon this account: When Darius the Persian invaded Attica, Phidippides was forthwith dispatch'd on an Embassy to the Spartans, to desire their Assistance; and as he was in his Journey, about Mount Parthenius near Tegea, Pan met him, and calling him by his Name, bid him to ask the Athenians, What was the reason, why they had no regard of him, who was their Friend, and had often been serviceable to them, and should go on so to be? Phidippides at his return to Athens, related this Vision, which obtain'd so great credit with the Athenians, that they made a Decree that Divine Honours should be paid to that God also.

(a) Aeneas Tacticus Poliorceter. cap. XVII. Tractatus in Hesiod. Epy. β'. (b) Eustathius Iliad. β'. (c) Herodotus lib. I. Strabo lib. V. Eustathius Iliad. υ'. (d) H. XX. (e) Herodotus lib. VI. cap. CVI.

Pan had likewise a Festival in Arcadia (a), the Countrey he was believ'd most to frequent, and delight in, at which they us'd to beat his Statue with Σκίλλαι, i. e. Sea-onions; as was usual also, when they mis'd of their Prey in Hunting, in anger (as should seem) against the God, whom they reputed to be President of that Sport; to which custom Theocritus seems to allude in these Verses,

Κ' ὡ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔρδεις, ὦ Πᾶν φίλε, μὴ τί τι πῦδες
 Ἀργυρικοὶ σκίλλαισιν ὑπὸ πλευράς τε, καὶ ὤμους
 Τανίη, μασίτθουσιν ὅτε κρέα τυτθὰ παρῇ.

Kind Pan, if you propitious to my Prayer
 Grant these my wishes, you no more shall fear
 The rig'rous usage of Arcadian Boys,
 When disappointed of their lovely prize.

Mr. Huchin.

Farther, it was customary to offer a scanty Sacrifice, the Reliques of which were not sufficient to entertain those that were present; because, perhaps, they thought the God had frustrated their hopes of Prey in Hunting; on the contrary, when they had good Success, they were more liberal in paying Honours to him.

ΠΑΝΟΨΙΑ,

See Πανέψια.

ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ,

A Commemoration-day in honour of an ancient Heroe, whose Name was Paralus (b).

ΠΑΤΣΑΝΕΙΑ,

A Festival, in which were solemn Games, wherein free-born Spartans only contended, with an Oration in praise of Pausanias, the Spartan General, under whose Conduct the Grecians overcame Mardonius in the famous Battle at Plataeae (c).

ΠΕΛΩΡΙΑ,

A Thessalian Festival, not unlike the Roman Saturnalia: It is thus describ'd by Athenaeus (d): "Baton, the Sinopensian Rhetorician, in his description of Thessaly and Haemonia, declares that the Saturnalia are a Grecian Festival, and call'd by the Thessalians Peloria; his words are these: "On a time when the Pelasgians were offering publick Sacrifices, one Pelorus came in, and told one of them, That the Mountains of

(a) Theocriti Scholiastes Idyll. VII. (b) Eustathius Odysf. δ'. (c) Pausanias Laconien. (d) Lib. XIV.

“*Tempe* in *Hæmonia* were torn asunder by an Earth-quake, and the Lake, which had before cover’d the adjacent Valley, making it’s way thro’ the Breach, and falling into the Stream of *Peneus*, had left behind a vast, but most pleasant and delightful Plain: The *Pelasgian* hugg’d *Pelorus* for his News, and invited him to an Entertainment, where he was treated with all sorts of Dainties; The rest of the *Pelasgians* also brought the best Provisions they had, and presented them to him; and his Landlord, with others of the best Quality, waited on him by turns: In memory of this, when the *Pelasgians* had seated themselves in the new discover’d Country, they instituted a Festival, wherein they offer’d Sacrifices to *Jupiter*, firnam’d *Pelor*, and made sumptuous Entertainments, whereto they invited not only all the Forreigners amongst them, but Prisoners also, whom they releas’d from Bonds and Confinement, and Slaves, all whom they permitted to sit down, & waited upon them: This Festival is to this Day observ’d with great Solemnity by the *Thessalians*, and call’d *Πελωία*.

ΠΕΡΙΠΕΤΕΙΑ,

A Macedonian Solemnity (a).

ΠΕΡΙΦΑΛΛΙΑ,

The same with *Φαλαγγία*, being deriv’d from *φαλλος*, of which see more in *Διονύσια*.

ΠΙΤΑΝΑΤΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

Gymnical Exercises at *Pitana* (b).

ΠΑΥΝΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Aglaurus*, King *Cecrops*’s Daughter; or rather of *Minerva*, who had, from that Lady, the name of *Aglaurus* (c); At this Time they undress’d *Minerva*’s Statue, and wash’d it, whence the Solemnity was call’d *Πλουτήσια*, from *πλύνειν*, which signifies to wash. It was accounted an unfortunate, or inauspicious Day, and therefore the Temples (as upon all such Days) were surrounded with Ropes, so that no Man could have admission; The reason of which custom, with a farther account of this Solemnity we have in *Plutarch*’s *Alcibiades*; “The Festival (saith he) of the Goddess *Minerva*, call’d “*Πλουτήσια*, was celebrated on the 26th of *Thargelion*, with certain “Mysterious observances unlawfull to be reveal’d, which were perform’d

(a) *Hesychius*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Hesychius*, *Plutarchus Alcibiade*, *Athenæus* lib. III. *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. XII.

“by

“by Persons call’d *Προξενίδαι*, who divested the Goddess’s Image of all it’s Ornaments, and kept it close cover’d: Whence it is, that the *Athenians* esteem this Day most inauspicious, and never go about any thing of importance upon it: And therefore it falling out that *Alcibiades*’s return from Exile happen’d upon this Day, many were much concern’d at it, looking upon the time of his arrival to be a dangerous Omen, and imagining that the Goddess did not graciously receive him, but, in token of displeasure, hid her Face from him; But for all this, Things went on prosperously and succeeded according to his wish. Farther, it was customary at this Festival, to bear in Procession a Cluster of Figs, which was call’d *Ηγυπτεία*, or *Ηγύτσια*, from *ηγόρια*, which signifies to lead the Way, because Figs were *ηγούμενοι τῇ ἀνθρώπων βίῃ*, i. e. leaders to Humanity, and a civiliz’d course of Life, for when Men left off their ancient and barbarous Diet of Acorns, the next thing they us’d for Food, was Figs.

ΠΟΛΙΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity at *Thêbes* (a) in honour of *Apollo*, firnam’d *Πολίης*, i. e. Grey, because he was represented in this City (contrary to the constant custom of all other places) with grey Hairs. The Victim was a Bull, but it once happening that no Bulls could be procur’d, an Ox was taken from the Cart and Sacrific’d; whence the custom of killing labouring Oxen, which till that time was look’d on as a Capital Crime, first commenc’d.

ΠΟΜΠΕΩΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A Festival mention’d by *Hesychius*. There was an Image at this Solemnity, call’d by a peculiar Name *Στεμματιάδιον*.

ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΑ, or ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙΑ,

In honour of *Ποσειδών*, i. e. *Neptune*, to whom also they offer’d a solemn Sacrifice call’d *Ονείλιον* (b).

ΠΡΙΑΠΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Priapus*.

ΠΡΟΗΡΟΣΙΑ, or ΠΡΗΡΟΣΙΑ,

Sacrifices (c) offer’d *πρὸ τῆς ἀρόσεως*, i. e. before Seed-time, to *Ceres*,

(a) *Pausanias Bæoticis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Aristophanis Schol. Equitibus*.

Ddd 2

who

who was hence firnam'd Περνεσία. They were call'd by the Common People Περαιήσια, from ἀκμή, which sometimes signifies the same with σίτος, i. e. Bread-corn; whence comes Δημύτερος ἀκμή, i. e. Ceres's Corn, in *Homer* (a). The first Institution of these Sacrifices was by the Command of one *Ambias* a Prophet, who gave out that this was the only Method to appease the incens'd Goddess, who had at that Time afflicted not *Athens* only, where this Solemnity was observ'd, but all the other parts of *Greece*, with a grievous Famine.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the Inhabitants of *Laconia*, before they gather'd their Fruits (b).

ΠΡΟΜΑΧΙΑ,

A Festival, in which the *Lacedæmonians* crown'd themselves with Reeds (c).

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity celebrated in honour of *Prometheus* (d) with Torch-races, in remembrance that he was the first that taught Men the use of Fire.

ΠΡΟΣΧΑΙΡΗΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Day of Rejoycing, when a New-marry'd Wife went to cohabit with her Husband (e).

ΠΡΟΤΕΛΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity before Marriage, of which afterwards.

ΠΡΟΤΡΥΓΕΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Neptune*, and of *Bacchus* (f), firnam'd Περτρύγης, or Περτρυγαίον, από τῆς πετρύγος, i. e. from new Wine.

ΠΡΟΦΘΑΣΙΑ,

A Festival so call'd από τῆς προφθάμεναι, from preventing, or coming before. It was observ'd by the *Clazomenians*, in remembrance that they made themselves Masters of *Leuca*, by coming to the Celebration of a Sacrifice before the *Cumeans* (g).

ΠΡΩΤΕΣΙΑΕΙΑ,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chersonesians*, and *Thessalians* (a), in memory of *Protesilaus*, who was the first *Grecian* slain by *Hector*.

ΠΥΑΝΨΙΑ,

An *Athenian* (b) Festival, sometimes call'd Πυανόψια, or Πανοψία, in πάντας εἶδον καρπὸς τῆς ὕλης, i. e. because *Theseus* and his Companions were entertain'd with all manner of Fruits; the former, and more usual Name is deriv'd από τῆς ἐψείν πύανα, i. e. from boyling Pulse, as was usual upon that Day; the reason of which Custom, with a further Account of this Solemnity, I will give you in the Words of *Plutarch*: "*Theseus*, after the Funeral of his Father, pay'd his Vows to *Apollo* upon the seventh of *Pyanepsion*; for on that Day the Youths that return'd with him safe from *Crete*, made their Entry into the City. They say also, that the Custom of boyling Pulse was deriv'd from hence, because the Young Men that escap'd, put all that was left of their Provision together, and boyling it in one common Pot, feasted themselves with it, and with great Rejoycing did eat all together. Hence also they carry about an Olive-branch bound about with Wooll (such as they then made use of in their Supplications) which was call'd Εἰρεσιώνη, (from εἶρος, i. e. Wooll) and crown'd with all sorts of First-fruits, to signify that Scarcity and Barrenness were ceas'd, singing in their Procession this Song,

Εἰρεσιώνη, σῦκα φέρειν, καὶ πίονας ἄρτους,
καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ, καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσασθαι,
καὶ κύβητ' ἀΐζωρον, ὥς ἂν μεθύσῃ καθύδης.

Eiresione, Figs produce,
And wholsom Bread, and chearful Oyl,
And Honey, labouring Bees sweet Toil,
But above all Wine's noble Juice;
Then Cares thou in the Cup shalt steep,
And full of Joy receive soft Sleep.

Mr. Duke.

Tho' some are of Opinion, that this Custom is retain'd in memory of the *Heracleide*, who were thus entertain'd, and brought up by the *Athenians*; but the former Account is more generally receiv'd. It may be added farther, that the Εἰρεσιώνη, when it was carry'd about in honour of *Apollo*, was of Lawrel; when of *Minerva*, of Olive; because those Trees were believ'd to be most acceptable to these Deities.

(a) Vide Annotationes nostras in *Plutarchum De Audiendis Poetis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Athenæus* lib. XV. (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Ranis*. (e) *Harpocration*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XV.

(a) *Tindari Scholiastes Isthm. Od. I. Lucianus Deor. Concil.* (b) *Harpocration*. *Plutarchus Theseo, Hesychius*.

ties: When the Solemnity was ended, it was customary for them to erect it before their House-doors, thinking it an Amulet, whereby Scarcity and Want were prevented.

ΠΥΛΑΙΑ,

A Festival at *Pylæ* (a), otherwise call'd *Thermopylæ*, in honour of *Ceres*, firnam'd from that place *Pylæa*.

ΠΥΡΣΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Torches: It was observ'd at *Argos*, and instituted in memory of the Torches lighted by *Lynceus*, and *Hypermnestra*, to signify to each other, that they had both escap'd out of Danger (b).

Ρ

ΡΑΒΔΟΥ ΑΝΑΛΗΨΙΣ,

I. e. The Reception, or Elevation of the Rod. It was an Anniversary Day at the Island of *Cos*, at which the Priests carry'd a Cypress-tree (c).

ΡΑΨΩΙΔΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΗ,

A part of the *Διονυσία*, or Festival of *Bacchus*, at which they repeated *Scraps* of *Songs*, or *Poems*, as they walk'd by the God's Statue (d).

Σ

ΣΑΒΑΖΙΑ,

Nocturnal Mysteries in honour of *Jupiter Sabazius* (e), into which all that were Initiated, had a golden Serpent put in at their Breasts, and taken out at the lower part of their Garments; in memory of *Jupiter's* ravishing *Proserpina*, in the form of a Serpent. Others (f) are of Opinion that this Solemnity was in honour of *Bacchus* firnam'd *Sabazius*, from the *Sabæ*, who were a People of *Thrace*; and 'tis probable this Festival was not first instituted by the *Grecians*, but deriv'd to them from the Barbarians (such were the *Thracians* reputed) amongst whom *Suidas* tells us *σαβαζέειν* was the same with *διδάζειν*, i. e. to shout *δοῖ*, as was usual in the Festival of *Bacchus*: Add to this, that *Bacchus's* Priests were by the *Thracians* call'd *Σαβοί*.

(a) *Strabo* lib. IX. (b) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. (c) *Hippocratis* *Epistola* ad *S. P. Q. Abderitan*. (d) *Athenaus* *init. lib. VII.* (e) *Clemens* *Protrept. Arnobius* lib. V. (f) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. IV. *Aristophanis* *Scholiastes* *Vesp. Harpocraton*.

ΣΑΡΩΝΙΑ,

A Festival in honour of *Diana* (a) firnam'd *Saronia*, from *Sarō* the third King of *Træzen*, by whom a Temple was erected, and this Festival instituted to Her.

ΣΕΙΣΑΧΘΙΑ,

I. e. A shaking off the Burden. It was a Publick Sacrifice at *Athens*, in memory of *Solon's* Ordinance, whereby the Debts of poor People were either entirely remitted; or, at least, the Interest due upon them lessen'd, and the Creditors hinder'd from seizing upon the Persons of their Debtors, as had been customary before that Time (b).

ΣΕΜΕΛΗ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*; and observ'd, it may be, in memory of *Semele*, *Bacchus's* Mother.

ΣΕΠΙΘΡΙΟΝ,

A *Delphian* Festival, celebrated every ninth Year, in memory of *Apollo's* Victory over *Python*. The chief part of the Solemnity was a Representation of *Python* pursu'd by *Apollo* (c).

ΣΘΕΝΙΑ,

At *Argos* (d). It might perhaps be celebrated in honour of *Minerva*, firnam'd *Σθενιάς*, from *σθένος*, i. e. Strength.

ΣΚΕΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΑ, or ΣΚΙΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

An Anniversary Solemnity at *Athens* (e), upon the twelfth Day of *Sirrophorion*, in honour of *Minerva*, or, as some say, of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. The Name is deriv'd from *Sciras*, a Burrough between *Athens* and *Eleusis*, where there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, firnam'd *Sciras*, from that place: Or from one *Scirus*, an Inhabitant of *Eleusis*; or from *Sciron* of *Salamis*; or from *σκίρος*, i. e. Chalk, or white Plaister, of which the Statue dedicated to *Minerva* by *Theseus* when he return'd from *Crete*, was compos'd; Or from *σκίρον*, i. e. an Umbrella, which was at this Time carry'd in Procession by *Eretheus's* Priest, or some of the Sacred Family of *Butas*, who, to distinguish them from others that made false Pretensions to that Kindred, were call'd *Ετεροβλάδαι*, i. e. the genuine Off-spring of *Butas*: Those that order'd this Procession, were wont to make use of *Διὸς κωμῶς*, i. e. the Skins of Beasts sacrific'd to *Jupiter*, firnam'd *Μελίχθ*, and

(a) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Græc. Quæst.* (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Aristophanis* *Scholiastes* *Concionat. Harpocraton, Suidas*.

Κῆσις, of which Titles I have spoken before. Farther, there was at this Festival a Race call'd Ορχοφεία, because the young Men that contended therein, did φέρειν τὰς ὄχας, i. e. carry in their Hands Vine-branches full of Grapes.

ΣΚΙΕΡΙΑ, or ΣΚΙΕΡΑ,

At *Alca* in *Arcadia* (a), in honour of *Bacchus*, whose Image was expos'd ὑπὸ τῇ σκιάῳ, i. e. under an Umbrella, whence it is probable the Name of this Festival was deriv'd. At this Time the Women were beaten with Scourges, in the same manner with the *Spartan* Boys at the Altar of *Diana Orthia*, which they underwent in obedience to a Command of the *Delphian* Oracle.

ΣΚΙΑΛΩΝ ΒΟΡΤΗ,

I. e. The Festival of Sea-onyons. It was observ'd in *Sicily*; the chief part of it was a Combat, wherein Youths beat one another with Sea-onyons: He that obtain'd the Victory was rewarded by the *Gymnasiarch* with a Bull (b).

ΣΠΟΡΤΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΣΤΗΝΙΑ,

An *Athenian* Solemnity (c), wherein the Women made Jest, and Lampoons upon one another; whence στυνιδῶσαι signifies to abuse, ridicule, or speak evil of another.

ΣΤΟΦΕΙΑ,

At *Eretria*, in honour of *Diana Strophea* (d).

ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΑ,

At *Symphalus* in *Arcadia*, in honour of *Diana*, nam'd from that place *Symphalia* (e).

ΣΤΥΚΟΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

See *Θαλύσια*.

ΣΤΝΟΙΚΙΑ,

See *Ξυνοίκια*.

ΣΥΡΑΚΟΤΣΙΩΝ ΕΟΡΤΑΙ,

Syracusan Festivals, one of which *Plato* (a) mentions; it continu'd ten Days, during which Time the Women were employ'd in offering Sacrifices.

Another we read of in *Tully* (b), which was celebrated every Year by vast numbers of Men and Women, at a Lake near *Syracuse*, thro' which *Pluto* was said to have descended with *Proserpina*.

ΣΥΡΜΑΙΑ,

Games at *Sparta* (c), the Prize in which was *συρμαία*, i. e. a mixture of Fat and Honey.

ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ,

Sacrifices, and Thanksgivings for Deliverances out of Dangers.

Τ

ΤΑΙΝΑΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune* firmam'd *Tenarius* from *Tenarus*, a Promontory in *Laconia*, where was a Temple dedicated to him. The Worshippers were call'd *Ταιναῖται* (d).

ΤΑΛΑΙΑΔΙΤΗΣ,

Gymnical Exercises, in honour of *Jupiter* *Ταλαῖος*, as *Meursius* conjectures from the Words of *Hesychius*.

ΤΑΥΡΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Neptune*, as *Hesychius* reports: Perhaps it was the same with that mention'd by *Athenaeus* (e), and celebrated at *Ephesus*, wherein the Cup-bearers were young Men, and call'd *Ταυροῖ*.

ΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΑ,

In honour of *Diana* *Ταυροπόλος*, (f), of which Surname there are various accounts; the most probable is that, which derives it from *Symphalia Taurica*, where this Goddess was worshipp'd.

ΤΑΥΡΟΧΟΛΙΑ,

At *Cyzicum* (g).

(a) *Pausanias Arcadicis*, Pollux lib. VIII. cap. XXXIII. (b) *Theocriti Scholia* Idyl. VII. (c) *Hesychius*, *Suidas*. (d) *Athenaeus* lib. VI. (e) *Pausanias Arcadicis*. ΣΥΡΑ.

(a) *Epistola ad Dionis propinquos*. (b) *Orat. in Verrem* IV. (c) *Hesychius*. (d) *Idem*. (e) *Lib. X*. (f) *Hesychius*. (g) *Idem*.

ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΟΝ,

The fortieth Day after Child-birth, upon which the Women went to the Temples, and pay'd some grateful Acknowledgments for their safe Delivery; of which Custom I shall give a farther account in one of the following Books.

ΤΙΘΗΝΙΑΙΑ,

A Spartan Festival (a), in which the *παιῖδες*, or Nurfs, convey'd the Male Infants committed to their Charge to the Temple of *Diana Corythallia*, which was at some distance from the City, being seated not far from that part of the River *Tiaffa*, which was near *Clata*; here they offer'd young Pigs in Sacrifice, during the Time of which some of them danc'd, and were call'd *Κορυθαλλίσαιαι*, others expos'd themselves in antick and ridiculous Postures, and were nam'd *Kuerhoi*. They had likewise a Publick Entertainment at this, and some other Times, which was call'd *κομις*, and to partake of it *κοπιζειν*: The manner of it was thus: Tents being erected near the Temple, and Beds furnish'd therein, and cover'd with Tapestry, all the Guests, as well Foreigners, as Natives of *Laconia*, were invit'd to Supper, where every Man had his portion allotted, which was distributed to him together with a small Loaf of Bread call'd *φυσικὸν ἄρτον*; farther also each of them receiv'd a piece of new Cheese, part of the Belly and Tripes; and (instead of Sweet-meats) Figs, Beans, and green Vetches.

ΤΙΤΑΝΙΑ,

In memory of the *Titanes* (b).

ΤΑΗΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΑ,

Games celebrated (c) at *Rhodes*, in memory of *Tlepolemus*, upon the twenty-fourth Day of the Month *Gorpiaeus*, wherein not Men only, but Boys were permitted to contend, and the Victors were crown'd with Poplar.

ΤΟΝΕΑ,

The Institution, and Manner of this Solemnity are describ'd in *Athenæus* (d); who tells us it was kept at *Samos*: The chief Ceremony consisted in carrying *Juno's* Image to the Sea-shore, and offering Cakes to it, and then restoring it to it's former place; which was done in memory of it's being stolen by the *Tyrrenians*, and (when their Ships were stay'd in the Haven by an invisible Force, which hinder'd

(a) *Athenæus* lib. IV. *Hesychius*. (b) *Moschopolus* Collect. Di&ct. Attic. (c) *Pindarus* Scholiastes *Olymp. Od. VII.* (d) *Lib. XV.*

them from making away) expos'd upon the Shore. The name of this Festival is deriv'd *ἐκ τῆς σωτῆρος ἀπειλησθῆναι τὸ βρέτας*, i. e. from the Image's being *fast bound* by those that first found it, because they imagin'd it was going to leave them.

ΤΟΞΑΡΙΑΙΑ,

At *Athens* (a), in memory of *Toxaris*, a *Scythian* Heroe, who died there, and went under the name of *ξένος ἰατρός*, i. e. the foreign Physician.

ΤΡΙΚΛΑΡΙΑ,

An anniversary Festival (b) celebrated by the *Ionians* that inhabited *Aroe*, *Anthea*, and *Mesatis*, in honour of *Diana Triclaria*, to appease whose anger for the Adultery committed in her Temple by *Menalippus* and *Comætho* the Priestess, they were commanded by the *Delphian Oracle* to Sacrifice a Boy and a Virgin, which inhuman Custom continu'd till after the *Trojan War*.

ΤΡΙΠΑΤΟΡΕΙΑ,

A Solemnity, in which (c) it was usual to pray for Children to the *Θεοὶ γενέθλιοι*, or Gods of Generation, who were sometimes call'd *Τετοπάτορες*: But of these I shall have occasion to speak afterwards.

ΤΡΙΠΟΝΗΤΑΙ,

A Festival mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΤΡΟΦΩΝΙΑ,

Solemn Games celebrated every year at *Lebadea*, in honour of *Trophæus* (d).

ΤΤΙΑΙ,

Mention'd in *Hesychius*.

ΤΤΡΒΗ,

Celebrated by the *Acheans*, in honour of *Bacchus* (e).

Τ

ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΑ,

An anniversary Solemnity (f) at *Amyclæ* in *Laconia*, in the Month

(a) *Lucianus* *Scythæ*. (b) *Pausanias* *Achaicis*. (c) *Etymologici* Auctor. (d) *Pindarus* Scholiastes *Olymp. Od. VII.* (e) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. (f) *Idem* *Laconicis*, *Hesychius*.

Hecatombeon, in memory of the beautiful Youth *Hyacinthus*, with Games in honour of *Apollo*. It is thus describ'd by *Athenæus* (a): "*Polycrates* reports in his *Laconicks*, That the *Laconians* celebrate a Festival call'd *Hyacinthia*, three Days together; during which time their Grief for the death of *Hyacinthus* is so excessive, that they neither adorn themselves with Crowns at their Entertainments, nor eat Bread, but Sweet-meats only, and such like Things; nor sing *Pæans* in honour of the God, nor practise any of the Customs, that are usual at other Sacrifices; but having supp'd with Gravity, and an orderly Composedness, depart. Upon the second Day there is variety of Spectacles, frequented by a vast concourse of People; The Boys, having their Coats girt about them, play sometimes upon the Harp, sometimes upon the Flute, sometimes strike at once upon all their Strings, and sing Hymns in honour of the God (*Apollo*) in *Anapestick* Numbers, and shrill, acute sounds. Others pass over the Theater upon Horses richly accoutred; at the same time enter Choirs of young Men, singing some of their own Country-songs, and, amongst them, Persons appointed to dance according to the ancient Form, to the Flute, and Vocal Musick. Of the Virgins, some are usher'd in riding in Chariots made of Wood, cover'd at the Top, and magnificently adorn'd; Others in Race-Chariots. The whole City is fill'd with Joy at this Time, they offer multitudes of Victims, and entertain all their Acquaintance, and Slaves; and so eager are they to be present at the Games, that no Man stays at Home, but the City is left empty and desolate".

ΤΒΡΙΞΤΙΚΑ,

At *Argos* (b) upon the sixteenth, or rather upon the New Moon of the Month call'd by the *Argives* *Hermæas*. The chief Ceremony was, that, the Men and Women exchang'd habits, in memory of the generous atchievement of *Telephus*, who, when *Argos* was besieg'd by *Cleomenes*, having list'd a sufficient number of Women, made a brave and vigorous defence against the whole *Spartan* Army.

ΤΔΡΟΦΟΡΙΑ,

A Solemnity so call'd *ἐπὶ τῷ φέρειν ὕδωρ*, i. e. from bearing Water; and kept at *Athens* in memory of those that perish'd in the Deluge (c).

Another Festival was celebrated at *Ægina*, to *Apollo*, in the Month *Delphinus* (d).

ΤΜΝΙΑ,

At *Orchomenos*, and *Mantineia*, in honour of *Diana Hymnia*.

(a) Lib. IV. (b) *Plutarchus* de Virt. Mulier. *Polyanus* lib. VIII. (c) *Etymologici* Auctor, *Suidas*. (d) *Pindari Scholiastes* *Nemeon*. Od. V.

ΤΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

ΤΣΤΗΡΙΑ,

A Festival at *Argos*, in honour of *Venus* (a). The Name is deriv'd from *ἔρ*, i. e. a Sow, because Sows were sacrific'd to this Goddess.

Φ

ΦΑΓΗΣΙΑ,

Φαγησία, or *Φαγήσια*, or *Φαγησιπώσια*, or *Φαγησιπόσια*, was a Festival so call'd from *φάγειν*, and *πίνειν*, i. e. to eat, and drink, because it was a Time of good Living (b).

ΦΑΓΩΝ,

A Festival mention'd by *Eusebius* (c), and (as the Name imports) of the same Nature with the former.

ΦΑΜΜΑΣΤΡΙΑ,

Mention'd by *Hesychius*.

ΦΕΛΛΟΣ,

A Festival of *Bacchus* (d), being a preparative to the *Διονύσια* (e).

ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΙΑ,

A Festival at *Cyzicum*, wherein a black Heifer was sacrific'd to *Phenphata*, or *Proserpina* (f).

ΦΩΣΦΟΡΙΑ,

In honour of *Phosphorus*, or *Lucifer* (g).

Χ

ΧΑΛΚΕΙΑ,

So call'd from *χαλκός*, i. e. Brass, because it was celebrated in memory of the first Invention of working that Metal, which is owing to *Athens* (h). It was call'd *Ἰεὺνθημιον*, because *ὁ πᾶς ἑμὲ*, i. e. the whole *Athenian* Nation, assembled to celebrate it. Sometimes also this Festival was call'd *Ἀθλῶνα*, because it was kept in honour of

(a) *Athenæus* lib. III. (b) *Idem* lib. VII. (c) *Odyss.* φ'. (d) *Suidas*. (e) *Antiphonis Scholiastes* *Nubibus*. (f) *Plutarchus* *Lucullo*. (g) *Plutarchus* in *Colotem*, *Hesychius*. (h) *Eusebius* *Iliad*. 6'. *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologici* Auctor.

Ἀθλῶν,

Aθῶν, or *Minerva*, who was the Goddess of all sorts of Arts, and Inventions, and upon that account nam'd *Ἐργάνη*, from *ἔργον*, i. e. work. Afterwards it was only kept by Mechanicks, and Handy-craftsmen, especially those concern'd in Brass-work, and that in honour of *Vulcan*, who was the God of Smiths, and the first that taught the *Athenians* the use of Brass.

X A O N I A,

A Festival celebrated by the *Chaonians* in *Epirus* (a).

X A P I A A,

A Festival observ'd once in nine years by the *Delphians*, whereof we have this account in *Plutarch* (b): "A great Drought having brought a Famine upon the *Delphians*, they went with their Wives and Children as supplicants to the King's Gate, who distributed Meal and Pulse to the more noted of them, not having enough to supply the necessities of all: But a little Orphan Girl coming and importuning him, he beat her with his Shoe, and threw it in her Face; she indeed was a poor, vagrant Beggar, but of a Disposition no ways mean, or ignoble, wherefore unable to bear the Affront, she withdrew, and untying her Girdle, hang'd her self therewith. The Famine hereupon encreasing, and many Diseases accompanying it, the *Pythia* was consulted by the King, and answer'd, that the Death of the Virgin *Charila*, who slew her self, must be expiated: The *Delphians* after a long search discover'd at length, that the Maid, who had been beaten with the Shoe, was call'd by that Name, and instituted certain Sacrifices mix'd with expiatory Rites, which are religiously observ'd every ninth year to this Day: The King presides at them, and distributes Meal and Pulse to all persons, as well Strangers, as Citizens; and *Charila's* Effigies, being brought in, when all have receiv'd their Dole, the King smites it with his Shoe; then the Governess of the *Thyades* conveys it to some lonesom and desolate place, where a Halter being put about it's Neck, they bury it in the same spot of Ground, where *Charila* was interr'd.

X A P I Σ I A,

A Festival celebrated (c) in honour of the *Charites*, or *Graces*, with Dances, which continu'd all Night; he that was awake the longest, was rewarded with a Cake call'd *Πυραμῆς*.

X A P I Σ T H P I A E Λ E T Θ E P I A Σ,

A *Thanksgiving-Day* at *Athens* (d) upon the twelfth of *Boedromion*, which was the Day, whereon *Thrasibulus* expell'd the *Thirty Tyrants*, and restor'd to the *Athenians* their *Liberty*.

(a) *Parthenius Erot. XXXII.* (b) *Græc. Quæst.* (c) *Eustathius Odyss. d.* (d) *Plutarchus de Gloria Atheniens.*

X A P.

X A P M O Σ Y N A,

At *Athens* (a).

X E I P O T I O N I A,

A Festival celebrated by the *Χειροπύτοι*, or Handy-craftsmen (b).

X E Δ I Δ O N I A,

A Festival at *Rhodos* (c) in the month *Boedromion*, wherein the Boys went from door to door begging, and singing a certain Song, the doing which they call'd *χειροδνίζω*, and the Song it self was nam'd *Χελιδνισμός*, because it was begun with an invocation of the *Χελιδν*, or Swallow; it is set down at large in *Athenæus*, and begins thus,

Ἥλθ', ἥλθ', Χελιδν, χελιδν
Ὡρεῖ ἄγιστα &c. ———

It's said to have been compos'd by *Chobylus* the *Lindian*, as an artifice to get Money in a Time of publick Calamity. In like manner, to sing the Song, wherein a Raven, in *Greek* *Κορῶν*, was invoc'd, they call'd *Κορωνισμός*. And it seems to have been customary for poor Beggars, to go about, and sing for Wages; so *Homer* is said to have done, earning his Living by singing a Song, call'd *Εἰρεσιῶν*.

X Θ O N I A,

An anniversary Day kept by the *Hermionians* in honour of *Ceres*, fix'd nam'd *Chthonia*, either because she was Goddess of the Earth, which is call'd in *Greek* *Χθών*, or from a Damsel of that Name, whom *Ceres* carry'd from *Argolis* to *Hermione*, where she dedicated a Temple to the Goddess. The manner of this Festival is thus describ'd by *Pausanias* (d): "*Ceres* her self is nam'd *Chthonia*, and under that Title is honour'd with a Festival, celebrated every Summer in this Method; A Procession is led up by the Priests of the Gods, and the Magistrates that year in Office, who are follow'd by a crowd of Men and Women: The Boys also make a solemn Procession in honour of the Goddess, being in white Apparel, and having upon their Heads Crowns compos'd of a Flower, which is by them call'd *Κομοπένδαλος*, but seems to be the same with *Hyacinth*, as appears as well by the bigness and colour, as from the Letters inscrib'd upon it in memory of the untimely Death of *Hyacinthus*. This Procession is follow'd by Persons that drag an Heifer untam'd, and newly taken from the Herd, fast bound to the Temple, where they let her loose; which being done, the Door-

(a) *Hesychius.* (b) *Idem.* (c) *Athenæus lib. VIII.* (d) *Corinthiacus.*

"keepers,

“keepers, who till then had kept the Temple-gates open, make all fast, and four old Women being left within, and arm'd with Sithes, they pursue the Heifer, and dispatch her, as soon as they are able, by cutting her Throat. Then the Doors being open'd, certain appointed Persons put a second Heifer into the Temple, afterwards a third, and then a fourth, all which the old Women kill in the fore-mention'd manner; and 'tis observable, that all fall on the same side.

XITONIA,

In honour of *Diana* surnam'd *Chitonia* from *Chitone*, a Burrough in *Attica*, where this Festival was celebrated (a).

Another Festival of this Name was celebrated at *Syracuse* with Songs and Dances proper to the Day (b).

XAOEIA,

A Festival celebrated at *Athens* upon the sixth of *Thargelion* (c) with Sports, and Mirth, and Sacrificing a Ram to *Ceres*, worship'd in a Temple, in, or near the *Acropolis* of *Athens*, under the Title of *Χλόν* which Name tho' *Pausanias* thought to bear a hidden, and mystical Sence, understood by none but the Priests themselves, yet perhaps it may be deriv'd from *χλόν*, i. e. Grass, because *Ceres* was Goddess of the Earth, and all the Fruits thereof; and is the same with the Epithet of *εὐχλοῦ*, or fertile, which is apply'd to her by *Sophocles* (d),

Τὼ δ' Εὐχλόε Δήμους ἐς ἐπέσιον
Πάγον μολύσα.

Where this Conjecture seems to be approv'd by the *Scholiast*, who tells us, that *Ceres*, surnam'd *Εὐχλοῦ*, was worship'd in a Temple near the *Acropolis*, which can be no other than that already mention'd. Add to this, that *Gyraldus* is of Opinion that *Ceres* is call'd *Χλόν* amongst the *Greeks*, for the same reason that amongst the *Latins* she is nam'd *Flava*, the cause of which Title is too well known, to be accounted for in this place.

XOES,

See *Ανθιστήρια*.

XOAAΣ,

In honour of *Bacchus* (e).

(a) *Callimachi Scholiastes Hymn. in Dian. Athenaus lib. XIV.* (b) *Stephanus Byzantinus v. Χιτῶνα.* (c) *Hesychius, Eustathius II. l. Pausanias Atticis.* (d) *Oedip. Colon.* (e) *Hesychius.*

X T T P O I,

See *Ανθιστήρια*.

Ω

ΩΜΟΦΑΓΙΑ,

A Festival (a) in honour of *Bacchus* *Ωμοφάγος*, i. e. Eater of raw Flesh, of which Name I have spoken in the former part of this Chapter. This Solemnity was celebrated in the same manner with the other Festivals of *Bacchus*, wherein they counterfeited phrenzy, and madness; what was peculiar to it, was that the Worshippers us'd to eat the Entrails of Goats raw, and bloody, which was done in imitation of the God, to whom the Surname by which he was ador'd at this Solemnity, was given for the like Actions.

ΩΠΑΙΑ,

Solemn Sacrifices (b), consisting of Fruits, and offer'd in Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, that Heaven might grant mild and temperate Weather. These, according to *Maurusius*, were offer'd to the Goddesses, call'd *Ωραι*, i. e. Hours, who were three in number, attended upon the Sun, presided over the four Seasons of the Year, and were honour'd with Divine Worship at *Athens* (c).

CHAPTER XXI.

Of the Publick Games in Greece, and the Principal Exercises us'd in them.

COME in the next place to the four Publick, and Solemn Games, which were peculiarly term'd *ιερεί*, i. e. Sacred; partly from the Esteem they had all over Greece, from every part of which vast multitudes of Spectators flock'd to them; and partly because they were instituted in honour of the Gods, or Deify'd Heroes, and always begun with Sacrificing to them, and concluded in the same religious manner.

Their Names, together with the Persons to whom they were dedicated, and the Prizes in each of them, are elegantly compriz'd by *Archias* in the two following Distichs,

(a) *Clemens Protrept. Arnobius lib. V.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Athenaus lib. XIV.*

Τέσσερες εἰσὶν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱερεῖς,
 Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐννηπῶν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀθανάτων·
 Ζῶντες Διὶ καὶ Διό, Παλαίμονος, Ἀρχεμόροιο,
 Ἀθλα δὲ κοτίνος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίπυς.

Such as obtain'd Victories in any of these Games, especially the *Olympicks* (a), were universally honour'd, nay almost ador'd: At their Return home, they rode in a Triumphal Chariot into the City, the Walls being broken down to give them Entrance; which was done (as *Plutarch* is of opinion) to signify, that walls are of small use to a City, that is inhabited by Men of Courage, and Ability to defend it. At *Sparta* they had an honourable Post in the Army, being plac'd near the King's Person. At some places, they had Presents made to them by their Native City, were honour'd with first places at all Shows and Games, and ever after maintain'd at the Publick Charge (b). *Cicero* (c) reports, that a Victory in the *Olympick* Games was not much less honourable than a Triumph at *Rome*. Happy was that Man thought, that could but obtain a single Victory: If any Person merited repeated Rewards, he was thought to have attain'd to the utmost Felicity that Human Nature is capable of: But if He came off Conquerour in all the Exercises, He was elevated above the Condition of Men, and His Actions stil'd *Wonderful Victories* (d). Nor did their Honours terminate in themselves, but were extended to all about them; the City that gave them Birth and Education, was esteem'd more Honourable and August; Happy were their Relations, and thrice happy their Parents. It is a remarkable Story, which *Plutarch* (e) relates of a *Spartan*, who meeting *Diagoras*, that had himself been crown'd in the *Olympian* Games, and seen his Sons, and Grand-children Victors, embrac'd him, and said, *Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a God*.

There were certain Persons appointed to take care that all things were perform'd according to Custom, to decide Controversies that happen'd amongst the Antagonists, and adjudge the Prizes to those that merited them: These were call'd αἰσυμένται, βραδύται, ἀγωνάρχαι, ἀγωνοδίκαι, ἀγωνοδέται, ἀθλοδέται, tho' betwixt these two *Phavorinus* makes a Distinction, for ἀθλοδέται, he tells us, was peculiar to *Gymnical* Exercises; whereas the former was sometimes apply'd to *Musical* Contentions: They were likewise call'd ῥαβδόδοχοι, and ῥαβδόνομοι from ῥάβδος, i. e. a Rod, or Scepter, which these Judges, and, in general, all Kings, and great Magistrates carry'd in their Hands.

After the Judges had pass'd Sentence, a publick Herald proclaim'd

(a) *Plutarchus* Sympof. lib. II. Quæst. VI. *Vitruvius* Præfat. in *Architec.* lib. IX.
 (b) *Xenophanes* *Colophonius* in *Epigram.* (c) *Orat. pro Flacco.* (d) *Plutarchus* *Lucillo.* (e) *Telopida.*

the

the Name of the Victor, whence κηρύσσειν in *Greek*, and prædicare in *Latin*, signifie to commend, or proclaim any man's praises. The token of Victory was, in most places, a Palm-branch, which was presented to the Conquerours, and carry'd by them in their Hands; which custom was first introduc'd by *Theseus*, at the Institution of the *Delian* Games (a), tho' others will have it to be much ancients: Hence *palmarum dare*, to yield the Victory; and *plurimum palmarum homo* in *Tully*, a Man that has won a great many Prizes.

Before I proceed to give a particular Description of the *Grecian* Games, it will be necessary to present you with a brief account of the principal Exercises us'd in them, which were as follow;

Πένταθλον, or *Quinqueterium*, which consisted of the five Exercises contain'd in this Verse,

Ἀγρυπνίαν, ποδωκίαν, δίσκον, ἀκόντι, πάλιν.

i. e. Leaping, Running, Throwing, Darting, and Wrestling; but instead of Darting, others mention Boxing. In all of them there were some customs that deserve our observation.

Δρόμον, or the Exercise of Running, was in great Esteem amongst the ancient *Grecians*, insomuch that such as prepar'd themselves for it, thought it worth their while to use means to burn, or patch their Spleen, because it was believ'd to be an hindrance to them, and retard them in their course. *Homer* tells us, that swiftness is one of the most excellent Endowments a Man can be blest'd withall (b),

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μείζον κλέος ἀνέρος ὄρρεαν ἔσιν,
 Ἡ δὲ, τι ποσσὶν τε ῥέξει, καὶ χερσὶν ἔσιν.

No greater honour has e're been attain'd,
 Than what strong Hands, or nimble Feet have gain'd.

Indeed all those Exercises, that conduc'd to fit Men for War, were more specially valued; now swiftness was look'd upon as an excellent qualification in a Warriour, both because it serves for a sudden Assault and Onset, and likewise for a nimble Retreat; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd that the constant Character, which *Homer* gives of *Achilles*, is, that he was πόδας ἀγρός, or swift of Foot: And in the holy Scriptures, *David*, in his Poetical Lamentation over those two great Captains, *Saul* and *Jonathan*, takes particular notice of this warlike quality of theirs; They were (says he) swifter than Eagles, stronger than Lions. To return; The Course was call'd στάδιον, being of the same extent with the measure of that name, which contains CXXV. paces,

(a) *Plutarchus* *Theseo.* (b) *Odyss.* θ'. v. 147.

Fff 2

whence

whence the Runners were term'd *συνδρομοί*. Sometimes the length of it was enlarg'd more or less, and then it was nam'd *δολιχόν*, and the Contenders *δολιχοδρομοί*, whence comes the Proverb *Μὴ ζήτει ἐν σπείῳ δολιχόν*, i. e. Search not for a greater thing in a less. Sometimes they ran back again to the place whence they had first set out, and then the Course was call'd *δίαυλόν*, and the Runners *δίαυλοδρομοί*. Sometimes they ran in Armour, and were term'd *ἐπιτοδρομοί*.

Άλμα, or the Exercise of Leaping, they sometimes perform'd with weights upon their Heads, or Shoulders, sometimes carrying them in their Hands; these were call'd *ἀλτήρες*, which, tho' now and then of different Figures, yet, as *Pausanias* reports, were usually of an Oval Form, and made with holes, or else cover'd with Thongs, thro' which the Contenders put their Fingers. *Άλτήρες* were also sometimes us'd in throwing. The place from which they leap'd, was call'd *βατής* (a); that to which they leap'd, *τὰ ἐσκαμμένα*, because it was mark'd by digging up the Earth; whence *πιδ᾽ ἄν ἑσθ' ἐπὶ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα* is apply'd to Persons that overleap, or exceed their Bounds.

Πίψις, or the Exercise of Throwing, or Darting, was perform'd several ways; sometimes with a Javelin, Rod, or other Instrument of a large size, which they threw out of their naked Hands, or by the help of a Thong ty'd about the middle of it; the doing this was term'd *ἀκόντισμα*: sometimes with an Arrow, or little Javelin, which was either shot out of a Bow, or cast out of a Sling, and the Art of doing this was call'd *τοξικία*.

Δίσκος, was a Quoit of Stone, Brass, or Iron, which they threw by the help of a Thong put thro' a hole in the middle of it (b), but in a manner quite different from that of throwing Darts; for there the Hands were lifted up, and extended, whereas the *Discus* was hurl'd in the manner of a Bowl. It was of different Figures, and Sizes, being sometimes four-square, but usually broad and like a Lentil, whence that Herb is by *Dioscorides* call'd *δίσκος*. The same Exercise was sometimes perform'd with an Instrument call'd *σβλήτης*, which some will have to be distinguish'd from *δίσκος*, because that was of Iron, this of Stone: But others with more reason report that the difference consisted in this, *νῆξ*. That *σβλήτης* was of a Spherical Figure, whereas *δίσκος* was broad.

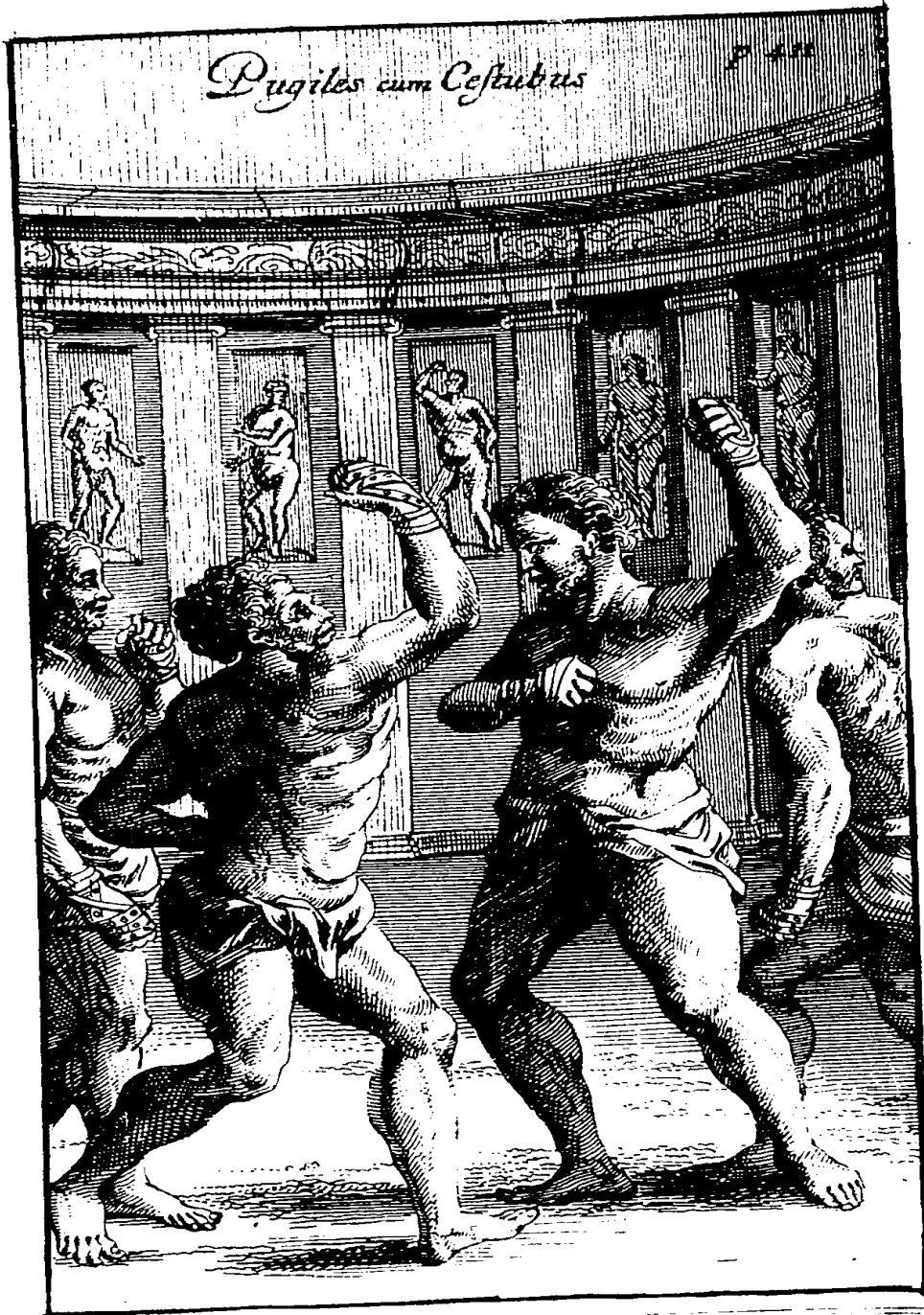
Πυγμαχία, or the Exercise of Boxing, was sometimes perform'd by Combatants having in their Hands *Balls* of Stone, or Lead, call'd *σφαῖραι*,

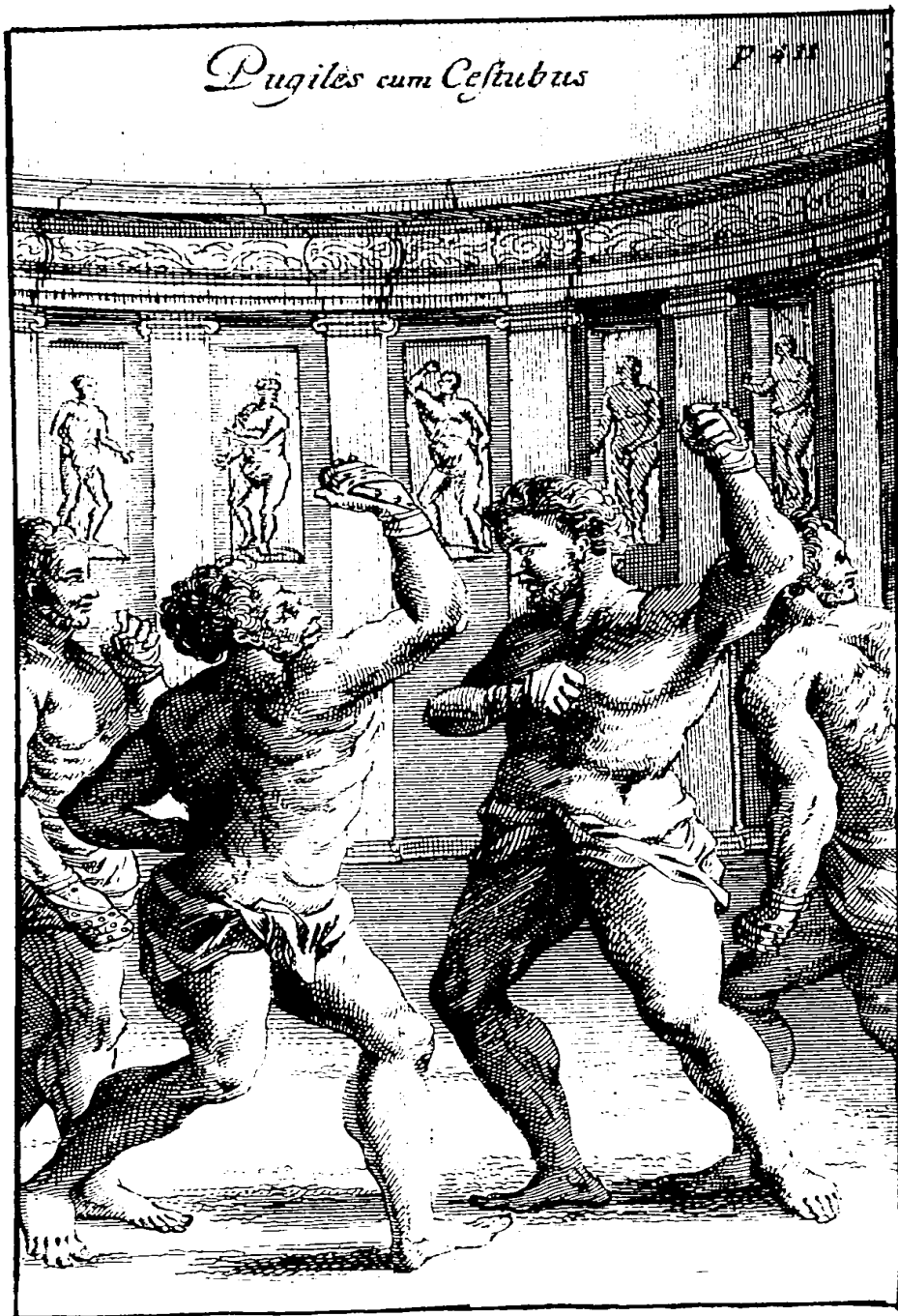
(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Euseb. Odyss. 9.*

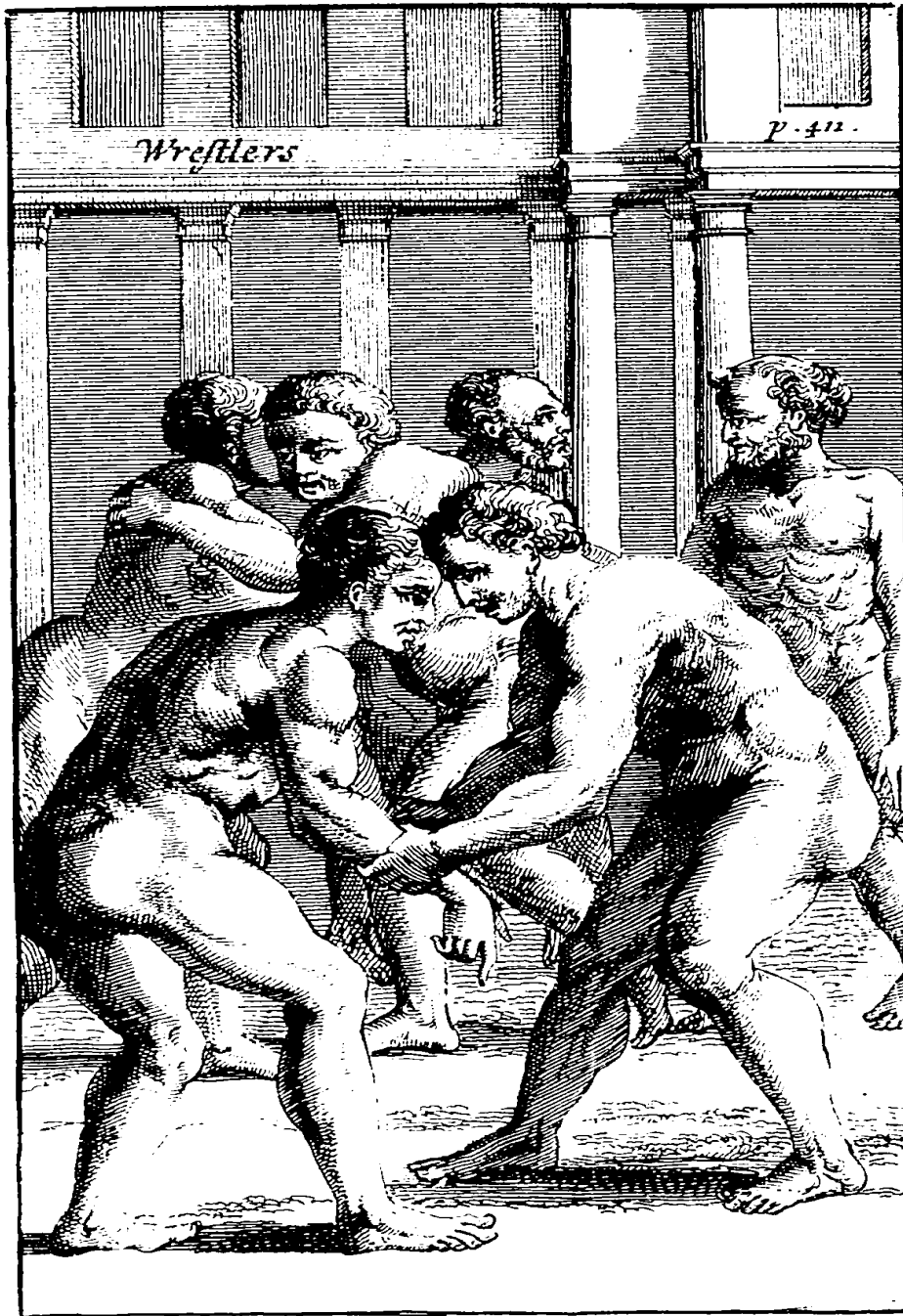


Pugiles cum Cestibus

P. 411







and then it was term'd *σπαιεσμαχία*. At first, their Hands and Arms were naked and unguarded, but afterwards surrounded with Thongs of Leather call'd *Cestus*, which at the first were short, reaching no higher than the Wrists, but were afterwards enlarg'd, and carry'd up to the Elbow, and sometimes as high as the Shoulder; and in time they came to be us'd not only as defensive Arms, but to annoy the Enemy, being fill'd with plummetts of Lead, and Iron, to add Force to the Blows. Those that prepar'd themselves for this Exercise, us'd all the means they could contrive to render themselves Fat and Flethy, that so they might be better able to endure Blows, whence corpulent Men, or Women were usually call'd *pugiles*, according to Terence (a),

Siqua est habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt. —

Πάλη, or the Exercise of Wrestling, was sometimes call'd *καταβληπία*, because the Combatants endeavour'd to throw each other down, to do which they call'd *ῥῖλαι*. They never encountred till all their Joynts, and Members had been soundly rubb'd, fomented, and suppled with Oyl, whereby all Streins were prevented. The Victory was adjudg'd to him that gave his Antagonist three Falls; whence *τειάζει*, and *ἀποτειάζει* signify to conquer; and *τειαχθῆναι*, or *σποτειαχθῆναι*, to be conquer'd; and by *ἀτρίακτος ἄτι* in *Aeschylus* is meant an insuperable Evil; others make the proper signification of these words to belong only to Victors in all the Exercises of the *Πένταθλον* (b); however, the fore-mention'd Custom is sufficiently attested by the Epigram upon *Milo*, who having challeng'd the whole Assembly, and finding none that durst encounter him, claim'd the Crown, but as he was going to receive it, unfortunately fell down, whereat the People cry'd out, that he had forfeited the Prize, then *Milo*

Ἀνδρὶς δ' ἐν μέσσιςιν ἀνέκραγεν, Οὐχὶ τρί' ἔστιν,
Εν κείμῳ, λιπὸν τάλλα με τίς βαλέτω.

Arose, and standing in the midst, thus cry'd,
One single Fall cannot the Prize decide,
And who is here can throw me th'other two?

But of Wrestling there were two sorts, viz. one call'd *ὀρθία πάλη*, and *Ορθοπάλη*, which is that already describ'd; And another call'd *ἀνακλινοπάλη*, because the Combatants us'd voluntarily to throw themselves down, and continue the Fight upon the Ground, by pinch-

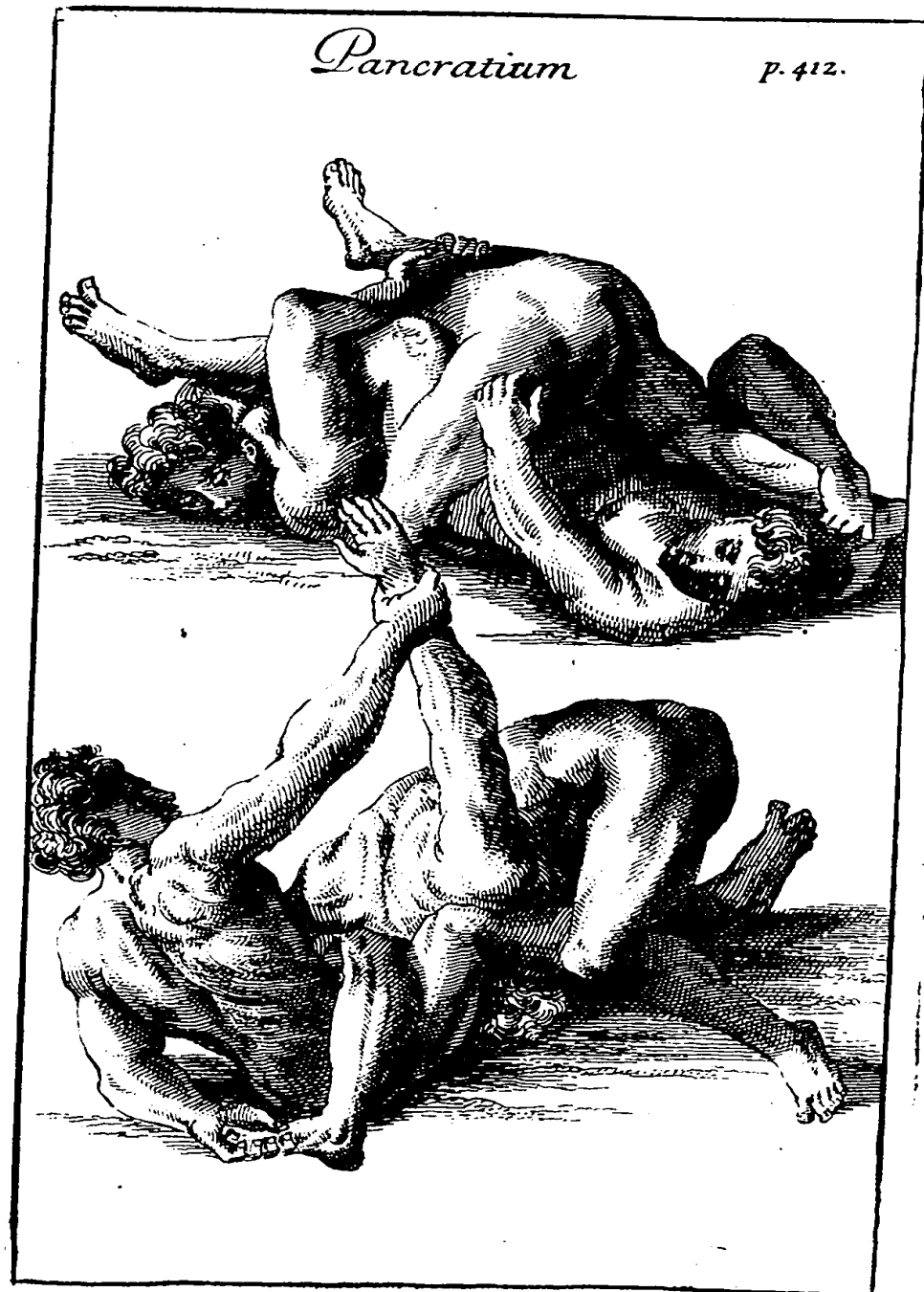
(a) Eunuch. Act. II. Sc. III. (b) *Tollux Onomast.* lib. III. cap. XXX.

ing, biting, scratching, and all manner of ways annoying their Adversary; whereby it often came to pass, that the weaker Combatant, and who would never have been able to throw his Antagonist, obtain'd the Victory, and forc'd him to yield; for in this Exercise, as in Boxing also, the Victory was never adjudg'd, till one party had fairly yielded; this was sometimes done by words, and often by lifting up a Finger, whence *δακτύλον ἀνατείναναι* signifies to yield the Victory; for which reason, we are told by *Plutarch*, that the *Lacedaemonians* would not permit any of those Exercises to be practis'd in their City, wherein those that were conquer'd did *δακτύλον ἀνατείναναι*, i. e. confess themselves overcome by holding up their Finger, because they thought it would derogate from the Temper and Spirit of the *Spartans*, to have any of them tamely yield to any Adversary; tho' that place has been hitherto mistaken by most Interpreters. *Martial* hath taken notice of this Exercise;

*Hunc amo, qui vincit, sed qui succumbere novit,
Et melius dilicit τὴν ἀνακλινοπάλιν.*

It is the very same with what is more commonly call'd *Παγκράτιον*, which consists of the two Exercises of Wrestling, and Boxing; from the former it borrows the custom of throwing down; from the latter, that of beating Adversaries; for Wrestlers never struck, nor did Boxers ever attempt to throw down one another; but the *Παγκρατιασταὶ* were permitted to do both, and it was customary for the weaker Party, when he found himself sore press'd by his Adversary, to fall down, and fight rolling on the Ground, whence these Combatants were call'd *κωλιστικοί*, which gave occasion to the mistake of *Hieronymus Mercatorialis*, who phansy'd there were two *Pancratia*, one in which the Combatants stood erect; the other, in which they roll'd in the Gravel. This Exercise is sometimes call'd *Παιμάχον*, and the Combatants *Παιμάχοι*.

Horse-races were either perform'd by single Horses, which were call'd *κέλητες*, or *μονάμπυκες*: Or, by two Horses, on one of which they perform'd the Race, and leap'd upon the other at the Goal; these Men were call'd *ἀναβάδῃ*, and if it was a Mare they leap'd upon, she was nam'd *κέλητι*: Or, by Horses coupled together in Chariots, which were sometimes drawn by two, three, four, &c. Horses, whence we read of *δύωρι, τετρωπαι, τετράωρι* &c. How great soever the number of Horses might be, they were all plac'd not as now, but in one Front, being coupled together by pairs; afterwards *Clisthenes* the *Sicyonian* brought up a Custom of coupling the two middle Horses only, which are for that reason call'd *ζυγιοι*, and governing the rest by Reins, whence they are usually term'd *σεισάφει, σεισάμῃ, ὠδῶσι, ὠδῇ*.



παρὰ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀπὸ τῶν μῶν, &c. Sometimes we find Mules us'd instead of Horses; and the Chariots drawn by them call'd ἀμύναι. The principal part of the Charioteer's Art and Skill consisted in avoiding the νύκται, or Goals, in which if he fail'd, the over-turning of his Chariot, which was a necessary consequence of it, brought him into great Danger, as well as Disgrace.

CHAPTER XXII.

Of the Olympian Games.

THE Olympian Games were so call'd from *Olympia*, a City in the Territory of the *Pisceans*; or, according to *Stephanus*, the same with *Pisa*. The first Institution of them is by some refer'd to *Jupiter*, after his Victory over the Sons of *Titan* (a); at which time *Mars* is said to have been crown'd for Boxing, and *Apollo* to have been superiour to *Mercury* at Running.

Others will have the first Author of them to be one of the *Dactyli*, nam'd *Hercules*, not the Son of *Almena*, but another of far greater Antiquity, that with his four Brethren, *Pæonius*, *Ida*, *Jasius*, and *Epimedes*, left their ancient Seat in *Ida*, a Mountain of *Crete*, and settl'd in *Elis*, where he instituted this Solemnity; the Original of which was only a Race, wherein the four younger Brothers contending for Diversion, the Victor was crown'd by *Hercules* with an Olive-garland, which was not compos'd of the common Olive-branches, nor the natural Production of that Countrey (b), but brought by *Hercules* (so Fables will have it) from the *Hyperborean Scythians*, and planted in the *Pansheum* near *Olympia*, where it flourish'd, tho' not after the manner of other Olive-trees, but spreading out it's Boughs more like a Myrtle; it was call'd καλλιστέραν, i. e. fit for Crowns, the Garlands given to Victors in these Games, were always compos'd of it, and it was forbidden under a great Penalty to cut it for any other use: These *Dactyli* were five in number, whence it is that the *Olympian Games* were celebrated once in five Years, tho' others make them to be solemniz'd once in four; wherefore according to the former, an *Olympiad* must consist of five; according to the latter, of four: But neither of these Accounts are exact, for this Solemnity was held indeed every fifth Year, yet not after the term of five Years was quite past, but every fiftieth Month, which is the

(a) *Aristophanes*, ejusque Scholiastes in *Pluto*. (b) *Aristoteles*, & ex eo *Aristophanis* Scholiastes.

second Month after the completion of four Years (a): And as these Games were celebrated every fifth Year, so they lasted five Days, for they began upon the eleventh, and ended upon the fifteenth Day of the Lunar Month, when the Moon was at the full.

Others (if we may believe *Julius Scaliger*) report, that these Games were instituted by *Pelops* to the honour of *Neptune*, by whose Assistance he had vanquish'd *Oenomaüs*, and marry'd his Daughter *Hippodamia*.

Others say, they were first celebrated by *Hercules*, the Son of *Alcmena*, to the honour of *Pelops*, from whom he was descended by the Mother's side (b); but being aiter that discontinu'd for some Time, they were reviv'd by *Iphitus*, or *Iphiclus*, one of *Hercules*'s Sons.

The most common Opinion is, that the *Olympian Games* were first instituted by this *Hercules*, to the honour of *Olympian Jupiter*, out of the Spoils taken from *Augeas* King of *Elis*, whom he had dethron'd, and plunder'd, being defrauded of the reward he had promis'd him for cleansing his Stables, as *Pindar* reports (c): *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (d) gives the same Relation, and adds that *Hercules* propos'd no other Reward to the Victors, but a Crown, in memory of his own Labours, all which he accomplish'd for the Benefit of Mankind, without designing any Reward to himself, beside the Praise of doing well: At this Institution, it is reported that *Hercules* himself came off Conquerour in all the Exercises, except Wrestling, to which when he had challeng'd all the Field, and could find no Man that durst grapple with him, at length *Jupiter*, having assum'd an Human shape, enter'd the Lists; and when the Contention had remain'd doubtful for a considerable Time, neither party having the Advantage, or being willing to submit, the God discover'd himself to his Son, and from this Action got the Surname of *Πάλασσις*, or Wrestler, by which He is known in *Lycophron* (e).

All these Stories are rejected by *Strabo*, in his Description of *Elis*, where he reports, that an *Ætolian* Colony, together with some of *Hercules*'s Posterity, subdu'd a great many of the *Pisæan* Towns, and amongst them *Olympia*, where they first instituted, or, at least, reviv'd, enlarg'd, and augmented these Games, which (as my Author thinks) could not have been omitted by *Homer*, who takes every opportunity to adorn his Poems with Descriptions of such Solemnities, had they been of any Note before the *Trojan War*.

The Care and Management of these Games, belong'd sometimes to the *Pisæans*, but for the most part to the *Eleans*, by whom the *Pisæans* were destroy'd, and their very Name extinguish'd. Sometimes it happen'd that the *Eleans* could not take Care of them, for the *CIVth Olympiad* was celebrated by order of the *Arcadians*, by whom the *Eleans* were at that Time reduc'd to a very low Condition;

(a) *Isaacus Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem*, & *Johannes Tzetzes* *Chiliad. I. Histor. XXI.*
(b) *Solinus Polyhist. & Strabon Theb. VI.* (c) *Olympion*, initio *Od. II.* (d) *Bibliothec. Histor. lib. IV.* (e) *Cassandra v. 41.*

but

but this, and all those manag'd by the Inhabitants of *Pisa*, the *Eleans* call'd *Ανολυμπιάδες*, i. e. unlawful *Olympiads*, and left them out of their Annals, wherein the Names of the Victors, and all Occurrences at these Games were recorded. Till the fiftieth *Olympiad*, a single Person superintended, but then two were appointed to perform that Office. In the *CIIIth Olympiad* that number was increas'd to twelve, according to the number of the *Elean Tribes*, out of every one of which one President was elected: But in the following *Olympiad*, the *Eleans* having suffer'd great Losses by a War with the *Arcadians*, and being reduc'd to eight Tribes, the Presidents were also lessen'd to that number: In the *CVth Olympiad* they were increas'd by the addition of one more; and in the *CVIth* another was joyn'd to them, whereby they were made Ten, which number continu'd till the Reign of *Adrian*, the *Roman* Emperour. These Persons were call'd *Ελλωοδίκαι*, and assembl'd together in a place nam'd *Ελλωοδικαίον*, in the *Elean Forum*, where they were oblig'd to reside ten Months before the Celebration of the Games, to take care that such as offer'd themselves to contend, perform'd their *παραγυμνάσια*, or Preparatory Exercises, and to be instructed in all the Laws of the Games by certain Men call'd *Νομοφύλακες*, i. e. Keepers of the Laws: Farther, to prevent all unjust Practises, they were oblig'd to take an Oath, that they would act impartially, would take no Bribes, nor discover the Reason, for which they dislik'd, or approv'd of any of the Contenders: At the Solemnity they sat naked, having before them the Victorial Crown till the Exercises were finish'd, and then it was presented to whomsoever they adjudg'd it.

Women were not allow'd to be present at these Games; nay, so severe were the *Elean Laws*, that if any Woman was found so much as to have pass'd the River *Alpheus* during the time of the Solemnity, she was to be tumbld headlong from a Rock (a): But it is reported, that none was ever taken thus offending, except *Callipatera*, whom others call *Pherenice*, who ventur'd to usher her Son *Pisidorus*, call'd by some *Eucleus*, into the Exercises, and being discover'd, was apprehended, and brought before the Presidents, who, notwithstanding the severity of the Laws, acquitted her, out of respect to her Father, Brethren, and Son, who had all won Prizes in the *Olympian Games*. But my Author reports in another place (b), that *Cynisea*, the Daughter of *Archidamus*, with manly Courage, and Bravery, contend'd in the *Olympian Games*, and was the first of her Sex, that kept Horses, and won a Prize there; but that afterwards several others, especially some of the *Macedonian Women* imitated her Example, and were crown'd at *Olympia*. Perhaps neither of these Reports may be altogether groundless, since innumerable alterations were made in these Games, according to the Exigencies of Times, and change of Circumstances, all which

(a) *Pausanias.* (b) *Laconicis.*

are set down at large in *Pausanias*, *Natalis Comes*, and other *Mythologists*.

All such as design'd to contend, were oblig'd to repair to the publick *Gymnasium* at *Elis* ten Months before the Solemnity, where they prepar'd themselves by continual Exercises; we are told indeed by *Phavorinus*, that the Preparatory Exercises were only perform'd thirty Days before the Games; but this must be understood of the Performance of the whole and entire Exercises in the same manner they were practis'd at the Games, which seems to have been only enjoyn'd in the last Month, whereas the nine antecedent Months were spent in more light and easy Preparations. No Man that had omitted to present himself in this manner, was allow'd to put in for any of the Prizes; nor were the accustomed Rewards of Victory given to such Persons, if by any means they insinuated themselves, and overcame their Antagonists: Nor would any Apology, tho' never so seemingly reasonable, serve to excuse their Absence; For in the CCXVIIIth *Olympiad* *Apollonius* was rejected, and not suffer'd to contend, because he had not presented himself in due time, tho' he was detain'd by contrary Winds in the Islands call'd *Cyclades*, but the Crown was given to *Heraclides* without performing any Exercise, because no just and duly qualify'd Adversary appear'd to oppose him. No Person that was himself a notorious Criminal, or nearly related to any such, was permitted to contend. Farther, to prevent underhand Dealings, if any Person was convicted of bribing his Adversary, a severe Fine was laid upon him: Nor was this alone thought a sufficient Guard against evil and dishonourable Contracts, and unjust Practises, but the Contenders were oblig'd to swear, they had spent ten whole Months in Preparatory Exercises: and farther yet, both they, their Fathers, and Brethren took a solemn Oath, that they would not by any sinister, or unlawful means endeavour to stop the fair and just Proceedings of the Games.

The Order of Wrestlers was appointed by Lots, in this manner: A Silver Urn, call'd *καλπὴς*, being plac'd, into it were put little Pellets, in size about the bigness of Beans, upon every one of which was inscrib'd a Letter, and the same Letter belong'd to every pair; now those, whose Fortune it was to have the same Letters, wrestled together; if the number of the Wrestlers was not even, he that happen'd to light upon the odd Pellet, wrestled last of all with him that had the Mastery; wherefore he was call'd *ἑσπέρης*, as coming after the rest: This was accounted the most fortunate Chance that could be, because the Person that obtain'd it, was to encounter one already weary'd, and spent with conquering his former Antagonist, himself being fresh, and in full Strength (a).

(a) *Cælius Rhodiginus* Antiq. Lest. lib. XXII. cap. XVII. *Alexander ab Alexandro* Genial Dier. lib. V. cap. VIII.

The most successful in his Undertakings, and magnificent in his Expences of all that ever contended in these Games, was *Alcibiades* the *Athenian*, as *Plutarch* reports in his Life; "His Expences (saith he) in Horses kept for the publick Games, and in the number of his Chariots were very magnificent; for never any one beside, either private Person, or King, sent seven Chariots to the *Olympian* Games. He obtain'd at one Solemnity the first, second, and fourth Prizes, as *Thucydides*, or third, as *Euripides* reports; wherein he surpass'd all that ever pretended in that kind."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Of the Pythian Games.

THE *Pythian* Games were celebrated near *Dalphi*, and are by some thought to have been first instituted by *Amphictyon*, the Son of *Deucalion*, or by the Council of *Amphictyones*. Others refer the first Institution of them to *Agamemnon* (a); *Pausanias* (b), to *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, who having escap'd a dangerous Tempest as he return'd from *Troy*, dedicated a Temple at *Træzen* to *Apollo* firnam'd *Ἐμπεριθεός*, and instituted the *Pythian* Games to his honour: But the most common Opinion is, that *Apollo* himself was the first Author of them, when he had overcome *Python*, a Serpent, or cruel Tyrant: Thus *Ovid* (c),

*Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos,
Pythia perdomitæ Serpentis nomine distos.*

Then to preserve the Fame of such a Deed,
For *Python* slain. He *Pythian* Games decreed.

Mr. Dryden

At their first Institution, they were only celebrated once in nine Years, but afterwards every fifth Year, according to the number of the *Parnassian Nymphs*, that came to congratulate *Apollo*, and brought him Presents after his Victory.

The Rewards were certain Apples consecrated to *Apollo*, according to *Iser* (d), and the fore-cited Epigram of *Archias*, in which he has enumerated the Prizes in this, and the other three Sacred Games,

(a) *Etymologici* Auctor, *Phavorinus*. (b) *Corinthiacu*. (c) *Metam.* I. (d) *Libro* de *Coronis*.

Ἀθλα δὲ τῶν κόπρινος, μῦλα, σέλινος, πίτυς.

Where *Brodeus* will have μῦλα to signify the *Delphian* Lawrel, which, he tells us, brought forth Berries streak'd with red and green, and almost as large as Apples; but this Interpretation is by no means genuine, or natural, since the word μῦλα is never us'd in that sense: However that be, 'tis certain the Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Lawrel, as appears from the express words of *Pindar*, who tells us, that *Aristomenes* was crown'd with ποία Παρνασία, or Lawrel that flourish'd upon Mount *Parnassus* (a): Whence some imagine that the Reward was double, consisting both of the sacred Apples, and Garlands of Lawrel. But at the first Institution of these Games, the Victors were crown'd with Garlands of Palm, or (according to some) of Beech-leaves, as *Ovid* reports, who immediately after the Verses before-cited, adds,

*His juvenum quicumque manus, pedibusve, rotave
Vicerat, esculæ capiebat frondis honorem,
Nondum Laurus erat.*

Here Noble Youths for Mastership did strive
To Box, to Run, and Steeds, and Chariots drive,
The Prize was Fame; in witness of Renown,
A Beechen Garland did the Victor crown,
The Lawrel was not yet for Triumph born.

Others there are (b) who report, that in the first *Pythiad* the Gods contended, *Castor* obtain'd the Victory by Race-horses, *Pollux* at Boxing, *Calais* at Running, *Zetes* at Fighting in Armour, *Peleus* at throwing the *Discus*, *Telamon* at Wrestling, *Hercules* at the *Pancratium*, and that all of them were honour'd by *Apollo* with Crowns of Lawrel. But others again are of a different Opinion (c), and tell us, that at the first there was nothing but a Mulical Contention, wherein he that Sung best the Praises of *Apollo*, obtain'd the Prize, which at first was either Silver, or Gold, or something of value, but afterwards chang'd into a Crown: Here you may observe the different Names given to Games from the diversity of the Prizes; for where the Prize was Money, the Games were call'd ἀγῶνες ἀργυρίῳ; where only a Crown, ἀγῶνες στεφανίῳ, φολίναι, &c. The first that obtain'd Victory by Singing, was *Chrysothemis* a *Cretan*, by whom *Apollo* was purify'd, after he had kill'd *Python*: The next Prize was won by *Philemon*; the next after that by his Son *Thamyris*. *Orpheus* having rais'd himself

(a) *Pythion*. Od. VIII. v. 28. (b) *Natalis Comes* Mythol. lib. V. Cap. II.
(c) *Strabo* lib. IX. *Pausanias* Phocicis,

to a pitch of honour almost equal to the Gods by instructing the prophane and ignorant World in all the Mysteries of Religion, and Ceremonies of Divine Worship, and *Museus*, who took *Orpheus* for his example, thought it too great a Condescension, and inconsistent with the high Characters they bore, to enter into the Contention. *Eleutherus* is reported to have gain'd a Victory purely upon the account of his Voice, his Song being the composition of another person: *Hesiod* was repuls'd, because he could not play upon the Harp, which all the Candidates were oblig'd to do.

There was likewise another Song, call'd Πυθικός νόμος, consisting of these five parts, wherein the Fight of *Apollo* and *Python* was delineated; 1. *Ἀνάρμοσις*, which contain'd the preparation to the Fight. 2. *Ἀμπειρα*, or the first Essay towards it. 3. *Κατακλεισμός*, which was the Action it self, and the God's exhortation to himself to stand out with Courage. 4. *Ἰαμβοὶ καὶ δάκτυλοι*, or the insulting Sarcasms of *Apollo* over vanquish'd *Python*. 5. *Συεργαί*, which was an imitation of the Serpents hissing, when he ended his Life. Others make this Song to consist of the six following parts: 1. *Πείρα*, or the preparation. 2. *Ἰαμβός*, wherein *Apollo* dar'd *Python* to engage him by reproaches, for *ἱαμβίζειν* signifies to reproach, and *Jambick* Verses were the common Form of *Invectives*. 3. *Δάκτυλος*, which was to the honour of *Bacchus*, to whom those Numbers were thought most acceptable; this part belong'd to him, because he had (as some say) a share in the *Delphian* Oracle, or possess'd it before *Apollo*. 4. *Κεντικός*, to the honour of *Jupiter*, because he was *Apollo's* Father, and thought to delight most in such Feet, as being educated in *Crete*, where they were us'd. 5. *Μητρώον*, to the honour of *Mother Earth*, because the *Delphian* Oracle belong'd to her, before it came into *Apollo's* hands. 6. *Συεργμός*, or the Serpent's hissing.

There was likewise a solemn Dance consisting of five parts, which are by some thus describ'd (a); 1. *Πείρα*, an imitation of *Apollo*, preparing himself for the Fight with all the circumspection of a prudent and cautious Warriour. 2. *Κατακλεισμός*, a Challenge given to the Enemy. 3. *Ἰαμβικός*, a representation of the Fight, during which the Trumpets sounded a point of War; it was so call'd from *Jambick* Verses, which are the most proper to express Passion, and Rage. 4. *Σπονδαίος*, so call'd from the Feet of that name, or from *σπονδήν*, i. e. to offer a Libation, because it was the celebration of Victory; now after a Victory, it was always customary to return Thanks to the Gods, and offer Sacrifices. 5. *Καταχόρευσις*, a representation of of *Apollo's* Dancing after his Victory.

(a) *Julius Scaliger* Poetices lib. I. cap. XXIII.

Afterwards in the third year of the XLVIIIth Olympiad, the *Amphibynus*, who were Presidents of these Games, introduc'd Flutes, which till that time had not been us'd at this Solemnity; the first that won the Prize, was *Sacadas* of *Argos*; but because they were more proper for Funeral Songs, and Lamentations, than the merry and jocund Airs at Festivals, they were in a short Time laid aside. They added likewise all the Gymnical Exercises us'd in the Olympian Games, and made a Law, that none should contend in running, but Boys. At, or near, the same time they chang'd the Prizes, which had before been of value, into Crowns, or Garlands; and gave these Games the name of *Pythia*, from *Pythian Apollo*, whereas till that time (as some say) they had either another Name, or no peculiar Name at all. Horse-races also, or Chariot-races were introduc'd about the Time of *Clisthenes*, King of *Argos*, who obtain'd the first Victory in them, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horses; and several other changes were by degrees made in these Games, which I shall not trouble you with.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Nemean Games.

THE Nemean Games (a) were so call'd from *Nemea*, a Village, and Grove between the Cities *Clonae* and *Phlius*, where they were celebrated every third year upon the twelfth of the Corinthian Month *Πανεμύς*, call'd sometimes *Ιεοβουλία*, which is the same with the *Athenian Boedromion*. The Exercises were Chariot-races, and all the parts of the *Pentathlon*. The Presidents were elected out of *Corinth*, *Argos*, and *Cleonae*, and apparell'd in black Cloaths, the habit of Mourners, because these Games were a Funeral-solemnity instituted in memory of *Opheltes*, otherwise call'd *Archemorus* from *ἀρχή*, i.e. a beginning, and *μῆκος*, i.e. Fate, or Death, because *Amphiaraus* fore-told his Death soon after he began to live: Or, according to *Strabo* (b), because that Misfortune was a Prelude to all the bad-Successes that befall the *Theban* Champions; for *Archemorus* was the Son of *Euphetes* and *Creisfa*, or *Lycurgus*, a King of *Nemea*, or *Thrace*, and *Eurydice*, and nurs'd by *Hyppisyle*, who leaving the Child in a Meadow whilst she went to shew the besiegers of *Thebes* a Fountain, at her return found him dead, and a Serpent folded about his Neck; whence the

(a) *Strabo* lib. VIII. *Pausanias* *Corinth. Eliac. &c.* *Pindari Schol. Nemean.* (b) *Thebaid. lib. V.*

Fountain

Fountain before call'd *Langia*, was nam'd *Archemorus*; and the Captains to comfort *Hyppisyle* for her Loss, instituted these Games (a),

*Una tamen tacitas, sed jussu Numinis, undas
Hæc quoque secreta nutrit Langia sub umbra,
Nondum illi raptus dederat lacrymabile nomen
Archemorus, nec fama Deæ; tamen ævia servas
Et nemus, & fluxum; manet ingens gloria Nympham,
Cum tristem Hyppisylem ducibus sudatus Achæis
Ludus, & aura sacrum recolat Trieteris Opheltem.*

Langia alone, and she securely hid
Lurk'd in a dark, and unfrequented shade,
Her silent streams by some Divine command
To feed the circumjacent pools retain'd.
Before *Hyppisyle* was known to Fame
Before the Serpent had *Archemorus* slain,
And to the Spring bequeath'd his dreadful name;
Yet in the lonesome Desert tho' it lyes,
A Grove, and Riv'let it alone supplies;
Whilst endless Glory on the Nymph shall wait,
And *Grecian* Chiefs shall eternize her Fate,
When they shall sad Triennial Games ordain
To after-ages to transmit her Name,
And dismal story of *Opheltes* slain.

Mr. Hutchin.

Others are of opinion, that these Games were instituted by *Hercules* after his Victory over the *Nemean Lyon* (b), in honour of *Jupiter*, who, as *Pausanias* tells us, had a magnificent Temple at *Nemea*, where he was honour'd with solemn Games, in which Men ran Races in Armour; but perhaps these might be distinct from the solemnity, I am now speaking of. Lastly, others grant indeed, they were first instituted in memory of *Archemorus*, but will have them to have been intermitted, and reviv'd again by *Hercules*, and consecrated to *Jupiter*.

The Victors were crown'd with Parsley, which was an Herb us'd at Funerals, and feign'd to have sprung out of *Archemorus's* Blood; Concerning it, *Plutarch* relates a remarkable Story (c), with which it will not be improper to conclude this Chapter; "As *Timoleon* (saith he) was marching up an Ascent, from the Top of which they might take a view of the Army and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance a company of Mules laden with Parsley, which his Soldiers conceiv'd to be an ill-boding Omen, because this is the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the dead, which custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one

(a) *Statius Thebaid. lib. IV.* (b) *Pindari Schol.* (c) *Timoleonse.*

"that

“that is dangerously sick, that he does δῆδαι σελίνε, i. e. need nothing but Parsley, which is in effect to say, he is a dead Man, just dropping into the Grave: Now, that *Timoleon* might ease their minds, and free them from those superstitious thoughts, and such a fearful Expectation, he put a stop to his March, and, having alledged many other things in a discourse suitable to the occasion, he concluded it by saying, that a Garland of Triumph had luckily fallen into their hands of its own accord, as an anticipation of Victory; inasmuch as the *Corinthians* do crown those that get the better in their *Isthmian Games* with Chaplets of Parsley, accounting it a sacred Wreath, and proper to their Countrey; for Parsley was ever the conquering Ornament of the *Isthmian Sports*, as it is now also of the *Nemean*; it is not very long since Branches of the Pine-tree came to succeed, and to be made use of for that purpose: *Timoleon* therefore, having thus bespoken his Souldiers, took part of the Parsley, wherewith he first made himself a Chaplet, and then his Captains with their Companies did all crown themselves with it in imitation of their General.

CHAPTER. XXV.

Of the Isthmian Games.

THE *Isthmian Games* were so call'd from the place where they were celebrated viz. the *Corinthian Isthmus*, a neck of Land by which *Peloponnesus* is joyn'd to the Continent; they were instituted in honour of *Palemon*, or *Melicerta*, the Son of *Athamas* King of *Thebes*, and *Ino*, who, for fear of her Husband (who had kill'd her other Son *Learchus* in a Fit of madness) cast her self, with *Melicerta* in her Arms, into the Sea, where they were receiv'd by *Neptune* into the number of the Divinities of his Train, out of compliment to *Bacchus* nurs'd by *Ino*. At the change of their condition, they alter'd their Names, *Ino* was call'd *Leucothea*, and her Son, *Palemon*; however *Palemon's* Divinity could not preserve his Body from being toss'd about the Sea, till at length it was taken up by a Dolphin, and carried to the *Corinthian Shore*, where it was found by *Sisyphus* at that time King of *Corinth*, who gave it an honorable interment, and instituted these Funeral Games to his honour; thus *Pausanias* (a). Others report that *Melicerta's* Body was cast upon the *Isthmus*, and lay there some time unburied, whereupon a grievous Pestilence began to rage in those parts, and the Oracles gave out, that

(a) *Inizio Corinthiac.*

the

the only remedy for it, was to interr the Body with the usual solemnities, and celebrate Games in memory of the Boy; upon the performance of these Commands the Distemper ceas'd, but afterwards when the Games were neglected, broke out again, and the Oracles being consulted, gave Answer, that they must pay perpetual Honours to *Melicerta's* memory, which they did accordingly, erecting an Altar to him, and enacting a Law for the perpetual celebration of these Games.

Others report that they were instituted by *Theseus* in honour of *Neptune*; others are of opinion that there were two distinct Solemnities observ'd in the *Isthmus*, one to *Melicerta*, and another to *Neptune*; which report is grounded upon the authority of *Museus*, who wrote a Treatise about the *Isthmian Games*. *Phavorinus* reports that these Games were first instituted in honour of *Neptune*, and afterwards celebrated in memory of *Palemon*. *Plutarch* on the contrary tells us, that the first institution of them was in honour of *Melicerta*, but afterwards they were alter'd, enlarg'd, and re-instituted to *Neptune* by *Theseus*; he gives also several other Opinions concerning the Original of them; his words are these in the Life of *Theseus*; “*Theseus* instituted Games in emulation of *Hercules*, being ambitious that as the *Greeks* by that Hero's appointment celebrated the *Olympian Games* to the honour of *Jupiter*, so by his institution they should celebrate the *Isthmian Games* to the honour of *Neptune*; for those that were before dedicated to *Melicerta*, were celebrated privately in the Night, and consisted rather of religious Ceremonies, than of any open spectacle, or publick Festival. But some there are, who say that the *Isthmian Games* were first instituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theseus* made for his Murther, upon the account of the nearness of Kindred between them, *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus* and *Helenocha*, the Daughter of *Pitheus*: tho' others write that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to his honour, and not to *Sciron's*, these Games were ordain'd by *Theseus*. *Hellanicus* and *Andro of Halicarnassus* write, that at the same time he made an agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they should allow them that came from *Athens* to the celebration of the *Isthmian Games*, as much space to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the Ship that brought them thither, stretch'd to its full extent could cover, and that in the first and most honourable place: thus *Plutarch*.

The *Eleans* were the only people of *Greece* that absented themselves from this solemnity, which they did for this reason, as *Pausanias* (a) relates; The *Corinthians* having appointed the *Isthmian Games*, the Sons of *Aëtor* came to the celebration of them, but were surpriz'd and slain by *Hercules*, near the City *Cleona*: The Author of the Murder was at the first unknown, but being at length discover'd by the industry of *Molione* the Wife of *Aëtor*, the *Eleans* went to *Argos* and

(a) *Elia. c.*

H h h

demand'd

demanded satisfaction, because *Hercules* at that time dwell'd at *Tiryns*, a Village in the *Argian* Territories : Being repuls'd at *Argos* they apply'd themselves to the *Corinthians*, desiring of them, that all the Inhabitants and Subjects of *Argos* might be forbidden the *Isthmian* Games, as disturbers of the publick Peace ; but meeting with no better success in this place, than they had done at *Argos*, *Molione* forbade them to go to the *Isthmian* Games, and denounc'd a dreadful execration against any of the *Eleans* that should ever be present at the celebration of them ; which command was so religiously observ'd, that none of the *Eleans* dare venture to go to the *Isthmian* Games to this Day, (saith my Author) for fear *Molione's* Curses should fall heavy upon them.

These Games (a) were observ'd every fifth year, and held so sacred and inviolable, that when they had been intermitted for some time through the Oppression and Tyranny of *Cypselus*, King of *Corinth*, after the Tyrant's Death the *Corinthians*, to renew the memory of them which was almost decay'd, employ'd the utmost Power and Industry they were able in reviving them, and celebrated them with such splendor and magnificence as was never practis'd in former Ages. When *Corinth* was sack'd and totally demolish'd by *Mummius*, the Roman General, these Games were not discontinu'd, but the care of them committed to the *Sicyonians* till the rebuilding of *Corinth*, and then restor'd to the Inhabitants of that City, as *Pausanias* reports (b).

The Victors were rewarded with Garlands of Pine-leaves ; afterwards Parsley was given them, which was also the Reward of the *Ne-mean* Conquerours, but with this difference, that there it was fresh and green, whereas in the *Isthmian* Games it was dry and wither'd. Afterwards the use of Parsley was left off, and the Pine-tree came again into request, which alterations *Plutarch* hath accounted for in the Fifth of his *Symposiacks*.

(a) *Alex. ab Alexandro* Gen. Dier. lib. V. cap. VIII. (b) *Initio Corinthiac.*
(c) *Quæst. III.*

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